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The

Emma

Goldman

Papers



Portrait of Emma Goldman writing at her desk, ca. 1910 [Brown Brothers]. From *Trial and Speeches of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman in United States District Court, in the City of New York, July, 1917* (New York: Mother Earth Publishing Association, [1917]), courtesy of The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace.

REEL

1

The Emma Goldman Papers

A Microfilm Edition

Reel 1

Correspondence

October 8, 1892, to December 26, 1905

Edited by

Candace Falk
Ronald J. Zboray
Alice Hall

with

Stephen Cole
Daniel Cornford

CHADWYCK-HEALEY INC.

Alexandria, Virginia Cambridge, England

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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Dedication

To those who, inspired by Emma Goldman's ideals, continue to meet the challenges necessary to uphold the fragile right of dissent, to dare to imagine a more just and sane world, and to devote themselves to the cause of freedom.

The publication of this microfilm edition would not have been possible without the unwavering support of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC) of the National Archives. We dedicate the Correspondence series to the NHPRC's Deputy Director, Roger Bruns; and the Government Document series to the memory of Sara Dunlap Jackson, the NHPRC's long-time archivist. With their historical, archival, and administrative guidance combined with good-natured friendship, we launched the Emma Goldman Papers Project.

The Goldman Writings series, which includes translations of Goldman's work into multiple languages, is dedicated to the memory of the *Emma Goldman Paper*'s European and Asian search coordinator, Brenda Butler, who died at the age of thirty-seven, just after completing five years of work on the Project. Much of the collection's material tracing Goldman's international significance is included because of Brenda Butler's persistence, and her sensitivity to the distinct cultures and politics of the many contributing archives and research associates around the world.

Sarah Crome, cofounder and first research associate of the Emma Goldman Papers Project, has been an inspiration to all of us for her untiring commitment to the cause of freedom. An unsung heroine in her own time, Sarah has never sought public praise, but the *Emma Goldman Papers* would not have been the same without her.

Table of Contents

Copyright and Permissions 1

Introduction 2

Editorial Guide to the Microfilm 5

Acknowledgements 11

Contributing Institutions 22

Contributing Scholars, Archivists, and Librarians 38

Goldman Associates and Heirs 41

Financial Supporters 43

Introductory Essays to Reels 1 through 69 48

Errata 136

Indexes

Correspondence 144

Goldman Writings: Drafts, Publications, and Speeches 333

Goldman Writings: Newspaper and Periodical Articles 350

Government Documents: Name 395

Government Documents: Title 470

Government Documents: Subject 514

List of Correspondence on Reel 1 577

Introduction to Correspondence on Reel 1 581

Correspondence (October 8, 1892, to December 26, 1905) 587

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Before citing any documents or contacting their donors, readers are advised to check the Errata, which appear in the first reel of this microfilm edition and are reproduced in the printed guide to the microfilm, *Emma Goldman: A Guide to Her Life and Documentary Sources*. In the course of producing the index to the microfilm, the editors discovered that flaws in the Project's computer software and editorial procedures allowed a number of incomplete, misleading, or inaccurate citations to appear in the permission lines of document headers. These problems affect especially reels 2 through 21.

Emma Goldman's literary heir is her nephew, Ian Ballantine, of Bearsville, N.Y. [c/o Peacock Press, A Division of Bantam Books, Inc., Bearsville, New York 12409]. Mr. Ballantine has graciously granted the Emma Goldman Papers Project permission to reproduce all of Goldman's writings. Although he assured us that "aunt Emma did not believe in restrictions of any sort," it is advisable for those who wish to publish material from the collection to secure formal written permission from Mr. Ballantine.

Note the proper format for citing documents from the *Emma Goldman Papers* microfilm edition:

> **Emma Goldman to Havelock Ellis, Dec. 27, 1924, in Candace Falk, Ronald J. Zboray, and Alice Hall, eds., *The Emma Goldman Papers: A Microfilm Edition* (Alexandria, Va.: Chadwyck-Healey Inc., 1990), reel 14.**

Introduction

The importance of written history for the people can easily be compared with the importance of a diary for the individual. It furnishes data for recollections, points of comparison between the Past and Present. But as most diaries and auto-biographies show a lack of straight-forward, big, simple, sincere self-analyses, so does history seldom prove a representation of facts, of the truth, of reality.

The way history is written will depend altogether on whatever purpose the writers have in view, and what they hope to achieve thereby. It will altogether depend upon the sincerity or lack thereof, upon the broad or narrow horizon of the historian. That which passes as history in our schools, or governmentally fabricated books on history, is a forgery, a misrepresentation of events. Like the old drama centering upon the impossible figure of the hero, with a gesticulating crowd in the background. Quacks of history speak only of "great men" like Bonapartes, Bismarcks, Deweys, or Rough Riders as leaders of the people, while the latter serve as a setting, a chorus, howling the praise of the heros, and also furnishing their blood money for the whims and extravagances of their masters. Such history only tends to produce conceit, national impudence, superciliousness and patriotic stupidity, all of which is in full bloom in our great Republic.

Our aim is to teach a different conception of historical events. To define them as an ever-recurring struggle for Freedom against every form of Might. A struggle resultant from an innate yearning for self-expression, and the recognition of one's own possibilities and their attitude toward other human beings. History to us means a compilation of experiences, out of which the individual, as well as the race, will gain the right understanding how to shape and organize a mode of life best suited to bring out the finest and strongest qualities of the human race. [1]

Emma Goldman introduced the first volume of her magazine *Mother Earth* with reflections on the importance of written history. She hoped to present history as "a compilation of experiences, out of which the individual, as well as the race, will gain the right understanding [of] how to shape and organize a mode of life best suited to bring out the finest and strongest qualities of the human race." The intent of the *Emma Goldman Papers* is

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[1] "Observations and Comments," *Mother Earth* 1 (March 1906): 5-6.

far more modest, though the collection of Goldman's correspondence and writings and the government files and press clippings about her comprise a rich body of material for understanding not only the woman, but also the social, cultural, and political history of her time. Given Goldman's lifelong commitment to social justice, her papers form a fascinating point of reference for many different issues and movements devoted to the cultivation of the best in the individual and society. The collection also broadens the body of available material on the activities of anarchists and sympathizers with the anarchist movement, a movement neglected in much social and historical analysis. In addition, the international dimension of Goldman's papers offers the researcher unusual access to a complex network of individuals and movements around the world.

The microfilm spans the years from Goldman's entry into the United States in 1885 until her death in 1940. Goldman's papers cast a new light on many of the events of turn-of-the-century America and Europe: the buildup to and aftermath of World War I, the Russian revolutionary period of the early 1920s, the Spanish revolution and civil war, and the rise of fascism and coming of war in the 1930s. Although Goldman's papers are the core of the collection, her correspondence brings attention to the life and work of many others in her extraordinarily broad circle. In some cases, the collection of material for the microfilm edition prompted the release and organization of secondary collections, including the declassification of many government surveillance documents unavailable to the public until now, and the integration of rare material documenting the anarchist movement of the Spanish Civil War period that has been scattered among many archival repositories.

Pending interest and funding, the Project staff hopes to publish additional reels of third party letters and newspaper clippings, as well as the collection of Goldman's reading notes and personal archive housed at the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam. The newspaper collection assembled by the project is particularly extensive, though far from complete; it reveals a wide range of public perceptions of Goldman more vividly than the correspondence, writings, or government documents. In the coming years, the *Emma Goldman Papers* microfilm edition will be a launching point for research on Goldman, and

inevitably other related material will be discovered. We urge you to forward copies of new documents to the Emma Goldman Papers Project at the University of California, Berkeley, for inclusion in reel 70 of the microfilm edition, which will be devoted to late finds and third party reminiscences of Emma Goldman, thus working with us to serve future scholars and to contribute to the historical record of an extraordinary woman living in a rich and varied time.

The microfilm is accompanied by a printed guide and index, *Emma Goldman: A Guide to Her Life and Documentary Sources*. The printed guide is intended both to facilitate access to the contents of the microfilm and to stand alone as a resource on Goldman and a guide to her papers.

A forthcoming book edition prepared by the editors of the Emma Goldman Papers Project and published by the University of California Press will provide the general reader with transcribed and annotated highlights from the comprehensive collection, cross-referenced to the microfilm. The comprehensive microfilm edition, the accompanying finding aide, *Emma Goldman: A Guide to Her Life and Documentary Sources*, and the selected book edition represent the completion of the documentary editing work of the Emma Goldman Papers Project and democratize access to this rich and varied archival collection.

These publications are intended to serve as launching points for continued scholarship and research. Even with over thirty thousand documents in the microfilm edition, there can never be a truly "comprehensive" documentary edition. We present this work of more than a decade to you with great pride, but also with considerable humility based on the sobering acknowledgment that historical research is essentially boundless.

Editorial Guide to the Microfilm

From its inception in 1980, the Emma Goldman Papers Project undertook an extensive international search for Goldman-related documents and committed itself to providing maximum comprehension and access to the material. Over the years, the achievement of that end required the talents and dedicated work of a large staff engaged in search, administrative, and especially editorial work. That so many people were involved in the editorial work during this time brought many fresh ideas to the Project, but it also imposed its own particular burden: maintaining a clear and consistent editorial policy that new staff members could follow with a high level of accuracy. In 1984 the Project adopted an approach to control and description based on widely accepted library and archival standards. At the same time, the Project began to rely heavily on microcomputers to handle the detailed work of document control, an innovation that ultimately enabled the maintenance of high editorial standards among a large and changing staff.[1]

The microfilm edition of the *Emma Goldman Papers* consists of three series: Correspondence (reels 1-46), Goldman Writings (reels 47-55), and Government Documents (reels 56-66). The documents in each series are organized chronologically with the exception of reels 54-55 in the Goldman Writings series, which are devoted exclusively to drafts of essays and lectures and are organized thematically. Three supplementary reels, consisting of material that arrived too late for the editors to incorporate at the appropriate place in the microfilm, complete the collection: reel 67 (Government Documents and Goldman Writings supplement) and reels 68-69 (Correspondence supplement).

The editors rejected the possibility of one chronologically organized series because of the diverse nature of the documents. First, the dates of correspondence and of published material relate very differently to the point of intellectual origin. Dates of correspondence are

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[1] For a discussion of the various approaches to document control taken by the Emma Goldman Papers Project, see the following articles by Ronald J. Zboray: "Microfilm Editions of Personal Papers and Microcomputers: Indexing the Emma Goldman Papers," *International Journal of Micrographics and Video Technology* 5 (1986): 213-21; "dBASE III Plus and the MARC AMC Format: Problems and Possibilities," *American Archivist* 50 (1987): 210-25; "Computerized Document Control and Indexing at the Emma Goldman Papers," *Documentary Editing* 11 (1989): 72-75; and "Archival Standards in Documentary Editing," *Studies in Bibliography* 43 (1990): 34-49.

immediate, whereas the publication of a Goldman manuscript could occur months or even years after authorship. Hence, combining correspondence and publications would misrepresent the flow of Goldman's life. Second, by placing the writings in a separate series, the editors have tried to highlight the difference between the private unfolding of Goldman's life and her more formal published personae.

Similarly, combining government documents with correspondence would mislead readers. The government documents present an interpretation of Goldman's life from the perspective of various governments' interest in her as a dangerous or suspicious person. Naturally, such a view colors the material and creates distortions. Agents' reports on Goldman, even transcriptions of her speeches or letters, contain many inaccuracies, and much time could pass between the occurrence of an event and its report. Many of the records also went through several versions, in the course of which different government agencies reproduced them in whole or in part, increasing the chances for distortion. In short, as scholarly evidence, the different characteristics of correspondence and government documents demanded they be filed separately.

The Correspondence series includes copies of letters, postcards, telegrams, circular letters, envelopes, credentials, and receipts that Goldman either authored or received. In addition, the last reel of the series (reel 46) includes correspondence between Goldman's family and friends written in 1940 after her stroke and subsequent death. Readers will find multiple copies of some correspondence. The editors always included the original signed copy of a letter if it was available. Almost invariably, and especially during her life in exile, Goldman retained carbon copies of her correspondence. In many cases, these are the only surviving copies of letters; in others, notes or marginalia she added warranted the inclusion in the microfilm of the copies she retained in her own personal archive. Often she sent substantially the same letter to different correspondents, adding perhaps a few handwritten lines at the end. These too are included in the edition, both for the substance of the variations and for what, taken together, the correspondence tells about the network of friends and activists of which she was a part.

In the Correspondence series, users of the microfilm will find some documents that were neither written by or to Goldman, which the editors have determined to be enclosures. Many of these pieces were linked to specific letters by provenance or by internal clues, but many others simply appear unattached among Goldman's correspondence. The editors have had to exercise their judgment to determine what qualifies as an enclosure. We deemed a document an enclosure if it had some evidence to support it as such and if that evidence enabled us to assign it to a reasonably specific time. In cases where only weak evidence emerged, the editors took into account the relevancy of the material to the correspondence of the period. An enclosure, unattached to a specific letter, may appear in the Correspondence series if the tenor of the surrounding correspondence suggests likely pairings.

The Goldman Writings series contains a broad range of materials, both published and unpublished. The editors have not included Goldman's published writings that are still in print or widely available in libraries, such as *Living My Life*, *Anarchism and Other Essays*, *The Social Significance of the Modern Drama*, and *My Disillusionment in Russia*. The collection includes individual essays, pamphlets, drafts of manuscripts, and newspaper and periodical articles that quote Goldman directly or attempt a close paraphrase. The government's confiscation of her personal papers in 1917 left few records of her public lectures, which at the time were the most common and important forum for communicating her ideas. The newspaper accounts provide a chance to recapture the flavor of those presentations and allow readers to witness the development of her ideas and rhetorical style during the important early years. Where possible, the editors have reproduced various translations of Goldman's writings to illustrate the international impact of her work.

As noted above, the series is organized chronologically, with the exception of reels 54-55, which are devoted exclusively to drafts of essays and lectures and are organized thematically. The editors have made every effort to date unpublished material where no date appeared on a document. In such cases, the date appears enclosed in square brackets; if the date is conjectural, a question mark follows it.

The Government Documents series includes federal, state, municipal, and foreign

government documents and contains court records, police and intelligence surveillance reports, immigration papers, interagency memoranda, and legal materials such as contracts and papers of Goldman's lawyers regarding her various court cases. The legal papers include verbatim transcripts of Goldman's 1917 anti-conscription trial and her 1919 deportation hearing at Ellis Island, as well as the transcript of her immigration hearing at the Canadian frontier in 1908. The record of the 1917 trial is unusually complete and includes not only the official trial transcript but also the court stenographer's minutes containing discussions of evidence excluded from the official transcript.

To be included in this series, a document had to meet one of two basic criteria: It had to mention Goldman by name or report on a significant event of which she was a part. Some marginally related legal documents in the papers of her lawyer Harry Weinberger have not been filmed. Most of the excluded material consists of technical legal papers on cases arising out of (but not directly bearing upon) Goldman and Berkman's convictions for anti-draft activities and requests for copies of Weinberger's Supreme Court brief.

By its very nature, the Government Documents series represents only a portion of existing documents. Chance largely determined which of these documents survived in government files. The success of our search for Goldman material around the world relied on the cooperation of a host of individuals and institutions; in the search for government documents, the Project often faced insurmountable obstacles. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, for example, withheld some material that we attempted to collect under the Freedom of Information Act. In other cases, the material the Bureau made available was censored to such an extent that it was unusable. Other limitations by government agencies on the selection of material have not been so intentional. The editors were unable to retrieve some municipal records because the archives in which they are deposited were either understaffed, poorly organized, or reluctant to divulge sensitive information about people who may still be alive. The extent of surveillance material in China, the former Soviet Union, and even some Western European countries remains unknown. The microfilm edition does include government records from Germany, England, Italy, Sweden, France, and Japan. In no

country, however, have government officials provided even close to the full documentation that the editors suspect may exist based on information from extragovernmental sources.

Each reel of microfilm begins with a list of its contents and an introductory essay (target) that provides the biographical and historical context for the documents that follow. This background information will be useful for the reader who comes to the collection with only a limited knowledge of Goldman and her world, as it acts as a narrative subject index to the collection.

All documents in the Correspondence, Goldman Writings, and Government Documents series are preceded by a descriptive header whose format follows the *Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules*, 2d ed. (AACR2), modified in light of the special needs of the collection. The editors took most descriptive information from the documents themselves, enclosing in square brackets information taken from other sources. If such information is conjectural, a question mark follows it within the brackets.. For personal and corporate names and for dates, the question mark applies only to the element of information immediately to the left of it. Thus "[1912 Jan.? 13]" indicates that only the month is conjectural.

A typical header in the Correspondence series, for example, would follow this format:

> [Letter] 1934 March 16, Detroit [Mich. to] James B. Pond, New York /
> Emma Goldman.— 4p.; 28 x 21 cm.

The document description is always bracketed. (In the Goldman Writings series, the user will find descriptions such as "[Interview]" and "[Summary of Lecture]".) In this instance, one element in the place of origin—"Mich."—is also bracketed because it does not appear on the document. Both the author's and the recipient's names are spelled in full on the document, so no brackets are employed. Had Goldman addressed the recipient as "Mr. Pond," his name would have appeared on the header as "[James B.] Pond." As this example suggests, the editors have departed from AACR2 by using a consistent authorized name form. We made

this decision to assist readers in deciphering handwriting styles and in identifying correspondents whose salutation is generally only a first name or even an initial, as well as to facilitate the indexing of documents. In Goldman Writings, full bibliographical information is provided wherever possible for published material. Each header features a physical description of the document that includes the number of pages and its dimensions. In addition, a permission line appears below the header, noting whether and where permission must be obtained to use the document and the name and location of the archive that houses the original.

Headers in the Government Documents series have additional data. We provided summaries for government documents because we recognize that most users will not be familiar with legal procedures and terminology. Below the permission line, a very brief summary sketches the main point(s) of the document, and a note provides, if applicable, the language of the document; its physical condition, for example, "dark copy" or "broken type"; explanations such as the author of a handwritten postscript; and cross references to related documents.

The editors extend their apologies for copies of documents that are difficult to read. We made every effort to provide readers with the best copies available, but the deteriorated state of old documents and the process of reproducing them, which sometimes included making hard copies for our collection from a microfilm of the originals, inevitably meant that some documents are difficult to decipher. In such cases, we suggest that the reader request a photocopy of the original from the contributing archive or, when possible, attempt to see the original.

Reel 1 includes the target essays for all reels and the indexes to all three series: a name index for the Correspondence series; name of publication and title indexes for Goldman Writings; and name, title, and subject indexes for Government Documents.

Acknowledgments

The *Emma Goldman Papers* microfilm edition took twelve years to complete. Its scope and degree of accuracy is the result of the collaborative work of a talented and dedicated staff, the cooperation of the international archival and research community, the generosity of several public and private foundations, and the support of the University of California, Berkeley.

The long list of research, editorial, and administrative staff that precedes each microfilm reel reflects the composite staff of the Emma Goldman Papers Project over the entire span of its existence. Of the group, there are individuals who deserve special acknowledgement. First and foremost, Sarah Crome started the Project with me and set the research in motion. For six years (1980-1985) until her retirement, the generous and determined Sarah Crome maintained the momentum of the work, even working without pay during the first year of the Reagan administration's withdrawal of funding from all projects of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission. I am grateful to Sarah for helping to lay the foundation of this project.

I am indebted to Ronald J. Zboray, a superb and multi-talented historian who, from 1984-1989, transformed the data management of the microfilm edition by integrating cutting-edge technological advances in data control and applying them to historical editing. As microfilm editor, he established the editorial standards, indexing categories, publishing format, and technical structure of the edition. Alice Hall, editor of the Government Document series, came to the Project in 1987 while a law student and maintained her commitment even after graduation, continuing until the very last detail of the microfilm was completed in the spring of 1992. Her remarkable ability to organize and crystallize critical information in the summaries and subject entries that accompany each document in this complex and unique series will open a new and otherwise inaccessible area of knowledge to scholars. Alice Hall also acted as the interim associate editor at several points of staff transition, and her consistent intelligence and good judgment was appreciated by the entire Project. Special thanks also to Dr. Robert Cohen, research associate from 1987 to 1991, for his ongoing commitment to the search for documents, exemplified by the multitude of fascinating

newspaper clippings and Goldman correspondence he added to the collection, building on the work of Dr. Barbara Loomis and the earlier staff. Graduate student Françoise Vergès organized, edited, and expanded the scope of the Goldman Writings series with intelligence and diligence. Historian Stephen Cole, also associate editor for the selected book edition of the *Emma Goldman Papers*, arrived one year before the completion of the microfilm edition and did a valiant job in assisting the coordination and editing in its final months. A meticulous editor with solid historical sensibility, he developed and carried out the indexing of the complete edition.

Among the outstanding graduate student research associates, I extend my appreciation to the two whose many years of work shaped the character and quality of the Project: Dennis McEnnerney participated in the Project for over six years (1985-1991) in almost every capacity from biographical research and writing to the support work necessary to answer the steady flow of search queries received by the Project. Brenda Butler, whose tragic death in 1990 interrupted her young and promising career, left a remarkable legacy in her five years as the European and Asian search coordinator for the Project. The volume and quality of documents from Europe, Asia, and the Soviet Union in the collection are a direct result of her skillful coordination of a complex network of researchers and Goldman associates throughout the world.

No project of the size of the *Emma Goldman Papers* could survive in an environment of unpredictable funding without talented administrative support. Sally Thomas, who has worked with the Project since 1985 in almost every capacity from research, editing, organization, planning, administrative budgeting and payroll, is also the fund-raising backbone of the Project. Her public vision has been in large part responsible for expanding the focus of our work from exclusive attention to the microfilm collection to the development of a successful traveling exhibition, an *Emma Goldman Papers* lecture tour, and a high school curriculum based on Goldman's life. I value her work as a public historian and as a stellar colleague.

Susan Wengraf, a talented documentary filmmaker, has worked to shape and design

the traveling exhibition since 1989. Her photo-archival work has enhanced our collection, and the slides she has amassed for the Project enable us to provide vivid visual images to accompany Project lectures. Her flexibility and patience matches her impeccable aesthetic sensibility, which has broadened the audience for the public aspect of our work.

There are many other unusually talented contributors to the success of the *Emma Goldman Papers*: at a crucial time, when the Project lost the talent of Ron Zboray and versatile production editor Ellen Ratcliffe, the diligence and hard work of Kurt Thompson and Jennifer Smith carried the microfilm through a difficult year of staff transition. Staff editors and proofreaders contributed their creative intelligence and detective work to deciphering handwriting and identifying Goldman correspondents, then entering the core of the data for the microfilm headers into the *Emma Goldman Papers* database. A staff of graduate and undergraduate students, each with a unique contribution to the whole, provided the editorial assistance necessary to the creation of an accurate and extensive research tool; I take this opportunity to thank especially Brigida Campos, Colleen Cotter, Oz Frankel, Christopher Gales, Robert Geraci, Susan Grayzel, Rebecca Hyman, Marilynn Johnson, Leigh Anne Jones, Sherry Katz, Joanne Newman, Kristin Penner, Rachel Rivera, Maxine Snow, and Jessica Weiss.

Administrative assistance in this final year by the indefatigable Ami Samuels followed by the meticulous Steve Masover provided the crucial support without which the editing could not have been completed. Janice Tanigawa of the Institute for the Study of Social Change provided additional administrative assistance for almost a decade. Michael Katz, the Project's innovative and good-humored computer programmer, shaped the database for easy and accurate presentation of the indexes, headers, and targets, in spite of aging computers and limited funds.

Through thick and thin, the *Emma Goldman Papers* has always had the help of volunteers who dedicated their time and talents because of their belief in the importance of documenting the history of women. Among the many volunteers, we thank especially June Brumer, Rae Lisker, Beth Wilson, Rachel Eisner, Brigitte Koenig, Mara Heifetz, and Tamara

Falicov.

This microfilm is a collaborative work with a cast of thousands to acknowledge (a list follows). Although the collection of documents from Europe, Asia, the Soviet Union, Latin America, and Canada is not as complete as those from archives in the United States, they represent the best efforts of an extraordinary group of research associates who communicated with the Project through letters in many languages from their distant locations and through friends. Karen V. Hansen designed the mechanism for the international search, and performed a good part of the British search herself. This laid the foundation from which our European and Asian research associates began their work with the Project. In particular, the work of Wolfgang Haug of Germany, Furio Biagini and Auelio Chessa of Italy, Susumu Yamaizumi of Japan, and Professor Lu Zhe of the People's Republic of China has enriched the collection. The recollections of Goldman associates, particularly from the People's Republic of China, stand out for us as a meaningful example of the importance of the Project's work in preserving and creating the historical record.

Many scholars advised the staff along the way. They shared their research and put us in contact with individuals who could help bring Goldman material to the Project or share memories of their own contact with Goldman. The most prominent historian of the anarchist movement is Paul Avrich, who, over the years, was our greatest source of information. His volumes on the history of anarchism and the people in the movement are worn and tattered from use at the office. Our files are filled with countless letters from him, answering queries, giving addresses of older anarchists, and recommending books on almost every aspect of our work.

The impressive generosity of scholars, archivists, and living Goldman associates and their heirs accounts in large part for the expansive and unique character of the *Emma Goldman Papers*. A partial list follows the Acknowledgments. Among the many scholars who helped us with our work, most generous were Roger Bruns, Martin Duberman, Arif Durlik, William J. Fishman, and Athan Theoharis. Richard Drinnon's pathbreaking biography of Goldman, *Rebel in Paradise*, set the groundwork for all the work that followed. The work

of Alix Kates Shulman in compiling a collection of Goldman's writings was a critical resource as well.

I am grateful to have had the opportunity to interview people who knew Goldman—all seemed to share some of her spark. Many excerpted transcripts and written recollections are included in the reminiscences section in reel 70. I will always cherish my time with Mollie Ackerman, Federico and Pura Arcos, Roger Baldwin, David Ballantine, Ian Ballantine, Abe Bluestein, Johanna Boetz, Attilio (Arthur) Bortolotti, Mecca Reitman Carpenter, Delia Kinzinger Contractor, Senya Fleshin, Millie Desser Grobstein, Clara Larsen, Meridel Le Sueur, Dan and Bertha Malmed, Albert Meltzer, Ora Laddon Robbins, Fermin Rocker, Ralph Ross, Irene Schneiderman, Sydney and Clara Solomon, Mollie Steimer, Studs Terkel, Ahrne Thorne, and Emil White, among others (listed below). Many of those who knew Goldman corresponded with the Project and recorded their memories for the collection. Among those from the People's Republic of China are Lu Jian-bo, Ba Jin, Wu Ke Kang, Huisheng Qin (Pao-pu); from England, Jean Faulks and Alex Rudling; from the United States, Cecile Barbash, Jean Chamberlain, Merle Curti, David Diamond, and Magda Schoenwetter, among others. Ian and David Ballantine, Goldman's nephews and literary heirs, generously shared their stories and their mother's account books documenting the financial side of Goldman's political activism.

The massive archival cooperation between the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam (IISH), the Emma Goldman Papers Project, and Chadwyck-Healey Inc. is an example of the international research community at its best. The microfilm integrates the IISH collections with others scattered around the world, democratizing access to unique primary source material. Rudolf de Jong, Thea Duijker, Erik J. Fischer, Mieke Ijzermans, Elly Koen, and Atie van der Horst, among others, are owed a special note of appreciation, and we consider the microfilm a shared accomplishment. Heiner Becker of the International Institute of Social History shared his own Goldman documents with the Project and gave us invaluable assistance in the early stages of the work.

Many archivists around the country were particularly helpful and generous in allowing

their extensive Goldman collections to be integrated into the microfilm edition. This foresight and service to researchers may in some cases lessen the foot traffic in their archives but will greatly expand the accessibility and longevity of their collections. Contributing institutions are listed below, as are other archivists who searched their collections on our behalf. Among the archivists of the major contributing repositories in the United States whose cooperation was critical to the Goldman collection are: Margaret Goostray of the Boston University Library Special Collections; Kenneth Lohf of the Columbia University Library; Susan Falb, historian of the Federal Bureau of Investigation; Rodney Dennis, Bridget Carr, and Melanie Wisner of the Houghton Library, Harvard University; Daniel Woodward, Sara Hodson, and Mark Chiang of the Huntington Library; James Gilreath of the Library of Congress; Harold D. Williams, David G. Paynter, Mary Ronan, and Jerome Fenster of the National Archives; Donald Anderle, Melanie Yolles, and Susan Davis of the New York Public Library; Dorothy Swanson, Jeffrey Eichler, and Debra Bernhardt of the Tamiment Library, New York University; Patricia King and Eva Moseley of the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College; Susan Boone of The Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College; Charles Palm, Agnes Peterson, Elena Danielson, and Mark Tam, among others, of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford; Bonnie Hardwick of the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley; Mary Ann Bamberger and her assistant, Terri Littman, of the University of Illinois, Chicago; Edward C. Weber, Helen Butz, and Kathryn Beam of the Labadie Collection, University of Michigan Library; Cathy Henderson and Cynthia Farrar of the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center at the University of Texas, Austin; Harold Miller and Michael Stevens of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; and Judith Schiff, David E. Schoonover, Lynn Stewart, and Patricia Willis of the Yale University Libraries.

Ultimately, the microfilm publisher, Chadwyck-Healey Inc., with its extraordinary record of commitment to the aesthetic and thorough presentation of primary historical documents, carried the weight of the work of bringing this documentary edition to the public. Sir Charles Chadwyck-Healey has been most gracious in his commitment to the *Emma Goldman Papers* and even acted on several occasions as our representative to the

International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam. Appreciation is also in order for those who worked with us at Chadwyck-Healey's Alexandria, Virginia, office: current director, Susan M. Q. Severtson; former director, Mark Hamilton; editors Martha Anderson, Allyson McGill, and Megan Schneider; former production manager, Janet Gwaltney; and current production manager, Rodger Williams; production assistant, Molly Pulliam; primary film technician, Connie Wilson; and microphotographer, Tom Louis.

The critical turning point in the completion of the microfilm edition can be attributed to the moment in 1989 when the Project received administrative recognition and material support from the Provost for Research and Dean of the Graduate Division at the University of California, Berkeley. An extensive analysis of the progress of the Emma Goldman Papers Project undertaken by Provost staff assistant Laurie Spector informed the university's decision, but it took considerable conviction for Provost Joseph Cerny, his associate Linda Fabbri, and budget consultant Susan Hirano to designate funds to a collaborative research project in women's history. Ultimately, the trust and support of the Provost's office allowed the Project to achieve recognition in the research community of the University.

Most notable among the faculty supporters of the University of California, Berkeley, is the distinguished historian, Leon F. Litwack, whose tireless commitment to teaching with integrity and eloquence the critical importance of dissent is much in the spirit of Emma Goldman herself. Professor Litwack, chair of the Project's faculty advisory board, represented the Project to the University administration and worked with us to expand the public history aspect of the Project and to shape the vision and scope of our work. Among the other University of California, Berkeley, faculty who helped the Project most in its early stages were Arlie Hochschild, Professor of Sociology, and Troy Duster, Professor of Sociology and Chair of the Institute for the Study of Social Change.

The very first private contribution of funds to the work of the Project was from Attilio (Arthur) Bortolotti, Goldman's dear friend and comrade, whom she had worked to free from a Canadian prison before her death. Contacted by Federico Arcos, a Spanish friend of Goldman's, Bortolotti sent his contribution and letter of support on Goldman letterhead that

he had saved for forty years. For us, his letter represented the poignant connection between history and friendship, fortifying our conviction that our work to collect and publish Goldman's papers is still valued.

Another inspiring individual who lent the material and moral support to smooth our way to completion was Marcus Cohn, prominent Washington, D.C., attorney, early New Dealer, lifelong civil libertarian, and philosophical anarchist. He encouraged us to believe that persistence is critical even as the political pendulum seems to be shifting away from the values we cherish.

Funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities (from 1986-1991) enabled the Project to expand its search, its staff, and its expectations of excellence. NEH program officers Margot Backus and Kathy Fuller were particularly unwavering in their support of the Project. Early grants facilitated by Sheila Biddle of the Ford Foundation and Lynn Szwaja of the Rockefeller Foundation to the Consortium for Women's History, of which the Emma Goldman Papers Project is a part, helped establish a funding base for many years of documentary editing. Attorney, supporter of women's history, and board member of the William Bingham Foundation, Elizabeth Hefferman helped to provide the most significant private foundation funding for several years. Among other private foundations, The L. J. Skaggs and Mary C. Skaggs Foundation was one of the first significant contributors to the Emma Goldman Papers Project. A complete list of the public and private foundations and individuals who contributed to our work follows the Acknowledgments.

The National Historical Publications and Records Commission's (NHPRC) support was critical to our ability to sustain the work and weather the inconsistencies of funding for projects in the humanities. Roger Bruns, Sara Dunlap Jackson, Mary Giunta, Donald Singer, Ann Harris Henry, Richard Sheldon, and Suzanne Meyer worked most closely with the Project, providing material, intellectual, research, and moral support. Roger Bruns and Mary Guinta especially created an atmosphere of affirmation and validation for the importance and dignity of the work of documentary editing projects. Nancy Sahli supported our decision to computerize the document-tracking work of the Project and has continued to be supportive of

the work in her capacity as Director of Publications and Archives. We acknowledge the continued support of the project by the NHPRC's recent director, Gerald George. The early character of the NHPRC under the direction of Frank Burke, and later of Richard Jacobs, was absolutely crucial to our ability to complete the microfilm edition. The search for Goldman material, especially for government documents, within the National Archives was spearheaded by NHPRC archivists Sara Dunlap Jackson, Ann Harris Henry, and Mary Guinta. Their work was followed by NHPRC archivist Donald Singer, who became the Washington research arm of the Emma Goldman Papers Project, conducting exhaustive searches in both the National Archives and the Library of Congress. With his persistence, commitment, and research talents, we tied up the multitude of inevitable "loose ends" in our search for material in Washington, D.C. Other NHPRC archivists and interns who helped with the early search for government documents included James M. Cassady, Marjorie Ciarlante, Charlie Colokathis, Richard F. Cox, Jr., Cynthia Fox, Bruce Hardcastle, Teresa Matchette, John L. Matias, Marilyn McCarthy, Susan McDonough, Anna Miller, David Pfeiffer, Thomas Rosenblum, and Emily Williams. Without this kind of inside help the Government Document series would not have been as extensive, nor would it include such an array of new material.

Rather than allowing women's history projects to compete for private funding, Roger Bruns from the NHPRC helped form the Consortium for Women's History, which includes the Jane Addams Papers, the Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony Papers, and the Margaret Sanger Papers. Its mission is to return women's voices to the historical record. Our documentary projects experience many of the same rewards and obstacles; Mary Lynn McCree, Pat Holland, Ann Gordon, Esther Katz and I have shared our knowledge and worked as a group to secure funding for our editions.

Cora Weiss of the Samuel Rubin Foundation supported the Emma Goldman Papers Project on every level. As an outspoken woman with a lifelong commitment to international social justice, Cora Weiss embodies much of the spirit of Emma Goldman herself. We count among our victories that she has been convinced of the importance of adding dates to her political flyers to ease the task of future documentary editors.

Generous contributions from my dear friend Judith Nissman Taylor marked an exceptional confluence of personal friendship and material support for work inspired by a vision that brought us together many years before. Contributions from other friends and scholars, including Carolyn P. Blum and Harry Chotiner, Marilyn French, John and Tina Gillis, Louis and Sadie Harlan, Kristin Luker, Henry Mayer and Betsy Anderson, Katrina vanden Heuvel, Joan Peters and Peter Passell, and Virginia Scardigli, among others, widened our base of support. My aunt and uncle, Irma and Julius Sherman, not only helped us find sources of funding through William Lee Frost of the Lucius Littauer Foundation, but always provided me with a home base in New York, replete with childcare, from which I could conduct research for the documents and funding for the *Emma Goldman Papers*. (A complete list of donors follows.)

My family and friends have lived with the specter and power of Emma Goldman for over a decade. My husband, Lowell Finley, often raises a glass of wine on the anniversary of Goldman's death, with the wry toast, "Here's to no more letters!" My daughter, Mara, who is now thirteen years old, has heard more than her share of the word "microfilm" since birth; and my five-year-old son, Jesse, a bit baffled by the word, assumes that his mother spends the time away from him taking Emma Goldman's pictures each day. It has been difficult for those closest to me to live with the dramatic ups and downs so characteristic of the non-profit sector over the years, the constant struggle to maintain some editorial and staff consistency amidst financial uncertainty and what seemed to be a never-ending project. We all lived close to the edge at many points along the way, the glory of the work often overshadowed by the less elevated aspects of the Project. My family endured more than their fair share of the trials of the *Emma Goldman Papers*, and piggy-backed every vacation with a conference or research trip for the Project. I am poignantly aware that the momentum of life and love in my home enabled me to sustain my commitment to the work.

Without a growing awareness of, and a movement that affirms, the importance of retrieving women's history and of the many freedom movements of the past, this project would not have been possible. With the publication of the comprehensive microfilm edition

of the *Emma Goldman Papers*, I hope that generations of scholars and activists will find a voice for their work in Emma Goldman's vast collection. Her image will change, as will our understanding of the people and the movements that shaped the past and continue to influence the future. I appreciate the opportunity to have worked so closely with these important and historic papers.

Candace Falk

Berkeley

April 1992

Contributing Institutions

Although over a thousand archives and private collections were queried and searched for Goldman documents, this list of contributing institutions represents only those institutions and individuals whose contributions are included in the microfilm collection. Wherever possible, the editors have indicated which collection within the institution contributed Goldman documents. If no specific collection is cited, the newspaper and periodical collection of the contributing institutions is most probably the source of Goldman documents in the microfilm edition.

Contributing U.S. Institutions

Arizona

University of Arizona Library, Tucson

California

Burnett Bolloten (private collection), Sunnyvale
California State University, Hayward, Library
California State University, Los Angeles, Library
California State University, Northridge, Library
The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford
    Benjamin Gitlow Collection
    Alice Park Collection
The Huntington Library, San Marino
    Thomas H. Bell Collection
    Jack London Collection
    Sonya Levien Hovey Collection
    C. E. S. Wood Collection
The Pacifica Tape Library of the Pacifica Foundation, Los Angeles
Profiles in History, Beverly Hills
San Diego County Courthouse, San Diego
San Diego Historical Society, San Diego
    Title Insurance and Trust Company of San Diego Collection
San Francisco, City and County of, County Clerk and Clerk of the Superior Court
Scriptorium, Beverly Hills
Stanford University Libraries
    Green Library
    U.S. Document Room

University of California, Berkeley
Bancroft Library
Fremont Older Papers
Anna Strunsky Walling Papers
Boalt Hall School of Law Library
Doe Library
East Asiatic Library
University of California, Davis, Shields Library
University of California, Los Angeles, Department of Special Collections
T. Perceval Gerson Collection
University of California, Riverside, Library
University of California, San Francisco
Hastings College of the Law Library
University of California, Santa Barbara, Library, Department of Special Collections
Goldman-Holzwarth Collection

Colorado

Denver Public Library, Western History Department, Denver

Connecticut

Yale University
The Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library
Collection of American Literature
Hutchins Hapgood Collection
Mabel Dodge Luhan Collection
Eugene O'Neill Collection
Alfred Stieglitz Collection
Carl Van Vechten Collection
Manuscripts and Archives, Sterling Memorial Library
Rose Pastor Stokes Papers
Anna Strunsky Walling Papers
Harry Weinberger Papers

District of Columbia

Catholic University of America, Department of Archives
Manuscripts and Museum Collections
Federal Bureau of Investigation (Freedom of Information-Privacy Act Request)
Immigration and Naturalization Service (Freedom of Information-Privacy Act Request)

Office of Naval Intelligence (Freedom of Information-Privacy Act Request)
Smithsonian Institution, Archives of American Art, Washington, D.C.
- Frances and Jerome Blum Correspondence

United States Library of Congress
- Anarchist Collection
- Paul Avrich Papers
- Albert Burleson Papers
- Millie Desser Grobstein Papers
- Benjamin W. Huebsch Papers
- John Haynes Holmes Papers
- Isaac Don Levine Papers
- George Middleton Papers
- National American Women's Suffrage Association Papers
- Radical Pamphlet Collection
- Rare Books and Special Collections
- Theodore Roosevelt Papers
- Margaret Sanger Papers
- Halstead VanderPoel Papers

United States National Archives
- Record Group 21, U.S. District Court, Southern District of New York
- Record Group 28, Post Office Department
- Record Group 38, Office of Naval Intelligence
- Record Group 45, Department of the Navy
- Record Group 59, Department of State Central Records
- Record Group 60, Department of Justice
- Record Group 63, Committee on Public Information
- Record Group 65, Federal Bureau of Investigation
- Record Group 84, Department of State, Foreign Service
- Record Group 85, Immigration & Naturalization Service
- Record Group 87, U.S. Secret Service
- Record Group 94, Adjutant General's Office
- Record Group 165, Department of War and Military Intelligence Division
- Record Group 174, Department of Labor, Chief Clerk's File
- Record Group 204, Office of the Pardon Attorney
- Record Group 267, U.S. Supreme Court

Florida

University of Florida Libraries, Gainesville, Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts
- Joseph Ishill Papers

Illinois

Center for Research Libraries, Chicago
Chicago Historical Society, Chicago
The Newberry Library, Chicago
    Floyd Dell Papers
Northwestern University Library, Evanston, Special Collections Department
    Women's Collection
Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, Morris Library
    Theodore Schroeder Papers
    Phil Kaplan Collection
University of Chicago, The Joseph Regenstein Library, Special Collections
    Crerar Manuscript Collection
University of Illinois, Chicago, Library, Special Collections Department
    Ben L. Reitman Papers
University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, Library
    Baskette Collection
    Wells Collection

Indiana

Indiana State Library, Indianapolis, Indiana Division, Manuscripts Section
    William Dudley Foulke Papers
Indiana State University, Terre Haute, Cunningham Memorial Library
    Debs Collection
Indiana University, Bloomington, Lilly Library
    Upton Sinclair Collection

Iowa

Iowa State Historical Department, Des Moines, Manuscript Collection
    Autograph Collection

Kansas

Gene DeGruson (private collection), The Little Balkans Press, Pittsburg
Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka
    Albert T. Reid Collection, Topeka
The Menninger Foundation, Topeka
Shawnee County Historical Society, Topeka

Pittsburg State University, Leonard H. Axe Library, Pittsburg
Haldeman-Julius Collection

Maryland

National Library of Medicine, Bethesda

Massachusetts

American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham
Boston Public Library
Sacco and Vanzetti Collection
Boston University Libraries, Special Collections
Emma Goldman-Almeda Sperry Papers in the Anna Baron Collection
John Bracey (private collection), Amherst
Clark University, University Archives
Harvard University, The Houghton Library
Thomas H. Bell Papers
Emma Goldman Papers
Joseph Ishill Papers
Claude McKay Papers
Max Metzkow Papers
Houghton Mifflin Company Papers
Thomas Bard Moshar Papers
John Reed Papers
Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
Walter Channing III Collection
Radcliffe College, The Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Cambridge
Freda Kirchwey Papers
Leon Malmed Papers
Esther Machlin Laddon Papers
Lillian Mendelsohn Collection
Kate Richards O'Hare Collection
The Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton
Emma Goldman Collection
Henrietta Posner Collection
Lola Ridge Papers
Margaret Sanger Research Bureau Collection
Helen Tufts Bailie Collection
Randy F. Weinstein, Bookseller (private collection), Southfield

Worcester Public Library, Worcester
Worcester Telegram & Gazette, Worcester

Michigan

Detroit Public Library, Detroit
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Bentley Historical Library
- Michigan Historical Collections
- Rebecca Shelly Collection
- Sunrise Cooperative Papers
- Robert Mark Wenley Papers

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Labadie Collection
- American Literary Authors Collection
- Federico Arcos Collection
- Cassius V. Cook Papers
- James B. Elliott Papers
- Stephanus Fabijanovic Papers
- Emma Goldman Papers
- Agnes Inglis Papers
- Joseph Labadie Papers
- Max Metzkow Papers
- Mark Mrachnyi Papers
- W. S. Van Valkenburgh Papers
- Van Valkenburgh-Browne Collection
- Boris Yelensky Papers

Wayne State University, Detroit, Walter P. Reuther Library, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs
- Mary Heaton Vorse Collection

Minnesota

Minnesota Historical Society, Minneapolis
- Citizens Alliance of Minneapolis Papers
- Jean Spielman Papers

Sal Salerno (private collection), Minneapolis

Missouri

University of Missouri, Columbia
Western Historical Manuscript Collection and State Historical Society of Missouri Manuscripts Collection
Kate Richards O'Hare Collection
University of Missouri, Kansas City, Law Library
Washington University, St. Louis, John M. Olin Library Archival Collections
Kate Austin Papers

New Hampshire

Dartmouth College Library, Hanover

New Jersey

Federal Archives and Records Center, GSA, Archives Branch, Bayonne
Millie Desser Grobstein (private collection), Cranbury
Newark Public Library, Art and Music Department, Newark
Princeton University Library
Roger N. Baldwin Papers
Sylvia Beach Papers Collection
American Civil Liberties Union Archives
Peggy Lamson Oral History Interviews with Roger Baldwin
Rutgers University Libraries, Special Collections and Archives
Modern School Collection

New York

American Foundation for the Blind, Helen Keller Archives, New York
David and Ian Ballantine (private collection), Bearsville
Carl R. Baldwin (private collection), New York
The Bettman Archive, New York
Bund Archives of the Jewish Labor Movement, New York
Goldman File
The City of New York, Department of Records and Information Services, Municipal Archives
Supreme Court Indictments

Columbia University, Butler Library, Rare Book and Manuscript Library
- James O. Brown Papers
- Edna Kenton Papers
- Robert Minor Papers
- Frances Perkins Papers
- Random House Papers
- Lincoln Steffens Papers
- Lillian Wald Papers

Cornell University Libraries, Department of Manuscripts and University Archives
- Edwin A. R. Rumball-Petre Papers

Cornell University, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Labor-Management Documentation Center
- Paul Abelson Collection

International Ladies Garment Workers Union Archives, New York
- ILGWU Local 62 Collection

Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., New York

Dan Malmed (private collection), Albany

National Park Service, Statue of Liberty National Monument, New York

The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division
- America's Town Meeting of the Air, Records League of Political Education
- Joseph Barondess Papers
- Emma Goldman Papers (Stella Ballantine Collection)
- Emma Goldman Scrapbook
- Bolton Hall Papers
- International Committee for Political Prisoners Papers
- H. L. Mencken Papers
- Rose Pesotta Papers
- Schwimmer-Lloyd Collection
- Norman Thomas Papers
- Carlo Tresca Memorial Committee Records
- Benjamin R. Tucker Papers
- Lillian Wald Papers
- Frank P. Walsh Papers

New York State Archives, Albany
- Lusk Committee Records

New York University, The Tamiment Library
- John Nicholas Beffel Papers
- Alexander Berkman Papers
- Debs Scrap Books
- Emma Goldman Papers
- New York Bureau of Legal First Aid Advice Collection
- Rose Pastor Stokes Papers
- Radical Pamphlet Literature
- Isadore Wisotsky Papers

Rochester Public Library, Rochester
Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park
- Eleanor Roosevelt Papers

Syracuse University, E. S. Bird Library, John S. Mayfield Library
United Press International Photo Library, New York
YIVO Institute for Jewish Research Archives, New York
- Michael Cohn Papers
- Osherowitz Papers
- Chaim Zhitlovsky Papers

North Carolina

East Carolina University, J. Y. Joyner Library, East Carolina Manuscript Collection
- Alexander B. Coxe, Sr., Papers

Ohio

The Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland
- Franklin Club Records

Wright State University Library, Department of Archives and Special Collections, Dayton
- Local Dayton Socialist Papers

Oregon

Pietro Ferrua (private collection), Portland
Multnomah County Circuit Court Archives, Portland
Multnomah County Library, Portland
Oregon Historical Society Library, Portland
Oregonian Publishing Company, Portland
Portland Archives and Record Center, Portland

Pennsylvania

Brown Brothers, Sterling
Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia
    Dreer Collection
State Library of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg
Swarthmore College Peace Collection
    Kate Richards O'Hare Papers
    Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana Papers
University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Van Pelt Library
    Theodore Dreiser Collection
    George Seldes Collection
University of Pittsburgh Libraries, Darlington Memorial Library

Rhode Island

The Providence Journal-Bulletin, Providence
Providence Public Library, Providence

Texas

The University of Texas, Austin, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center
    Contempo Magazine Collection
    Frank Harris Collection
    Alfred A. Knopf Collection
    Ludwig Lewisohn Collection
    Edgar Lee Masters Collection
    John Rowland Collection
    Evelyn Scott Collection
    Walt Whitman Collection

Vermont

Aldrich Public Library, Barre
University of Vermont, Burlington, Bailey/Howe Memorial Library
    John Spargo Papers

Washington

Spokane Public Library, Spokane
University of Washington Libraries, Seattle, Manuscript Collections
Anna Louise Strong Collection
Minnie Parkhurst Rimer Collection

Wisconsin

Milwaukee Public Library, Milwaukee
State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison
Victor Berger Collection
John R. Commons Collection
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn Collection
Adolph Germer Collection
Theodore Herfurth Collection
Gwyneth King Roe Collection
Edward Alsworth Ross Collection
University of Wisconsin, Madison, Archives
Charles R. Van Hise Presidential Papers, 1910, General Correspondence Files
University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee, Golda Meir Library
M. Eleanor Fitzgerald Papers
Morris Fromkin Memorial Collection
Little Review Papers

Contributing International Institutions

Argentina

Biblioteca Popular "José Ingenieros," Buenos Aires

Australia

Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney
Anarchist Pamphlet Collection

Austria

Anarchiv, Vienna

Canada

Federico Arcos (private collection), Windsor, Ontario
Arthur Bartel (Bortolotti) (private collection), Rexdale, Ontario
Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec, Montreal
Canadian Jewish Congress National Archives, Montreal, Quebec
    Sam Abramson File
    Newspaper Collection
The City of Ottawa Archives, Ottawa, Ontario
The City of Winnipeg Library Department, Winnipeg, Manitoba
Paul Kennedy (private collection), Dorset, Ontario
Library of The Canadian Press, Toronto, Ontario
Library of Parliament, Ottawa, Ontario
The London Free Press, London, Ontario
London Public Libraries, London, Ontario
    The London Room
Manitoba Legislative Library, Winnipeg, Manitoba
McMaster University, Mills Memorial Library, The William Ready Division of Archives and
    Research Collections
    Bertrand Russell Archives
National Archives of Canada, Historical Research Branch, Manuscript Division, Ottawa,
    Ontario
    Rabbi Harry J. Stern Papers
National Library of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario
The Public Archives of Canada, Federal Archives Division, Archives Branch, Ottawa, Ontario
    Department of Interior Immigration Branch Records
    Royal Canadian Mounted Police Security Service
Saturday Night, Toronto, Ontario
Paula Scott, Chester, Nova Scotia
Toronto Jewish Congress/Canadian Jewish Congress Ontario Region Archives
    Yiddish Newspaper Files
University of Western Ontario, The D. B. Weldon Library, Special Collections, London,
    Ontario
University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Library
University of Guelph Library, Guelph
    Fonds Augustin Hamon

China, People's Republic of

Ba Jin (Emma Goldman Papers Project–generated correspondence and research collection), Shanghai
Bi Xiu-Shao (Emma Goldman Papers Project–generated correspondence and research collection), Shanghai
Library of Edition and Translation of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin's Works of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Beijing
Lu Jian-Bo (Emma Goldman Papers Project–generated correspondence and research collection), Si Schuan Province
Nanjing Number Two History Archives
John Tsing (Emma Goldman Papers Project–generated correspondence and research collection), Shanghai
Dr. Lu Zhe, Center for Chinese and American Studies, Nanjing University–The Johns Hopkins University

China, Republic of

Ke Kang Wu (Emma Goldman Papers Project–generated correspondence and research collection), Taipei

Denmark

The Royal Library, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Håndskriftafdelingen, Copenhagen
Karin Michaelis Papers
Universitetsbiblioteket l. afdeling, Copenhagen

France

Archives de France, Centre d'accueil et de recherche des Archives nationales, Paris
F7 Files, Sûrété Générale (1885-1943)
Archives de la Préfecture de Police, Paris
Series BA
Dossier Emma Goldmann, Numéro 124786, Cote B/A 305
Archives départmentales des Alpes-Maritimes, Nice
Archives départmentales du Var, Draguignan
Centre internationale de recherches sur l'anarchisme, Marseille
Institut Français d'Histoire Sociale, Paris
Fond Armand
Lucien Niel (May Picquerary private collection), Gagny

Germany

Archiv Trotzdem Verlag, Grafenau
Das Anarchiv, Anarchistisches Dokumentationszentrium, Wetzlar
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Bonn
Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Wiesbaden
Institut zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung, Ruhr-Universität, Bochum
Nordrhein-Westfälisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Düsseldorf
    Police Archives
Staatsarchiv, Potsdam
Zentrales Staatsarchiv der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Merseburg
    Ministerium des Innern, Emma Goldman, 1898-1911
Zentrales Staatsarchiv der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, Potsdam
    Emma Goldman; Bestand Rep. 30 Polizeipräsidium, Berlin C, Nr. 16179

Great Britain

E. E. Bissell (private collection), Warwick, England
The British Library, London, England
    Manuscript Collections
    Newspaper Library
British Theatre Association Library, London, England
General Register Office, London, England
Lord Fenner Brockway, Bushey, Hertfordshire, England
Richard Clements, Finchley, England
Eton College Library, Windsor, England
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Introductory Essays to Reels 1 through 69

An introductory essay (target) appears at the beginning of each reel of microfilm in the collection. Its purpose is to provide the historical context for the documents that follow. In addition, in the Correspondence series, the most significant correspondents in each reel and their relation to Goldman are noted. The Government Documents series also features mini-targets that explain particular court cases and legal difficulties in which Goldman was involved.

All the introductory essays, edited for consistency, are presented here to provide an overview of the material in the collection and a brief narrative of Goldman's life.

Introduction to Reel 1
Correspondence
(October 8, 1892, to December 26, 1905)

The *Emma Goldman Papers* is a collection of extant documents tracing the life and work of an eloquent and courageous proponent of freedom of expression. As an anarchist lecturer and essayist, Goldman's vision influenced a broad international audience. Her papers are a testimony to her achievements, and the Correspondence series offers the microfilm user an opportunity to witness the unfolding of her life and ideas.

Goldman was born in Kovno, Lithuania, on June 27, 1869, the first child of Abraham and Taube Goldman. A sensitive child whose home life was made miserable by a brutal father and an emotionally distant mother, Goldman struggled to escape, first through flights of imagination, then through formal education, and finally by means of emigration. The anti-Semitism prevalent in the Russian Empire limited the opportunities available to the family, and Goldman's father vented his frustration and anger at his failures on his family. His often violent assertion of authority over them led young Goldman, perhaps more acutely aware than he of the injustice of their situation, to imagine the violence directed outward against the enemies of the Jewish people in the manner of Judith, the Biblical heroine with whom she identified.

The family's move to St. Petersburg in 1881 meant more than a change of location to the young Emma. The city was in political turmoil following the assassination of Czar Alexander II. Excited by the ideas of the Russian nihilists and populists and emboldened by contact with radical students, Goldman supplemented her last few months of schooling by her own reading. One book in particular had a profound effect on her. She eagerly devoured Nikolai Chernyshevsky's novel *What Is to Be Done?* and promptly replaced her childhood heroine Judith with Chernyshevsky's modern Vera, a political organizer and founder of a cooperative.

The degree of independence exhibited by the adolescent Emma Goldman and her desire to shed the stifling yoke of tradition were particularly threatening to her father's authority. Moreover, her interest in continuing her education served no purpose in his eyes, and he attempted to arrange a marriage for his daughter when she was fifteen, a

proposition she flatly rejected. Put to work in a factory, Goldman feared the loss of her last joy in life when her beloved half-sister Helena announced she was leaving for America. Reluctantly her parents gave Goldman permission to accompany Helena, and in 1885 the two left St. Petersburg for the United States (see the passenger manifest for the steamer *Gellert*, December 29, 1885, in Government Documents, reel 56).

Goldman's romantic hopes for a better life in America were soon dashed. Settling first in Rochester, New York, she found factory work even more difficult than in Russia and joined the growing protests against the economic inequality and poor working conditions that characterized industrializing America. The crystallization of Goldman's political identity came in 1887 with the execution of the Haymarket anarchists, who were convicted on the basis of questionable evidence of a bombing at a peaceful demonstration in Chicago in support of strikers seeking an eight-hour work day. The Haymarket Martyrs, later pardoned by Governor John Peter Altgeld, inspired Goldman to take up their cause and make it her own. Still she had to contend with her family. Her parents, who had moved to Rochester to join their children, hoped that her marriage in February 1887 to Jacob Kersner, a young Russian-born Jew, would settle their unruly daughter. Goldman herself found the marriage suffocating and her family's attentions as unwelcome as ever. After divorcing Kersner, she knew that she could never live the life she wanted in Rochester, as she had lost the goodwill of everyone except Helena. In August 1889 she left for New York City.

In New York Goldman's passionate and lifelong devotion to anarchism began. From championing the eight-hour day and union organization, over the years Goldman gradually broadened the focus of her concerns. Many of the causes she addressed during fifty years of political activity—women's independence, birth control, sexual freedom, free speech, antimilitarism—became central to political discourse in the twentieth century, though advocacy of such unpopular ideas brought her scorn and sometimes imprisonment. The best testimony to her persuasive power is that many who disagreed with her anarchist philosophy, such as Roger Baldwin, a founder of the American Civil Liberties Union, nonetheless put aside their reservations and allied with her in common causes, admired her courage, and were inspired by her. The microfilm edition of Goldman's papers

includes the primary sources for readers to acquaint themselves with this extraordinary woman and her equally extraordinary times.

The surviving correspondence from Goldman's earliest years in the anarchist movement is slight, especially when compared with the voluminous correspondence of later years reproduced in this collection, when she systematically kept copies of outgoing correspondence. In addition, material from the early years was probably among her papers confiscated by the government in 1917 and subsequently lost. Nonetheless, what survives provides a fascinating glimpse into Goldman's development as a major figure in the American anarchist movement and into the networks of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century anarchists, other political radicals, and cultural figures in the United States and Europe. From her emergence as a lecturer to predominantly Yiddish- and German-speaking audiences under the tutelage of Johann Most, the leading anarchist in America, she reached out to an increasingly broader American public. Read in conjunction with the Goldman Writings (reel 47) and Government Documents (reel 56) for this period, the correspondence reveals this development.

The lecture tours Goldman undertook in the 1890s anticipated those she made after 1906 to support her journal, *Mother Earth*. In the course of her first tours, she recognized the growing interest in anarchism and other forms of radicalism beyond immigrant communities. She wrote to the anarchist paper *Solidarity* in March 1898: "I cannot tell you how many people are now interested in the philosophy of Anarchy. Even the most conservative clubs and organizations, that only a few years ago would have refused to listen to a professed Anarchist, are now inviting Anarchist lecturers. They have learned that conservatism is fast losing ground, and that nothing but advanced and radical ideas meet with popular approval."

Three major events contributed to Goldman's increasing notoriety during the period: her complicity in Alexander Berkman's attempt on the life of Henry Clay Frick, the chairman of Carnegie Steel, during the Homestead strike in July 1892; her conviction for incitement to riot during a demonstration of the unemployed in New York City in 1893 and subsequent imprisonment for a year on Blackwell's Island (see letter to the *New York*

World, August 18, 1894); and her alleged inspiration of Leon Czolgosz's assassination of President William McKinley in 1901.

Goldman met Alexander Berkman on the day she arrived in New York City from Rochester, and for the next thirty-seven years, until his death in 1936, their lives were intertwined. Passionately committed to the same ideal, they took part in countless struggles together, but neither ever lived down their involvement in the attempt on Frick's life. Berkman served fourteen years in prison for his deed, which was widely condemned even by the workers whose cause he hoped to further. Goldman explained in her autobiography that the only reason she did not accompany him to Pittsburgh was a lack of funds, but the reputation she gained by association with his act made her a target of the press and the police (see "Anarchy's Den," *New York World*, July 28, 1892, Goldman Writings, reel 47).

Goldman was attracted to anarchism as an expression of her belief that individuals blossom in a state of complete freedom, a condition that could be achieved only by the destruction of the state, the church, and private property, all of which alienated individuals from one another and their own potential, and perpetuated economic inequality. Her ideas, derived from the Russian nihilists and Peter Kropotkin's anarchism of voluntary cooperation and mutual aid, were in part an extension of the optimism of Enlightenment thought and also part of an anti-authoritarian American tradition that included writers such as Henry David Thoreau and Walt Whitman. Though Goldman identified with the more visionary aspects of anarchism and repudiated assassination after Berkman's *Attentat*, she refused to disavow those in the movement whose tactics placed them on the more violent end of the anarchist spectrum. After the attempt on Frick's life, however, she would have to answer as often for her beliefs as for her actions. To the authorities she was "an evil disposed and pernicious person ... of turbulent disposition" as one police affidavit testified after her arrest in 1893 for incitement to riot (see [People of New York v. Emma Goldman: Affidavit], 1893 Aug. 25, Government Documents, reel 56). Her alleged but unsubstantiated inspiration of Czolgosz's assassination of McKinley only bolstered her reputation as a dangerous woman, the "High Priestess of Anarchy," as one newspaper headline proclaimed (*Chicago*

Daily Tribune, Sept. 8, 1901, Goldman Writings, reel 47). For the next year she kept a comparatively low profile, even using a pseudonym, E. G. Smith, the first of many she would have to adopt during her career.

The events that brought her such notoriety, however, are only part of the story of the years from her arrival in New York in 1889 through 1905. Johann Most, editor of the *Freiheit*, was Goldman's first mentor when she joined the movement. She broke with him in 1892, however, when Most, who in his writings had often advocated revolutionary violence, nevertheless denounced Berkman's attempt on Frick's life—a break that marked a new independence for Goldman. In 1895 she embarked on a lecture tour in England and Scotland while en route to train as a nurse in Vienna. The opportunity to meet Kropotkin, whose vision of an anarchist society she embraced, Errico Malatesta, the veteran Italian anarchist, and Louise Michel, a leader of the Paris Commune, fortified her belief in her ideal. In *Living My Life*, she wrote that she felt "enriched by personal contact with my great teachers." In Europe again in 1900 she attended the Neo-Malthusian Congress in Paris. The opportunity to learn more about contraception, combined with her earlier experience as a midwife and nurse on the Lower East Side where frequent pregnancies were a source of despair for many women, made her one of the first and most persistent proponents of birth control in the United States. And during these years the fight for free speech, which Goldman championed throughout her career, garnered broader and broader support as laws directed against anarchists alarmed liberals fearful of the corrosive effect on civil liberties of such restrictive legislation. That concern led to the establishment of a permanent Free Speech League in 1903 for which Goldman acted as fund raiser (see letter from E. B. Foote, Jr., March 24, 1904).

A series of correspondence with Goldman's German anarchist comrade Max Metzkow touches not only on their mutual concern for Alexander Berkman in the Allegheny County jail but also describes her vigorous activity on the lecture circuit. She reports on those same activities to several anarchist periodicals during the period, most notably *The Firebrand* and *The Torch*. Other correspondents include Robert Erskine Ely, a political science professor at Columbia University; Walter Channing, a Massachusetts psychologist; Max Nettlau, the historian of international anarchism; Peter Kropotkin;

Augustin Hamon, a French anarchist and editor of *L'Humanité Nouvelle*; and Catherine Breshkovskaya, known as the "Grandmother of the Russian Revolution."

Introduction to Reel 2
Correspondence
(January 1, 1906, to December 10, 1908)

Between 1906 and 1908, Emma Goldman reached an ever-widening audience. The ongoing social tensions of turn-of-the-century America created a receptive public for her ideas. She launched her own magazine *Mother Earth* in 1906, shedding the low public profile she had assumed after being publicly, though falsely, implicated in the 1901 assassination of President William McKinley. Her monthly magazine joined several other influential "Little Magazines" devoted to ideas that challenged conventional beliefs. Like *The Masses* and *The Little Review*, *Mother Earth* presented a mixture of radical political thought, poetry and literary criticism. Within two years, in part to support the magazine financially, Goldman began an annual series of national lecture tours. On the lecture trail in 1908 her personal life was transformed as she developed an intense and consuming relationship with her new lover and soon-to-become manager, Ben Reitman.

Goldman's anarchist perspective naturally gave the magazine a unique flavor. She celebrated the individual's right to self-expression. She liberally reprinted the poetry and prose of non-anarchist writers if they harmonized with anarchist sentiments. *Mother Earth* republished pieces by authors as diverse as Peter Kropotkin, Michael Bakunin, William Morris, Walt Whitman, Henry David Thoreau, Jack London, Mary Wollstonecraft, and Thomas Paine. Yet her unifying anarchist message meant that *Mother Earth* overlooked much of the literary talent found in other "Little Magazines." *Mother Earth* walked slightly out of step with modernism. By eschewing avant-gardism Goldman hoped to reach a wider popular audience.

The magazine allowed her to adapt the forthright, personal manner of her lectures to political editorials and reports on her activities. *Mother Earth* provided news and analysis of both national and international events of particular interest to anarchists and published letters and articles from a wide circle of friends and contacts abroad.

Production and day-to-day editorial responsibilities of the magazine fell to a close circle of comrades that included Hippolyte Havel, Max Baginski, Harry Kelly, and especially Alexander Berkman, who became the magazine's editor in 1908. Goldman

persuaded Berkman to join the staff to help him through the difficult period following his release from prison in May 1906. Until his departure in 1915, his extraordinary organizational skills and sharp critical eye contributed to the success of the magazine.

The one European trip Goldman made during these years was of necessity the last of her international tours until her deportation from the United States in 1919. In 1907 she served as an American delegate to the International Anarchist Conference in Amsterdam and promoted her ideas and her magazine in Paris, London, and other European cities. While in England she learned that U.S. authorities intended to use recent anti-anarchist laws to bar her reentry. Though she managed to return surreptitiously through Canada, she could no longer chance leaving the United States, the home base of her political work.

In 1908 Goldman embarked upon the first of her six-month lecture tours of the United States which were to become annual events between 1908 and 1917. She spoke on anarchism and a wide range of subjects, from birth control to the modern drama. Wherever Goldman lectured around the country she provoked strong reactions. Her reputation as a speaker guaranteed her not only large audiences but also the close attention of local police and government agents. Unintimidated, she insisted always on the broadest interpretation of the right to free speech. These conflicts fueled her ongoing interest in free speech and made her a leader of the burgeoning free speech movement of the early twentieth century.

Goldman became an uncompromising advocate of free speech at a time when the government applied a severely restrictive interpretation of the First Amendment. In 1903, she helped found the Free Speech League and worked closely with lawyer Theodore Schroeder, among other civil libertarians who recognized the threats posed to First Amendment freedoms. Her courage and willingness to defend free speech without fear of personal risk inspired others to action—most notably Roger Baldwin, a founding member of the American Civil Liberties Union (1920).

Police repression in Chicago in March 1908 led to Goldman's meeting with Dr. Ben L. Reitman, a self-avowed hobo. When police harassment left Goldman with no place to lecture, Reitman offered her his "Hobo Hall," where he ran a college for itinerant unemployed hobos. The instant attraction between two flamboyant social activists

blossomed into the most intense relationship of their lives. His subsequent tour with Goldman marked the beginning of a ten-year career as her road manager.

Passionate, emotional letters between Goldman and Reitman dominate the early correspondence. Beginning in March 1908, she wrote to him almost daily; his responses, for the most part, have been lost. The content, frequency, and length of the correspondence show that the relationship consumed Goldman emotionally and sexually. Her letters tell the story of her sexual awakening, yet also reveal her struggle to reconcile her dependence on Reitman with the ideal of freedom in love, an ideal central to the anarchist vision.

Goldman's surviving letters detail her emotional travails during the period, but give only glimpses into her tireless involvement in the political arena. Because the Department of Justice confiscated Goldman's personal files and subsequently misplaced them, very little correspondence beyond that with Reitman remains for these years. The early correspondence between Goldman and Leon Malmed (a Russian emigré and former New York City cigarmaker who spent most of his life managing his Albany delicatessen), shows the early stages of their decades-long friendship and camaraderie. Malmed met Goldman in a local Albany anarchist group in 1906 and soon after began to arrange her upstate New York lecture tours and to contribute and solicit funds to support *Mother Earth*.

Other correspondence during these years reveals Goldman's wide range of contacts, including world-renowned anarchist theorist Peter Kropotkin; Buffalo anarchist Max Metzkow; anarchist historian Max Nettlau; the poet Lola Ridge; single-taxer Bolton Hall; and Joseph Labadie, a Detroit anarchist, pioneer of the Michigan labor movement, and later a strong supporter of the Socialist party.

Introduction to Reels 3 through 5
Correspondence
(January 1, 1909, to February 28, 1912)

Between 1909 and 1912, Emma Goldman continued to speak out on a wide range of issues from free speech to women's rights. Her annual cross-country tours remained important forums for her ideas. Their success, due in part to Ben Reitman's organizational talent, was acknowledged in Goldman's correspondence with him and in *Mother Earth*. Goldman also disseminated her ideas through her writings. During the stretches of weeks she spent at her country retreat in Ossining, New York, she revised selected lectures and essays for publication as *Anarchism and Other Essays* (1910).

Goldman encountered mounting harassment on the road. In January 1909, San Francisco police arrested and charged her with plotting "conspiracy and riot, making unlawful threats to use force and violence and disturbing the public peace." Later in the year, officials in New York City, New Haven, Connecticut, East Orange, New Jersey, Lynn and Worcester, Massachusetts, Burlington, Vermont, and Philadelphia suppressed her meetings. These attempts to stifle Goldman's message prompted her increasing attention to free speech.

Significant events concerning anarchists in Spain, Japan, and Mexico also engaged Goldman. Goldman organized demonstrations to protest Spain's execution of the libertarian Spanish educator Francisco Ferrer on October 12, 1909. In recognition of Ferrer's role as a pioneer of the Modern School Movement, she played a leading part in founding the Francisco Ferrer Association (June 1910) to propagate Ferrer's educational ideals. On October 13, 1911, Goldman and others interested in the Modern School Movement opened a day school in New York City modeled on Ferrer's Escuela Moderna in Barcelona.

In November 1910, the Japanese government imprisoned Kotoku Shusui for plotting the death of the Emperor. (Kotoku was a founding member of the Japanese socialist movement who was later strongly influenced by anarchist ideas.) The trumped-up charges followed years of repression of the Japanese socialist and anarchist movements. Goldman and other anarchists campaigned to save Kotoku's life. She wrote to many people,

including socialist author Jack London and public health nurse and settlement worker Lillian Wald, to enlist their aid in Kotoku's defense. In January 1911, despite an international outcry and the flimsy evidence in the case, Japan put to death Kotoku and several alleged co-conspirators.

In addition to following events in Japan, from 1907 onwards *Mother Earth* reported on developments in Mexico. Goldman probably met Ricardo Flores Magón, a leading Mexican anarcho-syndicalist, in St. Louis, Missouri, sometime in 1905 or 1906, after Mexico exiled him. Following the revolutionary ferment that resulted in the downfall of Porfirio Díaz in 1911, Goldman strongly supported the efforts of Magón to move the revolution in an anarcho-syndicalist direction. The English-language editor of Magón's *Regeneración*, William C. Owen, contributed lengthy and informative articles on the Mexican Revolution to *Mother Earth*. Magón himself wrote for the magazine; some of his direct correspondence with Goldman appeared there and in other anarchist publications, but the rest has been lost.

The Correspondence series for these years consists mainly of letters between Goldman and Reitman. Numerous anguished and depressed letters reflect the constant turmoil of their relationship. There are recurring references to Reitman's infidelities and Goldman's attempt to reconcile her emotional and sexual dependence on Reitman with her political commitment to free love.

The correspondence series sheds little light on Goldman's public life, with the exceptions noted above. Her public life and the issues that concerned her are detailed in *Mother Earth*, including the events in Spain, Mexico, and Japan, as well as her free speech struggles. The Correspondence series includes Goldman's letters to *Mother Earth* while "en route," an important record of her activities while on tour.

Goldman's letters from this period provide occasional glimpses into her public life. Such correspondence includes Goldman's letters to writer Nunya Seldes; friend and financial supporter Meyer Shapiro; socialist writer Jack London; and Roger Baldwin, then a social worker and civic leader in St. Louis, Missouri. Goldman maintained a cordial friendship with Jack London in 1910 and 1911.

Introduction to Reels 6 and 7
Correspondence
(March 1, 1912, to March 31, 1914)

Emma Goldman spent half of 1912 and 1913 on national lecture tours, as she had since 1908. It was an intense and emotionally difficult period for her. She completed publication arrangements for Alexander Berkman's *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist* in early 1912. During her difficult tour of that year, she learned that her comrade Voltairine de Cleyre had died. Her relationship with Ben Reitman deteriorated amidst the trauma and recriminations following his ordeal at the hands of San Diego vigilantes, and Reitman's intensifying devotion to his mother during 1913 strained relations even further.

Though revealing much about Goldman's emotional life, the correspondence from these years gives little insight into her public activities. Personal letters between Goldman and Reitman, and from her newfound friend, Almeda Sperry, dominate the correspondence. Goldman's lecture program, however, shows that she addressed her usual wide range of topics such as art, drama, venereal disease, marriage, and politics. She increasingly devoted lectures to modern drama, from which she drew political lessons for her middle-class audiences as well as for working-class audiences usually isolated from "high culture." Goldman believed that the modern drama was a powerful vehicle for combining the quest for personal and political freedom and took her message wherever she could find an audience, even lecturing on the subject in a coal mine. In 1913 alone she delivered six lectures on the topic in New York City in January and February, and nine in Los Angeles between June 16 and July 2. Her drama lectures would culminate in a book, *The Social Significance of the Modern Drama* (1914). Her focus on drama did not stop her from speaking out repeatedly on what she viewed as the most important political issue of the time: the dangers of "political socialism"—a timely topic as the Socialist party of America reached the apex of its electoral power in 1912.

In contrast to the undisguised contempt with which she treated American socialism, she felt encouraged by the growth of syndicalism in Europe and the United States. The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), though in existence since 1905, finally attracted

the attention of Goldman and other anarchists through its successes in the American West. The organization's role in the large and well-publicized strikes of textile workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts (1912), and Paterson, New Jersey (1913), argued for syndicalism's potential strength in the East as well. Goldman saw anarchism and syndicalism as complementary: a truly free society could flourish when syndicalists overthrew capitalism. In 1913 she gave her lecture, "Syndicalism—The Modern Menace to Capitalism" at almost every venue. As syndicalism became her most common lecture topic during 1913, she published a two-part essay on the subject in the January and February issues of *Mother Earth*.

Goldman felt a natural affinity with the IWW's free speech campaigns, waged since 1909, having fought her own battles on that issue. The scale, militancy, and persistence of the IWW's free speech crusade surpassed any previous campaign. Hundreds of IWW members (Wobblies) descended upon such places as Missoula, Montana, Spokane, Washington, and Fresno, California, to defy, in the face of imprisonment and vigilante violence, local ordinances that denied them the right to speak and organize.

The free speech campaigns of Goldman, Reitman, and the IWW converged in 1912 in one of the most traumatic episodes of her always eventful speaking tours. In San Diego, the Wobblies, along with several liberal and radical groups in the city's Free Speech League, tried to force the City Council to rescind a ban on downtown soapbox orators. By the time Goldman and Reitman arrived on the scene on May 14, hundreds of people, most of them Wobblies, had been arrested and beaten by vigilantes and law enforcement officials. It took only a few hours for the mob to turn on Reitman; they abducted him to the desert where they stripped, beat, and humiliated him, then finished with a coating of tar and sagebrush. With his pride as injured as his body, Reitman took a train to Los Angeles and rejoined Goldman, whom the police had escorted out of San Diego.

Unfortunately, few letters directly concern the San Diego incident. Only one provides a brief sketch of the episode (May 16, 1912). The full account of the incident, with analysis and comment, appears in the June 1912 edition of *Mother Earth*. The indirect effect of the San Diego episode, however, reverberates through the Goldman-Reitman relationship of the period. Reitman voiced, publicly and privately, doubts about his

courage and his manhood in the face of vigilante action; Goldman resented his public airing of the issue and his private obsession with it. Perhaps not incidentally, as Reitman sought solace through increased contact with his mother in the latter part of 1913, he further estranged Goldman.

On a different emotional plane, Almeda Sperry's letters reveal another side to Goldman's personal relationships. Born into a working-class background in Pittsburgh in 1879, Sperry turned to prostitution in her youth. By the time she met Goldman in 1912, Sperry had been a union organizer, a contributor to the radical press, and a strong advocate of sex education for children. Troubled by her relationship with her husband and by the conformity expected of her as a woman in a small town, Sperry initially looked to Goldman as a source of intellectual inspiration and spiritual strength. Sperry's letters to Goldman reveal a complex sexual attraction. Because Goldman's letters to Sperry have not been located, her experience of this relationship remains largely unknown.
Goldman's letters to others, however, reveal that both women were open with each other about issues of sexuality. During this period, Goldman lectured and wrote more extensively on the subject of homosexuality.

Introduction to Reels 8 and 9
Correspondence
(April 1, 1914, to June 30, 1916)

Between 1914 and 1916, the focus of Goldman's political activities and concerns shifted notably. Mounting public debate on the issue of birth control prompted Goldman to increase her efforts in behalf of a cause she had long supported. Meanwhile, the United States' inexorable entanglement in World War I impelled Goldman to redouble her anti-militarism campaign.

Goldman had advocated birth control long before Margaret Sanger and others helped popularize the movement in 1915. As a nurse and midwife on New York's Lower East Side in the 1890s, Goldman learned firsthand of poor families' need for birth control. She believed that smaller families would help ameliorate poverty as well as offer some promise for women's sexual and economic self-determination. The Paris Malthusian Congress she attended in 1900 affirmed her commitment to disseminating information on birth control.

Correspondence from April to June 1914 evidences the support Goldman gave to Margaret Sanger and her magazine, *The Woman Rebel*. Despite this cordial beginning, tensions arose between the two activists by late 1915. Letters from the period, especially a particularly acerbic one from Sanger's husband (March 14, 1916), reflect their deteriorating relations.

The Correspondence series for these years sheds little light on Goldman's anti-militarist activities. She made the issue a regular feature of her lectures just before the outbreak of the war in Europe. Reports in *Mother Earth* reveal the extent of her and her comrades' anti-militarist agitation and the large audiences her lectures on the topic drew.

Goldman's anti-militarist and birth control campaigns brought her closer to prominent liberals, pacifists, and socialists of the Progressive Era. She corresponded with such notables as Helen Keller; writers Anna Strunsky Walling and Sara Bard Field; single-taxer Bolton Hall; free speech lawyer Theodore Schroeder; and Harry Weinberger, who was soon to become Goldman's attorney.

Although Goldman-Reitman letters continue to dominate the correspondence in this period, the series after 1915 becomes more diverse and reflective of Goldman's public life. To her nationwide network of comrades and supporters she wrote several lengthy letters that describe her political activities and express her views on a host of subjects. Such letters abound in her communications with Ellen Kennan, a Denver schoolteacher; W. S. Van Valkenburgh, an upstate New York socialist and editor; Agnes Inglis, a social worker and anarchist sympathizer from a wealthy Ann Arbor, Michigan, family; and Jacob Margolis, a radical Pittsburgh lawyer. Goldman also resumed correspondence with her old friend Leon Malmed, whom she successfully, if only temporarily, coaxed back into anarchist circles.

Introduction to Reels 10 and 11
Correspondence
(July 1, 1916, to September 30, 1919)

In the summer of 1916, Goldman embarked on her last major lecture tour before her eighteen-month imprisonment, and subsequent deportation in 1919. Her lectures on birth control and anti-militarism continued to attract large audiences. With U.S. involvement in World War I imminent, however, Goldman and other dissidents faced increasing government hostility and repression.

Goldman happened to be in San Francisco on July 26, 1916, when a bomb exploded during a Preparedness Day parade, killing eight people and wounding forty others. Despite flimsy evidence against them, labor organizers Thomas Mooney and Warren Billings were soon arrested and charged with responsibility for the bombing. Suspicion also fell on Goldman and Alexander Berkman, who had moved to San Francisco the previous year to publish the weekly anarchist paper *The Blast*. Undaunted, Goldman and Berkman founded the first Mooney-Billings Defense Committee. Almost a year later, long after Goldman and Berkman had returned to New York, Berkman was indicted in connection with the bombing by the San Francisco authorities. Goldman immediately organized a publicity committee to keep the state of California from extraditing Berkman.

Goldman's anti-militarist activities led to further legal battles, especially after U.S. entry into World War I in April 1917. In May 1917 she founded the No-Conscription League. A speech she gave on behalf of this organization led to her and Berkman's arrest on June 15 for violating the Draft Act. In July, the New York Federal District Court found the two guilty of "a conspiracy to induce persons not to register" and sentenced them to two years in prison. Goldman remained free on bail while their attorney, Harry Weinberger, appealed the case to the U.S. Supreme Court which, in January 1918, upheld both convictions and declared the Draft Act constitutional. Under another piece of war emergency legislation, the Espionage Act, the Post Office banned from the mails *Mother Earth* and other publications that spoke out against U.S. involvement in the war. In

February 1918, federal officials escorted Goldman to the Missouri State Penitentiary in Jefferson City where she remained until her release on September 27, 1919.

Prior to her imprisonment, Goldman's correspondence refers to her anti-militarist activities and absorption in her own legal defense and that of others, including Ben Reitman's two indictments for disseminating birth control literature. At first, encouraged by the strength of anti-preparedness sentiment, she dismissed the significance of the growing patriotic fervor as working-class jingoism coerced and created by those who benefitted from military involvement (see Goldman to W. S. Van Valkenburgh, August 29, 1916). After the U.S. declaration of war and the galvanizing of public opinion in support of that decision Goldman realized that the tide had turned as she watched the level of political repression in the United States mount. Giving up her original hope of fostering a radical transformation in the United States, she sought solace in the promise of the Russian revolution. She discusses her fears about her future and the future of U.S. politics and, for the first time, the Russian upheaval, in her March 31, 1917, letter to Agnes Inglis. The Goldman-Inglis correspondence for May 1917 provides glimpses into Goldman's anti-conscription campaign.

Goldman's relatively scant correspondence with Reitman in these years testifies to the waning of their relationship. Though he joined her on the 1916 tour, he increasingly yearned for a more settled life. On the tour, he confessed his long-standing affair with the English suffragist, Anna Martindale. Shortly after the tour, Reitman resumed his medical practice in Chicago, and in February 1918 Martindale gave birth to their first child. The correspondence sheds little light on the demise of the turbulent Goldman-Reitman relationship, as the volume of letters diminishes and their tone becomes distant and businesslike.

The number of letters with all correspondents decreased even further when Goldman entered prison, because prison authorities restricted the volume and length of her (and other prisoners') correspondence. She was permitted to write at least one letter per week to her attorney Harry Weinberger. Most weeks she wrote to her niece, Stella Ballantine, to whom she delegated full responsibility for managing her affairs. Goldman crammed into her weekly paper ration of two sheets vivid descriptions of her experiences in jail and

extensive political analysis of current events. She also strived to maintain contact with her many friends, using Ballantine as an intermediary.

Several important items of correspondence survive for the period spanning Goldman's stay in the Missouri State Penitentiary. From prison she addressed Catherine Breshkovskaya's harsh anti-Bolshevism, which foreshadowed some of Goldman's own later sentiments (March 19, 1919). Helen Keller wrote a letter of support to Goldman that Ballantine and M. Eleanor Fitzgerald published in their *Mother Earth Bulletin*, the weekly that replaced Goldman's monthly for a short time before it too was banned by the Post Office acting under the authority of the Espionage Act of 1917. For the period before Goldman's imprisonment, particularly informative correspondence exists with three confidants: Agnes Inglis, a social worker and anarchist from Ann Arbor, Michigan; W. S. Van Valkenburgh, an upstate New York socialist and editor; and Ellen Kennan, a Denver school teacher who moved to New York in 1918.

The Government Document series for 1917-1919 strongly complements the correspondence. That series includes transcripts of Goldman's 1917 trial; government agents' reports on her speeches and activities; government transcripts of letters to, from, and about Goldman; and discussions by postal authorities concerning their objections to specific Goldman writings.

Introduction to Reel 12
Correspondence
(October 1, 1919, to April 30, 1922)

In late 1919, Goldman was deported from the United States to the Soviet Union where she stayed for almost two years to observe and scrutinize the path of the Bolshevik Revolution in which she originally hoped to participate. The U.S. Justice Department began planning Goldman's deportation months before her release from prison in September 1919. J. Edgar Hoover, then a special assistant to the attorney general, prepared the case against Goldman using the 1918 Immigration Act, which allowed the government to deport aliens who belonged to organizations advocating sabotage or revolution. Goldman embarked on a brief lecture tour to the Midwest (speaking on the repression of dissent in the United States and the promise of the Russian Revolution) between her appearance before immigration officials on October 27, 1919, and her incarceration on Ellis Island on December 5. On December 21, 1919, government officials herded Goldman, Berkman, and 247 other immigrant radicals onto the S.S. *Buford* to Soviet Russia via Finland.

After a warm welcome in Petrograd on January 19, 1920, Goldman and Berkman visited Petrograd and Moscow to learn firsthand of the progress of the revolution. In the summer, they traveled through the Ukraine to collect artifacts for the Petrograd Museum of the Revolution. The poverty and social dislocation she discovered shocked her, but she attributed the dire situation to five years of war, the Allied blockade, and the counterrevolution of the White armies. Despite her acceptance of the draconian policies of "war communism," she began to have private misgivings about the regime, particularly its suppression of dissent, evidenced by the internment and execution of anarchists who had fought for the revolution with the Bolsheviks. The brutal suppression of the Kronstadt rebellion in March 1921 compelled Goldman and Berkman to go public with their criticisms of the Bolsheviks. Realizing the incompatibility of anarchism and Bolshevism, Goldman and Berkman obtained Soviet passports in November 1921 and crossed into Latvia, never to return.

Thus began a search for political asylum that for Goldman lasted several years and for Berkman the remainder of his life. In January 1922, Latvia refused to extend their visas, so they departed for Stockholm, where, after great trouble, they secured only temporary visas. Both desperately sought a country that would grant them more permanent residence. In late April 1922, Goldman entered Germany under a temporary permit.

A number of important letters chronicle the period surrounding Goldman's deportation from the United States. On November 1, 1919, Goldman circulated several copies of a letter to many friends and acquaintances proclaiming her determination to continue her work. Awaiting deportation at Ellis Island in December, she penned a series of farewell letters, including a poignant one to Reitman (December 19, 1919). Four days earlier, the unofficial Russian ambassador to the United States, Ludwig A. Martens, extended the Soviet invitation to the deportees and promised that "Everybody, be he a bourgeois, an anarchist, a Socialist or a Communist is in Free Russia at liberty to express his beliefs as long as he does not engage himself in active cooperation with the enemies of the Russian workers" (December 15, 1919).

Once again, in Russia as in the Jefferson City penitentiary, Goldman corresponded most frequently with her niece, Stella Ballantine. Goldman's letters to Ballantine and others such as the British writer Frank Harris capture Goldman's excitement, adventure, loneliness, sense of separation from American friends and family, and, only very subtly and rarely, her growing doubts about the Bolsheviks. Though she remained cryptic out of fear of having her criticism used by the Revolution's enemies and the suspicion that her hosts read her mail, she occasionally admonished her niece to "read between the lines."

Her actions in Soviet Russia did not match the circumspection of her letters abroad. Two months after their arrival, she and Berkman began to press the Bolshevik leadership to allay their misgivings. They met Lenin in February or early March 1920 with the help of Angelica Balabanoff, secretary of the Third International. Two March 1920 letters that follow the interview respectively query Lenin about Soviet treatment of anarchists and lay out the principles of a new organization, "The Russian Friends of American Freedom." Another letter, written nearly a year later (March 5, 1921) to Gregorii Zinoviev, expresses concern about the fate of the Kronstadt rebels.

As soon as they left Russia, Goldman and Berkman began their anti-Bolshevik campaign in letters, pamphlets, and newspapers. One of the earliest of these, a letter to the British anarchist newspaper *Freedom* (January 7, 1922), exemplifies their sweeping indictment of the Soviets. In a controversial move that some of her friends believed compromised her integrity, Goldman went to the mass-market press when she published a series of articles in the *New York World* that criticized the Bolshevik regime (see Goldman Writings series). Several letters portray her deliberations and those of her friends in taking this step.

The reel ends with four letters from Goldman's new lover Arthur Svensson. Goldman met Svensson, a Swedish anarchist, during her brief stay in Stockholm while she awaited her German visa.

Introduction to Reel 13
Correspondence
(May 1, 1922, to September 30, 1924)

After leaving Sweden in April 1922, Goldman settled in Berlin where she joined a thriving community of Russian exiles and avant-garde artists and writers. During these years, she spent much of her time with anarchist comrades Alexander Berkman and Rudolf and Milly Rocker, and with her niece, Stella Ballantine. Arthur Svensson, her young Swedish lover, joined her in Berlin in May 1922, but the romance soon faded. In a pained and emotional letter (October 1, 1922), Goldman asked the young Svensson to leave even as she lamented the loss of a man in her life.

That summer, Goldman immersed herself in writing *My Two Years in Russia*, chronicling her gradual realization that the Bolshevik's suppression of dissent had spoiled the promise of the 1917 revolution. The book's controversial anti-Sovietism would drive a wedge between Goldman and many of her comrades on the Left. Publishing complications further aggravated the situation; when Doubleday released the book in the United States the following year, they omitted the second half of the manuscript and changed the title to *My Disillusionment in Russia*—all without Goldman's permission. To make matters worse, Doubleday almost immediately sold the publishing rights for future editions. The correspondence in late 1923 and 1924 reveals the comedy of errors that ensued as Goldman and her attorney Harry Weinberger tried to redress their grievances. Eventually the missing chapters appeared in a separate volume titled *My Further Disillusionment in Russia*.

By early 1924, Goldman found life in Berlin increasingly difficult. Her attempts to sell articles to the American press were largely unsuccessful, and fear of expulsion thwarted her public-speaking career. Pressured by skyrocketing inflation and a limited means of earning a living, Goldman hoped to end her "purposeless existence" by moving to England. With the help of British writer and editor Frank Harris, she procured a visa for England where she planned to begin work on her next book. Stopping first in Paris, Goldman arrived in London in August 1924.

During this period, Goldman corresponded regularly with Max Nettlau, an anarchist historian living in Vienna; Ellen Kennan, a Denver school teacher; Leon Malmed, her long-time friend in Albany, New York; Stella Ballantine, her niece; and Roger Baldwin, cofounder of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Introduction to Reels 14 and 15
Correspondence
(October 1, 1924, to April 30, 1926)

From September 1924 through April 1926, Emma Goldman lived in exile in England where she hoped to revive her career as a writer and lecturer. Upon her arrival in London, she received an enthusiastic welcome from Labourites, socialists, and other British luminaries. At a large reception sponsored by Bertrand Russell, Rebecca West, and Edward Carpenter in November 1924, Goldman made her debut in left-wing English society. British fascination with Goldman soon cooled, however, as she tenaciously pursued her anti-Bolshevik work. While her stand on the Soviet Union alienated much of the British Left, Goldman refused to collaborate with right-wing elements who shared her anti-Bolshevik sentiments. As Goldman described it, she was perpetually "caught between two fires."

The Russian controversy dominates the correspondence during these years (see especially the letters from Goldman to Bertrand Russell, February 9, 1925, and John Turner, May 1, 1925). Her staunch anti-Sovietism also caused a growing rift between Goldman and American Civil Liberties Union cofounder Roger Baldwin. Working on behalf of Soviet political prisoners, Baldwin solicited Goldman and Alexander Berkman to help in compiling documentation for *Letters from Russian Prisons* in 1925. Goldman's blanket condemnation of the Soviet state troubled Baldwin, who limited his criticism to civil rights issues (see letter to Baldwin, April 20, 1925).

By 1925, Goldman had grown frustrated with her anti-Soviet activity which she characterized as a "disastrous defeat." Later that year, she developed a series of drama lectures and toured the country under the sponsorship of the British Drama League. She also published a British edition of *My Two Years in Russia* with a new introduction by writer and friend Rebecca West. On the whole, though, her attempts to earn a living through writing and speaking were only marginally successful.

In order to obtain a British passport, in June 1925 Goldman married James Colton, a Welsh coal miner and long-time comrade. This paper marriage gave Goldman citizenship rights which allowed her to travel to France that winter. After returning to London for a

few months, Goldman returned to southern France where she joined Alexander Berkman in St. Tropez in May 1926. She did not visit England again for any extensive period until 1933.

During these years Goldman renewed contact with her ex-lover Ben Reitman. Their correspondence was as stormy as ever, and old tensions plagued Reitman's visit with Goldman in 1926 (see letter to Reitman, April 15, 1926). Other correspondents in these reels include her life-long anarchist comrade Alexander Berkman; Goldman's attorney Harry Weinberger; historian Samuel Eliot Morison; psychologist Havelock Ellis; philosopher Bertrand Russell; and British writers Frank Harris and Rebecca West. Among the notable women correspondents are socialist prison reformer Kate Richards O'Hare; American feminist and writer Agnes Smedley; and French author and socialist exile Odette Kuen.

Introduction to Reels 16 through 19
Correspondence
(May 1, 1926, to February 28, 1928)

Frustrated with her work in England, Emma Goldman journeyed to Canada in 1926 where she hoped to gain temporary reentry to the United States. Before leaving Europe she spent the summer in southern France with Alexander Berkman while she completed her book manuscript, "Foremost Russian Dramatists: Their Life and Work" (unpublished). In October 1926, with the financial help of her long-time friend Leon Malmed, she left for Montreal.

On tour in Canada during the next six months, Goldman lectured on birth control, free speech, drama, and the repression of Russian political prisoners. Speaking in Montreal, Toronto, and several cities in western Canada, she encountered continuing hostility from leftists concerning her views on the Soviet Union. Though Communist party members regularly disrupted her meetings, she persisted in her anti-Soviet work and organized women's groups to raise money in support of political prisoners.

For the first time in several years, Goldman became involved in an intense romantic relationship. Following a weekend rendezvous at Napierville, Goldman and her devoted admirer Leon Malmed began a clandestine and long-distance affair. Malmed, a shopkeeper in Albany, New York, frequently visited Goldman in Canada and concealed the affair from his wife and family. These reels contain her voluminous and emotional correspondence with him during this period. Departing from her usual role as "Mommy" evidenced in the Reitman correspondence, she signed her letters to Malmed, "your Maidale" ("little girl" in Yiddish).

Settling in Toronto in March 1927, Goldman found a warm and enthusiastic group of supporters. Joe and Sophie Desser, Esther and Ben Laddon, and a number of local Jewish comrades shared their homes and hospitality with her while helping to organize her meetings. At the same time, Goldman grew increasingly dissatisfied with her relationship with Malmed. His preoccupation with family and business matters prevented him from visiting her regularly, while an eye illness temporarily disabled him that spring. The crowning blow came in May when Malmed's wife discovered Goldman's love letters. In a

scathing letter Goldman castigated Malmed for his carelessness and for endangering her chances of gaining reentry to the United States (May 14, 1927).

Goldman's depression persisted through the summer, culminating in her despair over the Sacco and Vanzetti executions that August. In a moving letter to Bartolomeo Vanzetti (July 19, 1927), she praised their "unflinching courage" and compared the Italian immigrant anarchists to the Haymarket martyrs of 1887. Although Goldman organized and addressed a meeting on their behalf in Toronto, she felt cut off from protest activities in America. Lamenting her uselessness and isolation, she described her frustrations in a poignant letter to friend and writer Evelyn Scott (September 3, 1927).

Goldman's hopes of visiting the United States had been dashed that spring when immigration authorities denied her visa request. Soon after, she began to consider more seriously her friends' suggestions that she write her memoirs. With the help of W. S. Van Valkenburgh, Howard Young, and Peggy Guggenheim, who established a sustaining fund for her, Goldman returned to southern France in February 1928 to begin work on her autobiography.

During these years, Goldman corresponded regularly with her close friend and comrade Alexander Berkman; anarchist historian Max Nettlau; American author Evelyn Scott; journalist W. S. Van Valkenburgh; New York attorney Arthur Leonard Ross; and anarchist publisher Joseph Ishill. The reels include occasional letters between Goldman and such notable figures as social critic and publisher H. L. Mencken; novelist Theodore Dreiser; and philanthropists Peggy Guggenheim and Nancy, Lady Astor. Reels 18 and 19 also feature interesting correspondence with Ba Jin, the Chinese anarchist and renowned author who looked to Goldman for advice and inspiration.

Introduction to Reels 20 and 21
Correspondence
(March 1, 1928, to September 30, 1929)

Goldman arrived in Paris in February 1928 with $2,500 and a burning desire to write her autobiography. With this sustaining fund raised by W. S. Van Valkenburgh, an American journalist, Howard Young, a writer and brother of the poet Edna St. Vincent Millay, and philanthropist Peggy Guggenheim, Goldman embarked on what would become a two-year writing project. For this purpose, she rented a cottage in St. Tropez where she and Alexander Berkman had spent the summer in 1926. Before leaving Paris, she also secured the services of a young American writer, Emily Holmes Coleman (known as Demi), who would work tirelessly as a live-in editor, secretary, and companion.

Over the next year in southern France, Goldman prepared the first chapters of her autobiography. The experience of reliving her past proved emotionally intense and draining and reopened old personal and political wounds. Goldman's correspondence during this period, particularly with Alexander Berkman and Ben Reitman, reflects this turmoil. The confiscation and loss of her personal papers by the Department of Justice in 1917 further complicated the project. To help reconstruct her early years, Goldman wrote to friends in America asking for old letters, newspaper clippings, and personal recollections. Two people were especially helpful in this regard: W. S. Van Valkenburgh, who served as her New York research assistant and Agnes Inglis, the curator of the Labadie Collection at the University of Michigan where a wealth of materials documenting the history of American anarchism was located. Goldman also solicited biographical information from friends and comrades, some of which appears in the Correspondence series.

For the first time in many years, Goldman settled into a stable home at Bon Esprit, her cottage in St. Tropez. Following a short vacation in Spain and Paris in late 1928 and early 1929, she returned home in late January to discover that several friends had raised money to buy the house. With the financial help of philanthropist Peggy Guggenheim, her attorney Arthur Leonard Ross, and wealthy admirer Mark Dix, Goldman purchased Bon Esprit, where she would live intermittently for the next eight years.

Secure in her new home, Goldman found some temporary respite from her chronic financial woes. That summer, several publishers expressed keen interest in her book manuscript. Working with Arthur Leonard Ross and her nephew Saxe Commins, already an editor at Liveright publishers, Goldman signed a contract with Alfred A. Knopf and received a hefty $4,000 advance. Contract negotiations dominate the voluminous correspondence of August and September 1929.

Other frequent correspondents in these reels include pacifist-socialist Unitarian minister John Haynes Holmes; noted American novelist Theodore Dreiser; anarchist publisher Joseph Ishill; journalist and human rights activist Henry Alsberg; writer and close friend Evelyn Scott; anarchist historian Max Nettlau; and British Labour leader John Turner.

Introduction to Reels 22 through 24
Correspondence
(October 1, 1929, to September 30, 1931)

On October 2, 1929, Emma Goldman accepted the terms of Alfred A. Knopf's contract to publish her autobiography. Her friend and attorney Arthur Leonard Ross, who had negotiated on her behalf, wired her to "put all business behind you and get to work on [the] manuscript" (October 2, 1931). Until its publication two years later, Goldman devoted almost all her energy to her autobiography, writing and revising the manuscript in Paris for the first eight months of this period and finishing it at her cottage in St. Tropez.

Goldman continued to find writing arduous. By May 1930, she reported to Ross that she felt "mentally worn out and simply not in a condition to continue writing" (May 2, 1930). She proposed to Knopf that she end the already lengthy manuscript with her arrival in Russia in January 1920. Knopf insisted, however, that she abide by her original agreement to bring her life story up to the present. Goldman grudgingly acquiesced. In February 1931 she mailed the last installment of the manuscript, comprised of a long chapter on her experiences in Russia and a short account of her subsequent years of exile. With the additional material on the previous decade of her life, the autobiography ran to nearly one thousand typeset pages, prompting Knopf to publish it in two volumes. Much to Goldman's consternation, the price was set at $7.50 instead of the $5.00 previously specified in the contract. Goldman feared that the higher price would put the book beyond the reach of most of her readership, especially in depression-ravaged America.

While finishing her autobiography, Goldman continued to receive moral support and practical assistance from friends and comrades. Among others, Agnes Inglis, W. S. Van Valkenburgh, Alexander Berkman, Ben Reitman, Leon Malmed, and Max Nettlau supplied documentation and factual information to aid her writing. Attorney and friend Arthur Leonard Ross, nephew and Liveright editor Saxe Commins, and most other correspondents lent moral support to Goldman's project. Not all her correspondence related to the autobiography, however. Because she attached a great deal of importance to keeping in touch with her wide network of friends in America and Europe, much of the

correspondence to and from Goldman is of a personal nature. Frequent and eminent correspondents in this period include the distinguished journalists H. L. Mencken and Lincoln Steffens; novelist Theodore Dreiser; Evelyn Scott, a writer and close friend; Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union; and Henry Alsberg, a journalist and human rights activist.

Few events during this period rivaled the importance of the completion of Goldman's autobiography, though in March 1930 the French government revived an old expulsion order against her. Goldman successfully fought the order with the assistance of the eminent French lawyer Henri Torres. Two months later, another expulsion order forced Berkman to leave the country for a few weeks. For the next year and a half, Goldman helped rally prominent European and American intellectuals to persuade the French government to grant Berkman the right to permanent residency in France. Though the attempt failed, it served the purpose of extending Berkman's stay. Goldman's absorption in her autobiography somewhat diminished her interest in current affairs. Rudolf Rocker, German anarchist and Goldman's close friend, kept her informed of Germany's drift to the right amid its continuing economic crisis and of the growing strength of the anarchist movement in Spain, trying to dispel Goldman's initial skepticism about anarchism's prospects there. Her autobiography finally completed, she contemplated her future, writing to Rocker, "I simply can not face the possibility of ending my days here puddling about in my garden.... I can see no hope of activity for myself in Europe, unless there is one for me in Spain" (June 20, 1931).

Introduction to Reels 25 through 29
Correspondence
(October 1, 1931, to January 31, 1934)

The period between the publication of *Living My Life* in October 1931 and Goldman's three-month U.S. tour in early 1934 gave Goldman cause for both joy and anxiety. Her exhilaration over completing her autobiography was muted by her apprehension about the growing power of German and Italian fascism. The praise with which critics greeted her autobiography confirmed her belief in the literary quality of her work, although she felt the book's message eluded even the most enthusiastic reviewers. She attributed this failure to male dominance of the critical establishment. Goldman noted that Freda Kirchwey's review in the *Nation* came closest to apprehending her central purpose in writing her autobiography, to express how her private life affected her public actions, which for Goldman was a "seemingly insurmountable struggle."

Widespread critical praise, however, hardly translated into sales. Alfred A. Knopf's reports of the book's sluggish movement dashed Goldman's hopes of realizing any profit from it beyond the advance she had already received. At $7.50, the two-volume edition was too expensive for many potential readers to purchase in the midst of the depression. Though it failed to relieve Goldman's financial predicament, the book reportedly enjoyed a broad library circulation, and many readers shared single copies.

Living My Life invoked a flood of testimonials to Goldman's personal and intellectual influence. Friends and comrades celebrated her concern for individuals as well as her dedication to the cause of universal liberation. Readers previously unfamiliar with Goldman and anarchism wrote of their appreciation and sometimes revealed that reading her autobiography changed their perspective on life. Acknowledgment of the book by her relatives particularly touched Goldman. One such letter from her nephew Hymen Hochstein encouraged Goldman to try to launch a correspondence with him (November 29, 1931). And many of the people mentioned in the autobiography wrote her about their reactions to it, ranging from gratitude for a favorable portrayal to annoyance at the insignificance Goldman assigned them.

The most intense reaction came from Ben Reitman: "Your book took all of the bombast, spirit and ego out of me.... Thank you for showing me what a :::: [*sic*] I am," he bitterly complained. "For many years I gave you my tenderest love, my truest loyality [*sic*] my best service...and now you have crushed me" (November 14, 1931). Three weeks later in a calmer mood, he wrote Goldman again: "She found me a Hobo reformer and intellectual ragamuffin / And gave me a poet's soul and put me on the way to become / A real revolutionary radical and a servant of humanity" (December 6, 1931).

Goldman had to coax a reaction from Alexander Berkman, who had edited much of the autobiography. Though disappointed at his silence, she forgave him: "Above all I am happy to have you in my life.... I know how difficult it is for you to convey your feelings.... But I knows [*sic*] you my honey. So it does not matter whether you say things in so many words about my book or our friendship. Nothing can change either" (November 24, 1931). Goldman's friendship with Berkman, documented by their frequent correspondence, continued to be a mainstay of her life and an antidote to depression throughout this period.

Although her autobiography's reception generally gratified Goldman, the book failed to revitalize her lecture career or to rekindle public interest in anarchism. She counted on the popularity of her book to enable her to begin a campaign to reenter the United States. But her attorney, Arthur Leonard Ross, advised her against pursuing this goal in 1931. From February to May 1932 she managed to lecture a number of times under the sponsorship of local anarchist, syndicalist, women's, and educational groups in Denmark, Germany, Norway, and Sweden. In 1933 she toured the Netherlands and Great Britain. Her correspondence attests to the difficulties she encountered on these tours.

Goldman also faced censorship as a result of the rise of fascism in Central Europe, which made supporting herself by lecturing even more difficult. The growing power of the Nazis in Germany prevented her from advertising her lectures except among members of sponsoring organizations. In 1932, with the Nazis terrorizing leftists, Berkman suggested that for safety's sake she abandon her lectures. And during her tour, the last she would make in Germany, she indeed received at least one death threat.

Intimidation subsequently forced several of her friends to flee the country, such as Rudolf and Milly Rocker, whose immense library in Berlin was confiscated.

In Britain, Goldman continued to speak against fascism to groups ranging from coal miners to liberal intellectuals. While her lectures alerted many individuals to the threat of fascism, she deemed her work there a failure because it did not produce an organized mass movement to protest Nazi violence. Though she occasionally blamed her difficulty on what she saw as the chilly and complacent English national character, her continuing anti-Sovietism hardly gained her the sympathy of the Communists and socialists. She insisted on analyzing the European political dilemma as one of "dictatorship," a formulation that linked Stalin with Hitler and Mussolini. Her independent stance brought her widespread respect but little direct influence, a situation that accentuated her sense of personal isolation and minimized any feelings of accomplishment for her few successes.

To earn a living, Goldman turned to means other than lecturing. She and Berkman embarked on a number of journalistic efforts and also tried to establish a literary agency. They planned to market books to publishers and to provide editing, ghostwriting, and translating services for a variety of American, German, and Russian writers residing in Europe. Potential clients included Nellie Harris, widow of British writer Frank Harris; Valya Gagarina, a Russian emigré; Kay Boyle, the American novelist and belle-lettrist; Sergei Tretyakov, a Russian novelist; and Theodor Plivier, a German historian. Despite enormous effort, Goldman and Berkman could not make any of these projects turn a profit.

Goldman and Berkman had to look elsewhere for support. Their friend Modest Stein, a New York artist, and her brother Morris Goldman, a doctor, each provided small stipends, and other friends and relatives occasionally contributed gifts. Berkman earned some money typing and translating manuscripts, and Goldman used what remained of the advance for her autobiography. They nevertheless continued to hover on the edge of economic desperation. Her correspondence with Berkman and with her American literary contacts, such as her nephew Saxe Commins (an editor at Liveright and later at Random House), starkly records her financial problems.

During late 1933, Goldman focused on returning to the United States. After nearly fourteen years of exile, she still considered herself an American; she often complained that she had been unable to feel at home anywhere else. Her correspondence is a moving chronicle of the daily feelings of loss, frustration, and despair she experienced as a political exile. On December 2 she embarked for Montreal, still unsure whether she would obtain a visa to the United States. The effort to obtain a visa, spearheaded by the well-connected Mabel Carver Crouch and the resourceful Roger Baldwin, was advanced by the formation of a committee that included Theodore Dreiser, H. L. Mencken, Isaac Don Levine, John Dewey, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Sherwood Anderson, Sinclair Lewis, and many other prominent individuals—testimony to their respect for her past and present work and to the impact of her autobiography. From her friend Esther Laddon's home in Toronto, Goldman wrote dozens of letters to orchestrate the efforts of friends and acquaintances to help her obtain a visa. In several of these letters she noted the irony of the timing of her effort to return to the United States—December 21, 1933, marked the fourteenth anniversary of her deportation to the Soviet Union. Her friend and former colleague W. S. Van Valkenburgh wrote her, "What you must have endured during the intervening years no one knows but you, do they EG?" (December 21, 1933).

Introduction to Reel 30
Correspondence
(February 1, 1934, to April 30, 1934)

In February 1934 Emma Goldman was finally able to return to the United States, remaining through the end of April. Although frustratingly short, her return was the realization of a "dream" she had nurtured for most of her fourteen-year exile. Reunited with family and friends in the country that had deported her but in which she nonetheless felt most comfortable, she at last had a chance to present her ideas to the American public. A bewildering mixture of hope, gratification, and disappointment awaited her on her three-month lecture tour, her last in the United States.

On the advice of friends, Goldman decided not to begin her campaign for reentry to the United States while in Europe but to wait until she arrived in Canada. Encouraged by recent successful visa applications by other dissidents, such as German novelist Thomas Mann, French Communist Henri Barbusse, and her close friend, German anarchist theorist Rudolf Rocker, she applied for a temporary U.S. visa in December 1933 while lecturing in Toronto.

The authority to grant special permission for an anarchist deportee such as Goldman to enter the country rested with Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins. When first approached, Perkins wanted to know the nature of Goldman's planned lectures. She subsequently rejected the list Goldman submitted through her intermediary, Roger Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union. Perkins deemed the topics—"Germany's Tragedy," "Hitler, a World Menace," "Dictatorships, Right and Left: A Modern Religious Hysteria"—too political and insisted that Goldman confine herself to speaking on literature and drama. Though initially Goldman balked at being silenced about the specter of European totalitarianism, she reluctantly agreed to the restrictions, realizing that her conduct could affect the future admission of other exiles and foreign nationals who could speak about the dire situation in Europe. After Baldwin convinced her that no better terms could be obtained, Goldman made one stipulation: that she be allowed to talk about her autobiography. Within days Baldwin telegraphed her, "*Living My Life* is literature not politics.... Three months visa will follow" (January 4, 1934).

The correspondence of December 1933 and January 1934 with Baldwin and Arthur Leonard Ross, both friends and legal advisers in her effort to obtain a visa, chronicles Goldman's attempt to broaden the contemporary interpretation of the right to free speech and the U.S. government's continuing campaign of harassment against her. Although she was not directly involved in the negotiations surrounding Goldman's visa application, Eleanor Roosevelt revealed her attitude on the matter when she wrote Maude Murray Miller, a resident of Columbus, Ohio, who had expressed her trepidation about Goldman's visit: "Emma Goldman is now a very old woman. I really think that this country can stand the shock of her presence for ninety days" (Government Documents series, January 31, 1934).

The personal influence of Goldman's supporters also helped her to obtain a visa. For example, Mabel Carver Crouch, who had met Goldman only the previous summer in St. Tropez, with the aid of Goldman's niece Stella Ballantine, used her contacts in Washington to assemble a committee of well-known and powerful people to exert pressure on Perkins.

Goldman arrived in New York City on February 2, 1934, and was greeted by crowds of reporters, friends, and admirers. "I don't know what it is in America, but I felt years younger and full of vigor and enthusiasm," she wrote to her friend Joseph Ishill. "I felt a changed woman from the moment I arrived in New York" (April 19, 1934). At the formal welcoming meeting at Town Hall, her supporters paid tribute to her. Harry Weinberger, her friend and former attorney, called her "the glorification of individuality in a machine age, a symbol of the greatness of mental freedom in times of regimentation" (February 6, 1934). "You symbolize in your own life and personality," socialist Anna Strunsky Walling wrote Goldman after hearing her that evening, "all that gives meaning and beauty to our human existence" (February 11, 1934). The excitement she aroused in radical circles found expression in the mass media, with the press giving her return considerable coverage (for press interviews and accounts, see reel 52).

Her New York audiences enthusiastically embraced her, and she reveled in the reestablishment of connections to her past and her loved ones. "All my ties are in America and all the love I want and crave," she wrote to Alexander Berkman before her

departure from Canada (January 29, 1934). Her correspondence portrays her reception in New York as one of the most rewarding experiences of her life. True to form, she managed to subvert the restrictions on the contents of her lectures, speaking out on a wide range of topics, from labor issues to international relations. Using the ruse of advertising her topics with literary titles such as "The Drama in Europe" and "The Collapse of German Culture," for example, she alerted her audiences to the growing threat of European fascism.

As she toured the East and Midwest, however, her audiences dwindled. At first she blamed the restrictions imposed by the Labor Department for the public's lack of interest in the limited range of her lecture topics as well as the open hostility of the Communist party to her continuing anti-Soviet stance. Later she attributed the relative failure of her lecture tour to mismanagement by the organizer, the Pond Bureau, which misdirected its advertising and charged excessive admission prices. Worst of all was its neglect of Goldman's vast network of associates who could have helped with local arrangements. In Chicago the efforts of comrades like Jeanne Levey and Ben Reitman brought out an estimated audience of twenty-eight hundred, a bright spot on this otherwise disappointing leg of the tour.

Goldman hoped to accomplish many things during her three-month return to the United States. She sought to raise funds for the relief of political prisoners in Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union through appeals for donations at her lectures. She scouted for a publisher for Rudolf Rocker's *Nationalism and Culture* and attempted to lay the groundwork for a national speaking tour for her friend Angelica Balabanoff, the former secretary of the Second International, who then lived in exile in Paris. She hoped to promote sales of the single-volume edition of her autobiography that Alfred A. Knopf had recently published, which was less expensive than the original two-volume set. Correspondence documents her many attempts to find time to visit old friends and relatives like Evelyn Scott, Leon Malmed, Alice Fish Kinzinger, Joseph and Rose Ishill, Modest Stein, Harry Kelly, W. S. Van Valkenburgh, Morris and Babsie Goldman, Stella Ballantine, and Saxe Commins.

Goldman continued to correspond frequently with Berkman, with whom she discussed writing articles for magazines like *Harper's*, *American Mercury*, the *Nation*, and *Redbook*. She also made several new friends in the course of the tour, including Jeanne Levey, and Frank G. Heiner, a blind graduate student in sociology at the University of Chicago. Impressed by Heiner's ability to overcome his visual impairment and by his talents as an anarchist organizer and inspired orator, she urged him to continue her efforts at furthering the anarchist cause in the United States. Flattered by the fervent attention of a younger man, she once again felt the stirring of romantic desire.

While in the United States, Goldman quietly resolved her old, stormy relationship with Ben Reitman, whom she visited while in Chicago. Their letters of this period provide a coda to their long involvement. Reitman remained nostalgic for the relationship, writing to Goldman that no other woman could "touch my soul as you did" (April 5, 1934) and asking if he could work with her once again on a lecture tour. Goldman thought the "tug" that Reitman felt was "more imagination than fact" (April 5, 1934). In a charged but determined letter she asserted that there could never again be anything more than the "deepest friendship" (April 12, 1934) between them.

From the beginning of her visit, Goldman realized that she would need more than three months to accomplish most of her projects, which included a lecture tour of the West Coast. Six weeks before her visa expired Goldman asked Roger Baldwin to apply for a three-month extension. When the Department of Labor rejected her application, she left for Canada, still hoping to obtain another visa in the following months. A week after arriving in Montreal, Goldman wrote to Alexander Berkman's companion, Emmy Eckstein, "America is in my blood and in every nerve.... Yes, it was bitter hard to leave the states. Ever so much more than when we were deported. Sasha [Berkman] was with me then. And Russia was our dream. Now I have neither" (May 9, 1934).

Introduction to Reels 31 through 37
Correspondence
(May 1, 1934, to June 30, 1936)

The twenty-six months following the end of Goldman's American tour in April 1934 were a restless but productive period in her life. She lectured extensively in Canada and Great Britain, spending the summer and early fall of 1935 at her cottage in St. Tropez. With Alexander Berkman's editorial assistance she wrote several major articles on anarchist theory and on the political crisis in Europe. In her personal life, 1934 was marked by the exhilaration of her affair with Frank Heiner; but Berkman's suicide at the end of June 1936 plunged her into despair.

After leaving the United States, Goldman settled for a year in Canada, lecturing frequently in Toronto, Hamilton, and Montreal on a broad range of literary and political topics, alerting her audiences to the twin menaces of Nazism and fascism, while continuing to speak on such topics as birth control and "The Erotic Element in Life." While lecturing was her primary means of support, she also used the occasions to raise funds for political prisoners in Europe.

Her correspondence during this period includes long, passionate letters from Frank Heiner, whom she met in Chicago during her U.S. tour. Her initial response while still in the country was to attempt to confine the relationship to a friendship based on their mutual political interests (April 11, 1934). His talent as an orator, his magnetic personality, his broad education in the social sciences, and his keen interest in anarchist ideas led her to hope that he could effect a resurgence of anarchist activity in America and carry on her legacy. While she found his effusive expressions of love exhilarating, she remained cautious, expecting his love for her to be "too much of a miracle to be real" (May 6, 1934). But after returning to exile in Canada, she had to confront her loneliness and her desire for an intimate relationship: "Mine has been and is a very lonely life since I have been exiled. Lonelier and [with] an inner void much more so than my outer appearance suggests" (April 11, 1934).

Goldman was also aware of the obstacles that would inevitably taint an intimate relationship with him: the twenty-nine-year difference in their ages, Heiner's stable

marriage to Mary Koll Heiner, with whom he had a twelve-year-old daughter, and the restrictions on Goldman's travel to the United States. But Mary's tolerance of Frank's romantic interest in Goldman, along with his lyrical love letters, gradually persuaded Goldman to put aside her misgivings and allow him to come to Toronto in August. After two weeks of "overwhelming bliss," she felt devastated when he returned home to Chicago. Still, the relationship with Heiner, she wrote Stella Ballantine, "strengthened my belief in freedom as the highest expression of man" (September 9, 1934). She maintained both a personal and professional correspondence with him for two years: she kept him informed about her political activities, quizzed him about current developments in the social sciences, and articulated her despair about not being able to visit him.

Goldman sustained her voluminous correspondence with Berkman throughout these years as well. After returning to Canada, she began to worry about his health, even though he usually joked about or minimized his illnesses. He had a chronic unspecified heart condition and, in the last year of his life, prostate cancer. His letters also indicate that he suffered from depression, which was neither diagnosed by his physicians nor recognized by his friends. Goldman knew, however, that he felt despondent when separated from her for long periods. She attributed his despondence to a lack of intellectual camaraderie, as she believed that his companion, Emmy Eckstein, did not share any of his interests. Goldman also believed that his status as a political exile was responsible for some of Berkman's hopelessness about the future, as he could not engage in political activity and was forced to reapply every few months for permission to reside in France. In letters to Berkman and others, Goldman focused primarily on his complaints of physical exhaustion that hampered his ability to work. She worked with Phillip Kapp of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and Minna Lowensohn, an associate in New York, to establish a retirement fund for him.

Goldman did what she could to help Berkman in all aspects of his life. She attempted, for example, to relieve the pressure of the deadline he set himself to complete the translation of Rudolf Rocker's large volume of theoretical essays, *Nationalism and Culture*. As a friend and a correspondent of Rocker's, she tried to coordinate their efforts. But a quarrel was inevitable, since Berkman believed he had been given the authority to

edit and shorten the German text for a popular English audience. When Rocker expressed displeasure at Berkman's deletions, Berkman withdrew from the project feeling hurt and unfairly treated. Goldman supported Berkman throughout this ordeal, even though she sympathized with Rocker's point of view.

In the spring of 1935, as Goldman prepared to leave Canada, she began to correspond with Berkman's companion, Emmy Eckstein. Eckstein's many letters before Goldman's arrival in France testify to a growing warmth between the two women as they resolved their mutual, but previously unspoken, jealousy over Berkman's attention. Despite their efforts, day-to-day tensions undermined the harmony they had achieved when the three set up a joint household in St. Tropez. Goldman, grieving the loss of her intimacy with Heiner, felt ignored by Berkman. Eckstein, as previously, felt shut out of Goldman and Berkman's close friendship. Berkman was dismayed by the inability of his two closest friends to solve their difficulties with each other. Eckstein and Berkman soon returned to their apartment in Nice, while Goldman began to prepare for her lecture tour of Great Britain the following fall.

Goldman met with a warmer welcome in Great Britain in 1935 than on her two previous tours in 1925 and 1933. She attributed her success to British intellectuals' gradual disenchantment with Stalinism and their recognition, with the Italian invasion of Ethiopia, of Mussolini's expansionist aims. Unlike their counterparts in other countries, even Communists in Britain seemed more tolerant of Goldman's anti-Soviet perspective. She found several new organizations open to her, including the National Council of Labor Colleges, the British Drama League, and the Rationalist Society. Nevertheless, she experienced earning a living by lecturing as an "uphill struggle"; after five months of lectures in London, Bristol, and Wales, she anticipated being forced to sell her home in St. Tropez.

Midway through her British tour, Goldman learned from Emmy Eckstein of Berkman's hospitalization for prostate problems. Assured by Eckstein of Berkman's eventual recovery, Goldman continued her lectures. Although more surgery for Berkman and Eckstein's own hospitalization for colitis followed shortly, the two repeatedly insisted in their correspondence that Goldman had little cause for alarm. Goldman returned to

Nice feeling guilty for her delay, and nursed both her friends until Eckstein felt well enough to care for Berkman. He remained in pain and recovered slowly. When she returned to her home in St. Tropez, Goldman worried that she had perhaps not done enough for him. On June 27, after he sent Goldman warm birthday greetings and in the midst of a painful relapse, Berkman shot himself in the abdomen. Upon receiving a call from Eckstein, Goldman hurried to Nice where she found Berkman still conscious but unable to speak.

Goldman experienced his death a few hours later as her greatest personal loss. Her forty-seven year friendship with Berkman, though sometimes strained by disappointments and failures of communication, provided an unwavering affection that grew more essential to Goldman's well-being with each advancing year. Her intimate correspondence with him allowed the opportunity to explore and define her thoughts about both her public and private lives in a context of complete trust. Grieving the loss of this friendship, she described it as "the one treasure I have rescued from my long and bitter struggle" (July 12, 1936).

In the years prior to Berkman's death, and despite her concerns about his health and welfare, the anguish of her affair with Heiner, and her own continuing financial woes, Goldman continued to publish a variety of essays. In "Was My Life Worth Living?" for *Harper's*, she updated her autobiography. She prepared a theoretical piece, "Two Communisms: Bolshevik and Anarchist" for the *American Mercury*, whose editor retitled it "There Is No Communism in Russia" and deleted the crucial section on the anarchist alternative to the Soviet system. Although she prominently placed "The Tragedy of the Political Exiles" in the *Nation*, she failed to find a mass-market publisher for her article "The Place of the Individual in Society."

In addition to this formal writing, Goldman expanded her circle of correspondents during these months. Her American tour provided the occasion to revive her correspondence with old friends in the United States, and she found new correspondents among those who had helped with her lecture tours in the United States and Canada, including Jeanne Levey and Dorothy Rogers. She also wrote letters more frequently to relatives in response to several family crises: the death of her brother Herman, the

successive heart attacks of her other brother Morris, and the psychiatric depression of her grandniece Ruth Low, Stella Ballantine's daughter.

In several letters of the period, Goldman expressed the dark mood that resulted from these tragedies. In a letter to Roger Baldwin, for example, she quoted the German novelist B. Traven: "'Why do I permit myself to be tortured? Because I have hope, which is the sin and the curse of mankind.' Hope has been that to me.... Well, I have had so many disappointments in my long struggle that one more is not likely to kill me" (October 24, 1934). Goldman's revelations of her internal struggle against hopelessness elicited crucial support from old friends like Joseph Goldman, a Chicago comrade, who wrote her: "What if your ideal for which the better part of your life has been devoted, is at present in eclipse? Is there reason to despair? I don't think so.... If I had to live life over again, I would choose the same path" (April 4, 1935). Though she sought solace from others, she rose on many occasions to provide them with consolation as well. When Rose Pesotta wrote in a despondent moment that her work for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union in Seattle had met with the same obstacles as Goldman's work as a labor organizer forty years earlier, Goldman encouraged her to continue her efforts and insisted that she would make a lasting contribution to the labor movement.

Throughout this period Goldman's interest in the anarchist movement in Spain increased. She had been in contact with immigrant Spanish anarchists in New York in the 1910s. Renewing these relationships during her U.S. tour in 1934, she kept informed about events in Spain through Maximiliano and Anna Olay, Chicago activists with connections to the Spanish movement. She encouraged several other comrades, including Frank Heiner, W. S. Van Valkenburgh, and Victor Martinez, editor of *Cultura Proletaria* (a Spanish-language newspaper published in New York), to publicize Spanish events to an English-speaking mass readership.

Introduction to Reels 38 through 45
Correspondence
(July 1, 1936, to March 15, 1939)

During July 1936, Goldman, still grieving over Berkman's death, redirected her energies toward the anarchist struggle in the Spanish Civil War. She devoted herself wholeheartedly to enlisting international support against Franco's Fascist forces and their right-wing allies.

At first, Berkman's suicide left Goldman uncertain about her future. "We burried [*sic*] him yesterday," she wrote to Liza and Semion Koldofsky, "and the largest part of my life was burried with him" (July 1, 1936). The deluge of expressions of condolence from family, friends, and comrades precluded work on her lectures. In accordance with Berkman's last wishes she helped his companion Emmy Eckstein relocate to her parents' home in Czechoslovakia. At the same time, Goldman tried to obtain a passport to facilitate Eckstein's emigration to the United States.

Goldman had taken an interest in Spanish anarchism long before the war began. She had visited Spain briefly in 1928 with Henry G. Alsberg, an associate from New York, to learn about the growing anarcho- syndicalist movement there. During that visit she met Federica Montseny, who in 1936 became the first woman to serve in a Spanish cabinet. Throughout the 1930s Goldman followed the progress of the anarcho-syndicalist organizations from afar.

After her return to Europe from Canada in 1935, Goldman began to watch events in Spain more closely. She corresponded about conditions there with Augustin Souchy, Max Nettlau, Helmut Rüdiger, and Alexander Schapiro. As members of the anarcho-syndicalist International Working Men's Association (IWMA), these Goldman associates had volunteered to work for the two affiliated Spanish organizations, Confederación Nacional del Trabajo (CNT), the association of anarcho-syndicalist trade unions, and the Federación Anarquista Ibérica (FAI), the political organization of anarchist militants.

Throughout these years, and even during the first weeks of the war, Goldman saw little hope of an anarchist revolution in Spain. On hearing of the outbreak of fighting between General Franco's forces and the anarchist and socialist militia, Goldman worried that the

people could become the victims of change, as they had during the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution, rather than its beneficiaries (see letter to Therese Souchy, July 22, 1936). In light of the early military victories by Republican forces, Goldman decided that she had been mistaken about the chances of an anarchist victory in Spain. "The awful pall that hung over me since Sashas [*sic*] untimely death has been broken," she wrote to her friend Arthur Leonard Ross. "It was due to the call I have received from my Spanish comrade[s] to help them in their heroic struggle" (August 29, 1936).

Soon after arriving in Spain in September 1936, Goldman decided to contribute her formidable public relations skills to the anarchist struggle. She would meet with important anarchists, gather information and documentary material, then return to Great Britain to set up a press service and propaganda bureau. During her three-month tour of the areas under anarchist control, she visited agrarian collectives and worker-operated factories and utilities to learn as much as possible about economic conditions and labor organizations. Based in Barcelona, where she produced the English-language version of the weekly *CNT-FAI Information Bulletin*, she traveled throughout Catalonia, the Levante, and Aragón, and visited the Huesca and the Aragón fronts. She was hindered by her inability to speak Spanish, but with the help of interpreters and her fluency in French she was able to ascertain enough to be impressed by the level of organization that was maintained in most sectors of the economy. In her letters she repeatedly contrasted the innovations of the Spanish revolutionaries with her experience of the inability of their Russian counterparts to create new social institutions during the early 1920s.

Goldman's accounts of the Civil War, while influenced by her partisanship, nevertheless provide some of the most thoughtful contemporary commentary on events in Spain. Her relatively balanced observations are especially valuable because the war's controversial nature led to grossly inaccurate reportage from the mass media and left-wing press alike. Goldman refrained from hasty assessments of a complex political situation about which she initially knew little. For example, she avoided publicly criticizing the CNT-FAI for issuing so much publicity about Soviet aid to the Republican forces. She suspected Stalin's motives in supplying arms and noted that the arms went only to troops controlled by the Spanish Communist party, Partido Comunista de España

(PCE), leaving the anarchist-controlled militia in Catalonia very poorly supplied. Nevertheless, in a letter from Barcelona to an unnamed comrade she warned against judgments based solely on theory: "Bear in mind that life is more exacting than theories. Not that I can agree with some of the steps taken by the CNT-FAI. But being on the spot I can understand them" (December 7, 1936).

Goldman wrestled with the question of the extent to which anarchists should ally themselves with other parties of the Left. Accompanying the anarchists in their struggle against the fascists were the PCE, the socialist Unión General de Trabajadores (UGT), and the dissident (anti-Stalinist) Communist party, Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (POUM). Caught in the cross fire between anarchist purists of the IWMA, including Alexander Schapiro and Mollie Steimer (who opposed any alliances with non-anarchist organizations), and generally uncritical supporters of CNT-FAI policies such as Max Nettlau, Goldman identified most with the pragmatic flexibility of Mariano Vázquez of the CNT-FAI. She believed that the demands of the military struggle against Franco forced anarchists to ally with other antifascist organizations. At the same time she continually urged anarchists to expand their own political activities in the liberated regions by holding public meetings, producing propaganda, and increasing mass participation in anarchist organizations. She warned that without extending mass participation, anarchist groups would lose their identity in mass organizations, given the competitive political dynamics of Civil War Spain.

Returning to Britain in early 1937 as an official representative of the CNT-FAI, Goldman rose to the familiar challenge of defending a movement beset by critics from both the Right and the Left. While she had her own criticisms, she concentrated on publicizing the constructive work of the Spanish anarchist movement, emphasizing the revolutionary aspects of the struggle: the agrarian collectives, the new public schools, the worker-owned factories and utilities, the democratic structure of the anarchist militia. These new, democratic institutions, Goldman insisted, were replacing a corrupt system dominated by the landed aristocracy and its allies in the Catholic church and the army. This emphasis countered both the conservatives' portrayal of Spanish anarchists as destroyers of civil order and traditional values and the pro-Soviet Left's dismissal of

anarchists as undisciplined opportunists unwilling to do their share of fighting on the front lines.

Throughout her life Goldman had worked as an independent activist, forming coalitions or *ad hoc* committees as the need arose. As the London representative for the CNT-FAI, she had agreed to play a new role as an official of a large organization that had the opportunity and the will to undertake governmental functions. Among other anarchists in the Republican government, Minister of Health Federica Montseny, Goldman's associate in the CNT, challenged the central anarchist tenet that the functions of government are oppressive in all contexts. Goldman faced this contradiction with an extensive understanding of the political dynamics in Spain. She knew that Spanish anarchists had to choose between two potentially damaging alternatives. On one hand, they could stay out of the Popular Front government and allow other parties to take power and risk having that power used against them in the future. On the other hand, they could join the government and risk abandoning a central tenet of their political philosophy. While Goldman did not take a definite position on this issue, she insisted that anarchists should never work to limit the freedom of other parties or individuals, except that of fascists.

Goldman's first project consisted of an effort to display her collection of photographs, posters, journals, newsletters, manifestos, and paintings from the war in Spain as a way to demonstrate the importance of the anarchist contribution to the Spanish Revolution. Her exhibition of photographs of the bombardment of Madrid by Franco's forces was also an appeal for humanitarian aid to the civilian population. She worked with Fenner Brockway and Roland Penrose of the Independent Labour Party on a joint exhibition of her collection and other materials from Republican Spain. And she was a central organizer of the Committee to Aid Homeless Spanish Women and Children, which raised about £500 during the winter and spring of 1937.

While her public meetings were well attended, usually attracting seven or eight hundred people, she frequently complained in her letters about the lack of response to her efforts in Britain. She may have been comparing the British response to her Spanish aid campaign with the huge crowds she drew in the United States during the similarly

charged years preceding World War I. She was convinced that she could do more in the United States than in England to aid the Spanish anarchists; in early 1937, with Roger Baldwin's help, she applied for another visa to lecture in the United States. This application, her last major effort to return, was rejected.

Goldman also set herself the formidable task of convincing the British labor movement to take direct action to force the government to end its arms embargo against Spain. With foreign aid limited to the small amounts of arms and few advisers sent from the Soviet Union and Mexico, the Republican forces were unable to hold ground against Franco's army, which was well supplied by the governments of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. The British government's arms embargo continued throughout the Civil War, despite widespread public support for the Republican cause. The anticommunist sympathies of the Labour party leadership and the Trade Union Congress prevented any rank-and-file challenge to the British government's "neutrality." Goldman and her associates had few contacts with British labor unions and were unable to attract more than a few individuals to the Anarcho-Syndicalist Union, formed primarily to provide support for the CNT-FAI.

Goldman's journalistic efforts on behalf of Spain were considerably more successful. On the fortnightly newspaper *Spain and the World*, she worked with Vernon Richards, the son of Italian anarchist E. Recchione and his companion Marie-Louise Berneri, daughter of Italian anarchist Camillo Berneri, a martyr of the CNT in Barcelona. Although Goldman wrote several letters to the editors of major British dailies attempting to correct their inaccurate reporting of the Civil War, she preferred to write for an anarchist journal. She was able to obtain financial support for *Spain and the World* from the CNT, and she recruited several British writers, including poet and art critic Herbert Read, to write for the paper. In addition to providing an alternative to the mass media's distortion and neglect of Spanish events, *Spain and the World* contributed to the sense of urgency about the Civil War that led hundreds of individuals to volunteer for the International Brigades, which were essential to Republican military efforts.

Events in Spain became more complicated after the "May Days" of 1937, when street fighting broke out in Barcelona between the CNT militia and the central Republican

forces, which were increasingly dominated by troops loyal to the PCE. The fighting began when the central government attempted to remove the Barcelona telephone exchange from CNT control. Hundreds of CNT and POUM militants were killed and hundreds more arrested during the several-days battle over the primary center for communications for Catalonia. After the negotiated settlement Goldman began to criticize the suppression of the workers' organizations and the arrest and detention of anarchist militants. She held the PCE responsible for the street fighting because she believed that the financial, political, and military dependence of the Republican government on the Soviets effectively forced the elimination of CNT-FAI programs, thus limiting the revolutionary potential of the Civil War. When Largo Caballero, the left-wing socialist premier who had resisted Communist influence, was removed along with the four anarchists in his cabinet, and pro-Communist Juan Negrín was installed in his place, Goldman's criticism became even harsher. In an article in *Spain and the World* of June 4, 1937 (see the Goldman Writings series), she accused the Communists and right-wing socialists of plotting to end the social revolution in Spain. She also attributed the death of Camillo Berneri—found shot in the back after being arrested during the May Days in Barcelona—to agents of Stalin. Finally, she likened the PCE campaign to the repression of anarchists and other non-Communist revolutionaries in Russia under Lenin and Stalin.

The events of May 1937 shattered the solidarity of the Popular Front government in Spain but did not surprise Goldman, who had been prepared for such an outcome by her disappointing experience in the Russian Revolution. She was angered by the conciliatory position of CNT leaders trying to avoid a protracted battle between anarchists and the Republican government. But she was also angry at the insistent criticisms of Mollie Steimer, Alexander Schapiro, and others in the international anarchist movement who demanded that the anarchists cease all cooperation with the Republican government. She argued that the urgency and the toll of the war against Franco made such theoretical purity impossible. Goldman was also able to place what she saw as the mistakes of the CNT-FAI leaders in the context of their constructive work.

During the months after the May Days, Goldman became impatient for reliable news from Spain. After visiting her in London, Abe Bluestein, a comrade from New York,

wrote Goldman several detailed reports from Barcelona, documenting the repression of the anarchist organizations by the Republican government. He also described the developing split between the leaders of the CNT-FAI and a new anarchist organization, Libertarian Youth, whose members wanted to resist the repressive governmental actions. Feeling the need to reassess the political situation for herself, Goldman returned to Spain in September 1937. She visited the Madrid front and was impressed by the high morale of the Republican troops. She found many of the agrarian collectives in Catalonia still thriving. She also visited the Modelo Prison in Madrid where she learned that fifteen hundred anarchists and several hundred members of POUM were being held by the Republican government as political prisoners. Outraged by these arrests and by the recent disappearance of Kurt Landau, a member of the executive committee of POUM, Goldman attacked the Republican government in *Spain and the World* ("Political Persecution in Republican Spain," December 10, 1937, Goldman Writings series). Mariano Vázquez and Pedro Herrera of the FAI responded to this attack by advising Goldman to use more tact in her criticisms of the Republican government. Such complaints, they argued, could undermine the international support sought by the Republican government for its struggle against fascism (January 11, 1938).

Back in Britain by December 1937, Goldman continued to campaign for the CNT-FAI. She wrote for *Spain and the World*, organized a musical evening for the benefit of Civil War refugees, and formed a British chapter of Solidaridad Internacional Anti-Fascista (SIA), a new organization founded in Spain by Federica Montseny to raise funds for humanitarian aid for Catalonia. By the spring of 1938, Goldman began to find it more difficult to raise support for the Spanish cause as public attention was drawn to central Europe, where Hitler occupied Austria in March and began to intensify his anti-Semitic propaganda campaign. Goldman focused increasingly on the links between Stalinism and fascism, an analysis that had limited appeal in Britain. Feeling that her work in Britain was failing, Goldman decided to visit Spain once more and then move to Canada, where she hoped to be more successful at raising funds for the CNT-FAI. As the military situation worsened and Franco's troops advanced toward Barcelona, she knew that the anarchist cause might be defeated in Spain. But she needed to continue to draw

inspiration from "the only people in the world who still love liberty passionately enough to be willing to die for it" (see letter to Arthur Leonard Ross, June 17, 1938).

Goldman faced another personal crisis when her niece Stella Ballantine was hospitalized in New York for severe depression. For decades Goldman had been closer to Ballantine than to any other family member, relying on her even more for emotional support after Alexander Berkman's death. The loss of this support contributed to the growing feeling of isolation that Goldman experienced as her work in Britain became less fruitful.

By the time she reached Barcelona in September 1938 a deep split had developed within the anarchist movement over the issue of cooperation with the Republican government. Although she privately sympathized with the faction of the CNT-FAI led by Pedro Herrera that adhered to the fundamental anarchist principle of avoiding any cooperation with the state, she considered this an internal matter for the Spanish anarchists about which she was unwilling to comment publicly. She nevertheless remained determined to call attention to the Republican government's political repression of dissident leftists. She spoke out against the charges brought against a number of POUM activists accused of collaboration with the Fascists, declaring that it was the POUM's anti-Stalinism that had led to their arrests. And she expected CNT officials like Mariano Vázquez would escalate efforts to obtain the release of the jailed anarchists.

After Goldman returned to London in November, she closed the CNT-FAI press office as there was no one else in London able to carry on her work. She convinced Ethel Mannin to take responsibility for the SIA and promised to continue raising funds for its work. Before moving to Canada, Goldman needed to find a safe repository for Berkman's papers, which were in storage in her house in St. Tropez. She chose the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam because of its reputation for independence from government restrictions or monitoring. She spent most of January 1939 in Amsterdam, cataloguing Berkman's papers. Briefly absorbed again in her private life, perhaps effecting a final separation from Berkman and an integration of the experience of the decades she was associated with him, she insulated herself from the final defeat of the Spanish anarchists when Barcelona fell to Nationalist troops in late January.

Goldman began a dispute in her correspondence with Mariano Vázquez about the cause of the defeat of anarchism in Spain. She believed that the sabotage of the social revolution by the Communists was the deciding factor and that their attacks on the programs and organizations that benefitted the Spanish masses led to the demoralization of groups that supported the Republican cause. Vázquez saw the Western democracies' failure to come to the aid of Republican Spain as the primary cause of the defeat because it left Republican forces hopelessly outnumbered by the well-equipped Nationalist troops assisted by German, Italian, and Moroccan units.

These positions implied different assessments of the actions of the anarchists themselves. Goldman thought it was naive to have allied with the Communists in the Popular Front government without extreme caution. Given the importance of public morale in maintaining a protracted civil war with heavy casualties, Goldman believed it was important to distinguish one's efforts from any organization that could act against the interests of the people. She could not see as clearly as Vázquez the importance of external, international forces in a conflict as complex as the Spanish Civil War. Vázquez believed that without support from an international anarchist movement, other labor organizations abroad, or democratic governments, the Spanish anarchists had no choice but to accept support from the Soviet Union through an alliance with the Popular Front.

By late 1937 Goldman was willing to admit that she may have been too optimistic in her assessment of the anarchist movement's strength in Spain. This allowed her to accept the eventual defeat of the anarchists without losing hope for the future. She had come to realize that "it will take more than one revolution before our ideas will come to full growth. Untill [*sic*] then the steps will be feeble, our ideas no doubt fall from the heights many times and many will be the mistakes our comrades are bound to make.... I will die as I lived[,] with my burning faith in the ultimate triumph of our ideal" (see letter to Mollie Steimer and Senya Fleshin, September 7, 1937).

Never abandoning her loyalty to the courageous Spanish anarchists, Goldman began to raise money to free the Spanish refugees from the poorly supplied refugee camps in France. She hoped to help the refugees to emigrate to North America and to retain their dignity in spite of poverty and defeat.

Editor's Note.

Many documents relating to Goldman's involvement with the anarchist cause during the Spanish Civil War, including a large body of correspondence, were acquired too late to be incorporated in the chronologically organized Correspondence series. Users of the microfilm are advised to consult supplementary reels 68 and 69 for those documents, especially correspondence from the collection of the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo Archive at the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

Introduction to Reel 46
Correspondence
(March 15, 1939, to July 19, 1940)

Emma Goldman left Europe for the last time in April 1939. The disappointment she felt at the lack of any organized event to greet her upon her arrival in Montreal was moderated by the gratifying reception she received in Toronto, her new home. She settled into a comfortable apartment adjoining the residence of her comrades Tom and Dien Meelis and immediately began to organize public meetings to raise funds for refugees of the Spanish Civil War who were detained in poorly supplied refugee camps in France. Goldman felt more at home in Canada than in Britain, particularly as large audiences began to respond generously to her funding appeals. She reported to her London friend Liza Koldofsky that in North America her voice "rang out free and strong as in the olden days" (April 29, 1939).

Goldman revitalized her correspondence with family and many old friends across the Canadian border, including Harry Kelly, Leon Malmed, Rudolf and Milly Rocker, M. Eleanor Fitzgerald ("Fitzi"), and Ben Reitman. As she arranged visits with her intimate circle of friends she grew more frustrated with the restrictions of her visa and angry because she could not see her niece, Stella Ballantine, who was seriously depressed and confined to a psychiatric hospital in New York. Goldman's concern for her troubled niece dominates much of the family correspondence from the time of Goldman's arrival in Canada in April until late in the year when Stella was released from the hospital. When she was not worried about Stella, Goldman was often worrying about the fates of other friends who were political exiles abroad; she used her proximity to the United States to solicit the support of influential friends on their behalf. In an effort to secure the immigration of Mollie Steimer and Senya Fleshin to North America, Goldman rallied the support of Rose Pesotta, an ILGWU organizer and vice president. Goldman's confidence in her ability to reach friends and former associates in the United States was bolstered by the working correspondence she resumed with Fitzi, the staunchest and most reliable of the former *Mother Earth* group, who provided the political and practical backup Emma's work required. The passage of time prompted a softening of old resentments toward Ben

Reitman, Goldman's former lover and manager. In response to his doubts, Goldman reassured him: "You are of faint heart to doubt my feeling about the ten years we have spent together. I admit they were for the most part very painful years for me, and no doubt also for you. But I would not have missed know[i]n[g] such an exotic and primitive creature as you" (June 29, 1939).

Aware of the fragility of life at the age of seventy, Goldman's friends organized a tribute to her on her birthday, June 27, 1939. The tribute from Mariano Vázquez stood out among the others Goldman received from around the world. Writing from exile in Paris, Vázquez thanked Goldman for her work on behalf of the Spanish anarchist movement: "70 years! A whole life consecrated to service and the liberation of the people!... You have understood [the people of Spain] and our aim as few who came to our shores have understood us. For this, among many other reasons, you have become part of us, never to be forgotten.... We declare you our spiritual mother" (June 12, 1939). The affection and enthusiasm of this greeting validated Goldman's own experience of the Spanish people. "In all my life I have not met with such warm hospitality, comradeship, and solidarity," she reported to Maximiliano Olay (November 18, 1939). Despite the defeat of the anarchist movement in Spain, Goldman continued to feel that the achievements of the Spanish revolution were a realization of the ideals to which she had devoted her entire adult life. The celebration of her birthday was interrupted by the news of Vázquez's death by drowning in a boating accident in Paris. "I was ill all day and had to hold onto myself at the affair not to break down," Goldman later confided to Fitzi (June 30, 1939). She resolved to honor Vásquez's life by initiating The Emma Goldman Fund for Spanish Refugees, asking those who attended her seventieth birthday celebration to reconvene on August 15, the day that marked her fiftieth year of political life.

Goldman sustained a second loss at this time: Emmy Eckstein died at the age of thirty-nine. The two had recently been estranged when Goldman, who had been struggling to send Eckstein a monthly stipend, discovered that Eckstein had neglected to inform her of other financial support she had been receiving. Goldman nevertheless grieved the loss of another tie to her past. By caring for Eckstein, she had been carrying out Alexander Berkman's wish to provide for his companion after his death.

As before, Goldman's political work was a source of continuity and strength to her. Inspired by the collective spirit of the Spanish people, she intended to tour western Canada in November 1939 to alert the public to the lessons of Spain, to inform them of her analysis that Stalin had betrayed the Republican government, and to encourage shared responsibility for the welfare of the war's refugees, who she believed had fought against fascism for the whole world. Goldman hoped to write a book about her experiences in Spain and proposed the idea to Benjamin Huebsch, an editor at Viking Press (October 9, 1939). She spent much of the spring, summer, and fall of 1939 refining her lectures on Spain and working them into a book proposal.

In September, when World War II erupted, Goldman wrestled with her own political conflicts over the issues raised by the war. Earlier in the year, as the likelihood of war between the Allies and Nazi Germany became more evident, Goldman began to articulate two distinctly different positions. In letters to Ethel Mannin, her close associate in the Solidaridad International Anti-Fascista (SIA), Goldman argued against Mannin's assertion that fascism and capitalism were essentially the same. She insisted, "Anti-Fascism to the Spanish people means the chance to continue their revolutionary constructive work. They have never lost sight of that. For well they know that while under democracy they will also have enemies to fight[,] it will still be possible to do it. Under Fascism all chances will be lost for many years to come" (January 24, 1939). But several weeks later Goldman wrote Mannin again, and reversed her stand: "Much as I also loath[e] Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin and Franco I would not support a war against them and for the democracies which in the last analysis are only Fascist in disguise. If I have supported the civil war in Spain it was only because the social Revolution was at stake" (March 5, 1939).

Goldman's anger over the failure of the governments of Britain and France to aid the democratically elected Popular Front government in Spain in its struggle against Franco's brand of fascism was a factor in her reluctance to support their later declaration of war against the governments of Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy. Her pessimistic evaluation of the motives of all governments led her to conclude that the only way to defeat fascism was to launch revolutions from within each Fascist-dominated nation. Even if an

international war against fascism were won, Goldman wrote Herbert Read, it would "only create a new form of madness in the world" (October 7, 1939). Finally, Goldman, like many other contemporary observers, underestimated the extent of the threat of fascism to Jews and other groups targeted for attack by Fascist parties throughout Europe. She nevertheless advocated Jewish rights of asylum, in Palestine and elsewhere, and she sharply criticized the reluctance of the Allies and the United States to accept Jewish refugees from Europe.

In October, as the war in Europe escalated, Goldman launched a campaign for the legal defense of four individuals whose lives were threatened by their indictment for an infraction of the Canadian War Measures Act. These men, Italian immigrant anarchists and residents of Toronto, were arrested after a police raid on their homes yielded some anti-Fascist literature that allegedly was banned under the broad definitions of subversive political activity contained in the War Measures Act. Because they were not Canadian citizens, the indicted men were subject to deportation to Italy if convicted. With the help of her friend Dorothy Rogers, Goldman raised several thousand dollars for their legal defense by alerting her wide array of friends and associates in the United States and Canada that each of the four defendants would face a death sentence upon deportation to Fascist Italy. One of the four, Attilio (Arthur) Bortolotti, was in greater danger of being deported than his codefendants because he was also accused of possessing an unregistered revolver. Goldman focused her appeals for help on Bortolotti's case. She became his friend as well as his primary defender, and when he suffered from influenza while out on bail she even served as his nurse. Her efforts were rewarded when the legal proceedings against all four men were eventually dropped. In November 1939 Goldman drafted an article and lecture, "Let Canada Be a Warning," to alert the world once again that even in wartime the suppression of free speech presented a threat to the nation.

On February 17, 1940, while playing cards with friends to pass the time until Bortolotti returned for a meeting, Goldman suffered a stroke that paralyzed the right side of her body and left her unable to speak. Because Goldman could no longer write letters, the correspondence in the collection ends abruptly at that point. Although she eventually regained full consciousness and could comprehend messages from her friends wishing her

a quick recovery, most of her communication was mediated through others. After spending six weeks in a hospital, she returned to her apartment where her niece, Stella Ballantine, who had recovered from her depression several months earlier, took care of her. Anticipating a long, expensive recuperation period, Ballantine formed the Friends of Emma Goldman Committee to raise funds for medical care. Goldman's condition improved slightly in April, but within days of suffering a second stroke she died on May 14. Her friends and family were flooded with letters and telegrams filled with grief for the loss of a great woman who had devoted her life to the cause of freedom.

After a brief memorial service in Canada, Goldman's body was shipped to Chicago to be buried next to the Haymarket Martyrs at Waldheim Cemetery, not far from Voltairine de Cleyre, and close to many of the anarchist comrades who supported and inspired Goldman's work. At the funeral on May 17, 1940, Harry Weinberger, Goldman's attorney and friend, welcomed her back to the land she loved, "where you wanted to end your days with friends and comrades. We had hoped to welcome you back in life—but we welcome you back in death. You will live forever in the hearts of your friends and the story of your life will live as long as the stories are told of women and men of courage and idealism."

Introduction to Reels 47 through 53
Goldman Writings

The Goldman Writings series is a collection of Goldman's published essays, essay drafts, and lectures, as well as summaries of and excerpts from speeches as they appeared in newspaper articles and interviews from 1890 to 1940.

The collection emphasizes Goldman's lesser-known essays and previously unpublished drafts. Essays available in recent editions or published in book form have not been included. Where possible, various editions of popular essays are part of the collection.

This document series also includes drafts of articles and lectures. Selected translations of Goldman's writings into French, Italian, German, Danish, Swedish, Norwegian, Spanish, Japanese, Chinese, Russian, and Yiddish illustrate the international influence of Goldman's ideas during her life.

The newspaper articles represent the public Emma Goldman as portrayed by the contemporary press. The articles underscore her wit, humor, and intellectual curiosity as well as her composure when confronted with political hostility and blatant sexism.

The series tracks Goldman's public life from 1890 to 1940. Four periods stand out in terms of both her activity and the attention focused on her: the years she published, edited, and wrote for *Mother Earth*, highlighted by the lively narratives of her lecture tours across the United States; her return from the Soviet Union, including her criticism of Leninism, the attacks against her anti-Leninist positions from pro-Soviet radicals, and her responses; her brief return to the United States in 1934, a respite from the exile that separated her from her family and comrades in the United States; and the years of the Spanish Civil War—her visits to Barcelona and Madrid, her analysis of the transformations in Spain and of the controversies concerning the various tactics employed by Spanish anarchist organizations in their militant and political struggle against Fascism.

The Goldman Writing series is largely self-explanatory. Users seeking contextual information regarding Goldman's life and activities should turn to the informational text accompanying the Correspondence series of the microfilm.

Introduction to Reels 54 and 55
Goldman Writings: Drafts

Although some drafts of Goldman's lectures or essays were included as samples among Goldman's published essays, lectures, summaries, and excerpts of speeches (reels 47 through 53), reels 54 and 55 contain *only* drafts of essays and lectures.

Most of these drafts are published here for the first time. They disclose the depth and breadth of Goldman's intellectual curiosity and her interest in all facets of life. Her writings on political theory, theories of education, the Chinese Revolution, crime and prisons, and the rise of fascism and Stalinism reveal the inquisitive, diligent mind of an original thinker. Goldman believed that no subject should be excluded from public debate and reflection, hence the remarkable range of themes presented in these reels.

The drafts have been arranged in conceptual chapters by the editors of the *Emma Goldman Papers*. The conceptual chapters in reel 54 are: Art Theory and Artists; Discussions of Plays, Novels, and Writers; Russian Theater and Drama; Material for *Living My Life* and other Autobiographical Material; and Sexuality, Birth Control, Love and Jealousy, and On Feminists and Feminism. Chapters in reel 55 are: Theories of Education; Social Reasons for Crime and the Penal System; The Social Forces in Germany and the Reasons for the Rise of Nazism, The Impact of German Culture; Analyses of Dictators and Dictatorships; Revolutionary Political Theory and Other Political Writings; and Revolution in China. Documents are tentatively dated.

Introduction to Reel 56
Government Documents
(October 18, 1884, to December 31, 1916)

Before 1917, Emma Goldman's government files contain fragmentary accounts of some of her many encounters with law enforcement agencies in the United States and abroad. The federal government, which kept relatively good records, was only sporadically interested in Goldman's activities, whereas the local law enforcement officials who did follow her closely, particularly the New York and Chicago police, either did not make or did not retain investigative records. These early documents track the beginning of the government's attempts to censor and eventually expel Goldman. Investigative agencies of foreign governments, especially those with active anarchist movements, also followed Goldman's activities.

The Government Documents series begins with the record of Goldman's arrival in the United States on board the *Gellert* in 1885. The next series of documents date from her trial in 1893, when the district attorney of the city of New York charged Goldman with unlawful assembly in connection with her electrifying speech before a crowd of unemployed at Union Square. After a brief trial the jury found her guilty of disturbing the peace, inciting to riot, and unlawful assembly; she was sentenced to one year in prison on Blackwell's Island.

Goldman toured Europe on her release. German officials, fearing that she might spread anarchist propaganda there, circulated her photograph to the mayors of many German cities. During Goldman's next trip to Europe for the clandestine International Anti-Parliamentary Congress in Paris in 1900, the French government tried to monitor the activities of anarchists. French authorities feared the movement because of its implication in the assassination of King Umberto of Italy by Italian anarchist Gaetano Bresci earlier that year. French files contain a published report from the congress that includes the text of Goldman's presentations as well as a short report on Goldman's attendance at an earlier feminist congress. In March 1901 Goldman's name appears on a list of anarchists to be expelled from France.

These fragmentary glimpses of Goldman's early travels in Europe are fleshed out by copies of Goldman's complete investigatory files from the French and German police archives, located in supplementary reel 67. The German documents span the years 1895 to 1917 and the French documents cover the years 1895 to 1908 plus a flurry of reports in 1929 and 1930. These materials provide an essential record of Goldman's early years.

President William McKinley's assassination in 1901 by self-proclaimed anarchist Leon Czolgosz brought Goldman national notoriety. Because the federal law enforcement system was rudimentary in the early 1900s, the investigation for the federal government was handled by the Secret Service, a branch of the Treasury Department concerned primarily with counterfeiting. The government files contain the records of the Secret Service's search for Goldman immediately following the assassination and for evidence to connect her with the crime, as well as many vituperative letters received by the Justice Department exhorting them to arrest and deport Goldman. Unfortunately, the Chicago Police Department left no records of Goldman's arrest and two-week detention and interrogation.

The McKinley assassination provoked a wave of anti-anarchist legislation. Failing to agree on harsher measures, Congress enacted the Anarchist Exclusion Act in 1903, which prohibited non-citizen anarchists from entering the United States. That prohibition remained law until November 1990. New York and several other states enacted criminal laws penalizing the advocacy of anarchism. The New York police used this criminal anarchy law to arrest Goldman and other anarchists in late 1906 and early 1907.

When Goldman was in Europe in 1907 for the International Anarchist Congress in Amsterdam, public pressure mounted on the Bureau of Immigration to prevent her reentry to the country.

Between November 1907 and May 1908, the Bureau of Immigration conducted a series of inquiries into Goldman's citizenship status. Proceeding cautiously so as not to alert her, they concluded that she probably acquired citizenship when she married Jacob Kersner. The Anarchist Exclusion Act of 1903 authorized the government to keep out anarchists, but not to deport those already in the United States, nor could it deport or exclude its citizens, even anarchists. The Bureau decided to proceed by first taking away

Kersner's citizenship under the 1906 denaturalization law, which allowed the government to cancel fraudulently obtained citizenship papers. This step would permit them to claim that Goldman's citizenship was no longer valid, and refuse to allow her back into the United States the next time she traveled. These investigations culminated in the April 1909 denaturalization of Goldman's former husband, and ultimately in Goldman's deportation in December 1919.

The Bureau of Immigration files contain a fairly complete account of its investigation and decision-making process, including major reports on November 17, 1907, and March 18, March 21, April 4, and May 27, 1908. On April 8, 1909, American border officials detained Goldman for questioning when she tried to cross into Minnesota from Canada. Armed with a certified copy of Kersner's citizenship papers, Goldman persuaded the immigration officials to admit her. Goldman's immigration file contains a verbatim transcript of this hearing. Kersner's denaturalization case began in September 1908 and went to court in April 1909. Kersner did not appear to defend himself because the government supposedly could not find him to notify him, though a Bureau of Immigration report of May 3, 1909, suggests that within three weeks of Kersner's denaturalization both Goldman and the Bureau knew where he was living. The government's attorney delayed the case in order to consider whether he should notify Goldman. After deliberations, he decided it was in his strategic interest not to alert her.

Several documents from this period provide glimpses into the network of undercover government agents and how Goldman became aware of government surveillance activities. On October 11, 1907, undercover agent Maurits Hymans, who followed Goldman and other anarchists in Europe during the Amsterdam Congress, reported on Goldman's plans to return to the United States. Intercepted letters from Berkman and Goldman on December 20, 1908, and in early January 1909 show both that there was a spy in the Chicago anarchist community and that Goldman knew of the government's secret efforts to denaturalize Kersner.

As part of its efforts to deport Goldman, the Bureau of Immigration began gathering information to prove she was an anarchist. They sent stenographers to record her

speeches in November and December of 1907, and they assigned an immigration inspector to follow her during her Canadian tour in April 1908.

Reel 56 also includes the military records of William Buwalda, a soldier whom the army court-martialed for shaking hands with Goldman after she spoke on patriotism in San Francisco in 1908; Japanese Interior Ministry reports from 1910 and 1911 on protests organized by Goldman and other American anarchists against the trial and execution of Japanese anarchist Kotoku Shusui; Post Office correspondence regarding attempts to censor *Mother Earth*; and the records of several court cases. In 1910, the Post Office held up delivery of *Mother Earth* until Anthony Comstock finally decided that Goldman's article, "The White Slave Traffic," was not obscene. Again in 1914 they held up *Mother Earth*, this time for glorifying three anarchists killed on New York's Lexington Avenue by the explosion of a bomb that the three may have been manufacturing to use in an *attentat*. Among the court cases included in the collection are Goldman's Philadelphia free speech fight in November 1909 and three arrests for lectures on birth control, one in Portland, Oregon, in 1915 and two in New York in 1916.

Introduction to Reels 57 through 60
Government Documents
(January 1, 1917, to January 31, 1918)

After the United States entered World War I in April 1917, Congress enacted a wide range of legislation restricting the right to criticize the government. The federal enforcement apparatus grew accordingly. The Bureau of Investigation (now the Federal Bureau of Investigation), the intelligence branches of the Army and Navy, and the Post Office censorship offices expanded from small offices to national networks. In addition, the Department of Justice deputized a small army of self-appointed loyalty enforcers called the American Protective League. Goldman's leading role in opposing the war and organizing the No-Conscription League in the spring of 1917 put her on a collision course with the federal government.

Goldman and the No-Conscription League organized a series of mass protest meetings, the first on the day Congress passed the Draft Act, May 18, 1917; the second on the eve of Draft Registration Day, June 4, 1917; and another on June 14, 1917. Unable to tolerate any more dissent, the government arrested Goldman and Berkman on June 15, 1917, in the offices of *Mother Earth* and *The Blast* and impounded letters, mailing lists, financial records, and much other material.

Charged with conspiracy to violate the Draft Act, Goldman and Berkman conducted their own defense. At the trial, held in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York from June 27 to July 9, 1917, they called many prominent radicals to testify, including John Reed and Lincoln Steffens. Though they turned the trial into a platform to lecture on anti-militarism and free speech, the jury found Goldman and Berkman guilty, and Judge Julius M. Mayer sentenced them to the maximum penalty of two years in prison and a fine of ten thousand dollars each.

Later wartime prosecutions of dissenters, including those of Eugene Debs, Kate Richards O'Hare, Mollie Steimer, Jacob Abrams, and the entire IWW leadership, were brought under the repressive Espionage Act of June 15, 1917, and the harsh Sedition Act of May 7, 1918, rather than the more lenient Draft Act under which Goldman and Berkman were prosecuted. The Sedition Act made it a crime to "willfully utter, print,

write, or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, or abusive language" about the United States' form of government, constitution, military forces, or flag. Violators could and often did receive sentences of up to twenty years in prison.

After the trial, the government took Goldman and Berkman directly to prison, where they remained for two weeks—Berkman at the federal penitentiary in Atlanta and Goldman at the Missouri State Penitentiary in Jefferson City, Missouri. During this time their attorney Harry Weinberger filed an appeal with the Supreme Court. The Court agreed to hear the appeal and to allow Goldman and Berkman out on bail pending their decision. Berkman, who faced an indictment in San Francisco for complicity in the Preparedness Day bombing for which Tom Mooney and Warren Billings had already been convicted, decided not to post bail. He was transferred to the Tombs jail in New York City, where he thought he would be safer from extradition and possible kidnapping.

Weinberger based his appeal on the unconstitutionality of the draft. He argued that the Draft Act violated the Thirteenth Amendment's prohibition against involuntary servitude and the First Amendment's free speech protections. He also contended that the prosecution did not prove any conspiracy. On December 13 and 14, 1917, the Supreme Court heard oral arguments in ten cases that raised the question of the constitutionality of the draft. On January 7, 1918, they declared the Draft Act constitutional in an opinion addressing six of the combined cases, titled the Selective Draft Law Cases. One week later they denied Goldman and Berkman's appeal. Weinberger immediately requested a rehearing, which the court denied on January 28, 1918. Goldman and Berkman began serving their prison terms on February 2.

While Weinberger pursued the Supreme Court appeal, Goldman concentrated on preventing Berkman's extradition to San Francisco and supporting the antiwar effort. The United States Marshal in New York, Thomas McCarthy, prevented Goldman from delivering speeches on several occasions. Weinberger's intensive lobbying forced Attorney General Gregory to direct McCarthy not to interfere with her speeches in advance.

In January 1918, Governor Whitman of New York refused to extradite Berkman without more evidence, Weinberger assured Goldman that she would not have to begin

serving her prison term right away, and she went on a speaking tour to Detroit and Chicago. She spoke against the war, raised money for her appeal, and lectured on the promise of the Bolshevik Revolution.

The Government Documents for this period fall into roughly three categories: legal documents related to the trial and appeal; surveillance and investigative reports; and postal censorship records.

Legal Documents

The trial records include the grand jury indictment of June 21, 1917, and two transcripts of the trial. The first, an 824-page stenographer's transcript, is a verbatim record of the entire trial except for jury selection and closing arguments. This document, plus the closing arguments of prosecuting attorney Harold Content and Judge Mayer's jury instructions, make up all of reel 58. In order to avoid splitting this document between two reels, it is filmed out of chronological sequence, between August and September 1917.

The second transcript, 277 pages long, is the printed record of the trial, prepared by Weinberger and Content for the Supreme Court appeal. Unlike the longer transcript, this record includes transcriptions of the exhibits submitted at trial and Weinberger's petition for Supreme Court review. It is dated September 25, 1917, the date it was submitted to the Supreme Court. Of the two documents, the first is more complete, because it includes passages deleted from the printed version, most of them arguments regarding the admissibility of evidence. Neither transcript includes the closing arguments of Goldman and Berkman. Their speeches are printed in the pamphlet, "Trial and Speeches of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman," dated July 1917.

The records of the Supreme Court appeal include the July 17, 1917, request for an appeal; Weinberger's brief on November 30, 1917; the government's reply brief, which responds to all the draft cases on December 10, 1917; Weinberger's request to file a supplemental brief; the supplemental brief itself, dated January 3, 1918; the court's opinion on January 14, 1918; and Weinberger's motion for a rehearing. Throughout the appeal, Weinberger maintained a correspondence with Supreme Court Clerk James Maher and Solicitor General John Davis.

Surveillance Reports

Goldman and Berkman were two of the first targets of the rapidly expanding federal surveillance network. Agent reports from the Bureau of Investigation begin in May 1917. They describe the No-Conscription League's mass meetings in May and June 1917, Goldman's arrest and the raid on her office, the trial, and Goldman's speeches while she was out on bail. The accounts of her farewell tour to Detroit and Chicago in January are particularly detailed. They include elaborate descriptions of her speeches, audiences, hosts, travel plans, telephone calls, mail, and efforts to follow her back to New York.

Acting under emergency wartime laws authorizing the military to control domestic opposition to the war, undercover agents working for the Military and Naval Intelligence began to report on Goldman in the fall of 1917. Agent C, a Naval Intelligence contact who had worked undercover with the IWW and anarchists for years, submitted particularly inflammatory accounts of the activities of Goldman, Roger Baldwin, and the IWW. This agent authored reports that Goldman was masterminding a plot using "Committees of Five" in various cities to assassinate the president and other public officials simultaneously. This scheme, named the Guillotine Plot, occupied all investigative branches of the government from the end of November 1917 through January 1918.

Postal Censorship Records

The Espionage Act, passed on June 15, 1917, declared non-mailable all written material advocating treason, insurrection, or forcible resistance to the law. Under this law the Post Office held up and ultimately destroyed all copies it could find of *Mother Earth* from May 1917—one month before the law was enacted—until Goldman stopped publication in August 1917. The Post Office also refused to deliver *Mother Earth*'s replacement, the *Mother Earth Bulletin*, throughout its publication span from October 1917 to April 1918.

Introduction to Reels 61 and 62
Government Documents
(February 1, 1918, to July 31, 1919)

Reels 61 and 62 cover all but the final two months of Goldman's two-year term in the Missouri State Penitentiary at Jefferson City. The government files from this period contain primarily indirect accounts of her activities: the Post Office continued to suppress the *Mother Earth Bulletin* as well as various books and pamphlets of the Mother Earth Publishing Association; Harry Weinberger sued to force the government to repay Goldman and Berkman's bail and to recover eight hundred dollars in clerk's fees deducted from the bail; and intelligence agencies, especially the Bureau of Investigation, reported on their harassment of Goldman's associates, including Stella Ballantine, Saxe Commins, M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, Carl Newlander, Robert Minor, Prince Hopkins, and many others. Investigative reports on Goldman herself continued for a few months into her prison term and then ceased.

During Goldman's incarceration, prison officials read, transcribed, and deliberated on whether to withhold or deliver all of her incoming and outgoing mail. They delivered copies of her correspondence to the Bureau of Investigation. Detailed reports of the censorship process exist, but unfortunately very few copies of the censored letters remain in government files. Most of Berkman's prison correspondence did survive. Those letters which mention Goldman, totalling several hundred, are included in the Government Documents series. Research at the National Archives suggests that Goldman's prison correspondence was destroyed in the 1970s because her letters, written in pencil on prison stationery, were no longer legible. Only the correspondence in the Bureau of Investigation files and from the private collections of her correspondents still exists (see also Correspondence series, reel 11).

On the night of June 29, 1918, agents of the Bureau of Investigation raided M. Eleanor Fitzgerald's apartment and the apartment shared by Carl Newlander and William Bales. Newlander, with Stella Ballantine, published the *Mother Earth Bulletin* and ran the Mother Earth Book Store during Goldman's imprisonment. The agents confiscated mailing lists and literature of the League for the Amnesty of Political Prisoners, the

International Mooney Defense League, and the Mother Earth Publishing Association, and they arrested Newlander and Bales for draft evasion. Several agents reported on the raid and its follow-up.

Also in July 1918 the intelligence agencies began to circulate a list of names and addresses of over eight thousand subscribers to *Mother Earth* and to investigate many of those on the list. The government obtained this list either at the time of Goldman's arrest in 1917 or in the raid of June 29, 1918. The list appears on reel 61, placed at the beginning of documents dated July 1918.

Ballantine and Newlander managed to produce the *Mother Earth Bulletin* until April 1918, when the financial burden of publishing a non-distributable periodical became too great. Ballantine attempted to publish a mimeographed sheet called "Instead of a Magazine" in late June 1918, in which she described her visit to Goldman in prison. The Post Office censored this sheet as well and Ballantine gave up her publishing efforts. Beginning in February 1918, the Post Office prepared censorship memoranda explaining the reasons for their decisions to censor each publication. These memoranda illustrate the extent and mentality of wartime censorship.

Harry Weinberger continued to act on Goldman's behalf during her imprisonment. He wrote many letters to prison officials both in Jefferson City and in Washington, D.C., to lobby for better writing privileges, less mail censorship, and easier working conditions. In February and March 1918 he successfully opposed the government's motion to use the money deposited to cover Goldman and Berkman's bail to pay their criminal fines. The following May, Weinberger sued for the return of eight hundred dollars in clerk's fees deducted from the bail, a process that would take a full year and go all the way to the Supreme Court before he lost the case. All the court papers and correspondence regarding this case are located on reel 61 at the beginning of May 1918; these documents are filmed out of chronological sequence because they are difficult to follow and are of only specialized interest.

Beginning early in 1919, the Department of Justice, the Bureau of Investigation, the Bureau of Immigration, as well as Goldman and Weinberger, became increasingly preoccupied with her pending deportation. Weinberger negotiated Goldman's release

from prison and explored the possibility of a postwar amnesty for her as a political prisoner. Goldman and Weinberger analyzed ways in which to fight her deportation. The Bureau of Immigration summarized the prospects for Goldman's deportation on April 25, 1919, and asked Weinberger to send them proof of Goldman's citizenship.

Introduction to Reels 63 and 64
Government Documents
(August 1, 1919, to December 22, 1919)

Reels 63 and 64 cover the period of Goldman's deportation. Although the Bureau of Immigration began preparing its case as early as April 1919, not until August did the various government agencies focus their efforts on deporting Goldman and Berkman.

The Immigration Act of 1918 authorized the government to deport any alien who was an anarchist or advocated the overthrow of organized government, regardless of length of residence in the United States. Therefore, the government had to prove only that Goldman was an anarchist and that she was not a citizen.

In late 1919 the Bureau of Investigation and other intelligence-gathering agencies began a massive crackdown on radicals, spurred by a number of bombings directed at public officials including Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer. Since they could not use the wartime Espionage and Sedition Acts to imprison citizens in peacetime, they directed their efforts at deporting alien radicals. Goldman and Berkman, two of the most prominent radicals, were among the first targets.

During October and November 1919, J. Edgar Hoover, zealous citizens, and congressmen exhorted the Bureau of Immigration to speed up Goldman's deportation. By mid-November 1919, when Hoover learned that Goldman was planning a speaking tour through the Midwest, his requests to the Bureau of Immigration grew more urgent. Acting under the pressure of a Senate resolution, the Justice Department released a report on November 17, 1919, on their efforts to rid the country of alien radicals. This report, submitted by A. Mitchell Palmer but probably written by Hoover, features a long analysis of the process and rationale for deporting Goldman and Berkman.

Under the tireless and enthusiastic supervision of J. Edgar Hoover, then a special assistant to the attorney general and head of the newly established General Intelligence Division of the Department of Justice, the Bureau of Investigation joined the Bureau of Immigration to lay the groundwork for Goldman's deportation. They searched her published writings, her files with the New York and Chicago police, and records of her arrests and trials for proof that she was an anarchist. Investigators interviewed Goldman's

relatives regarding her age, place of birth, and marriage to Jacob Kersner. They relied on Kersner's denaturalization to prove Goldman was no longer a citizen. When Hoover learned that Goldman planned to argue that Kersner had died before the government took away his citizenship, he sent agents to Chicago to obtain proof that Kersner died after 1909.

Agents of the Bureau of Investigation followed Goldman from the time she left the Jefferson City Penitentiary on September 27, 1919, until her arrival in New York, and continued surveillance there. Confidential informant Number 836, from Pittsburgh, attended Stella Ballantine's private homecoming celebration for Goldman in early October 1919. Several agents attended a dinner to honor Kate Richards O'Hare at which Goldman and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn spoke, and agents also attended a large dinner in Goldman and Berkman's honor at the Brevoort Hotel on October 27, 1919, and wrote colorful reports. Margaret Scully, alias Marion Barling, an undercover agent working for the Lusk Committee of the New York state legislature, managed to obtain employment as Goldman's secretary at the end of October 1919. Her lively, and sometimes anti-Semitic, reports continue from October 27 to November 6, 1919, when Goldman fired her.

The investigative agencies were particularly active during Goldman and Berkman's farewell tour to Detroit and Chicago between November 21 and December 4, 1919. Agents followed them every step of the trip, intercepted their mail, attended and reported on their speeches, investigated their hosts, accompanied them separately on the train back to New York, and tried to intimidate lecture hall owners. On November 23 and 26, 1919, the Bureau of Investigation made detailed transcripts of Goldman and Berkman's speeches in Detroit on political deportations, amnesty for political prisoners, and prison conditions.

Goldman's Bureau of Investigation file testifies to J. Edgar Hoover's obsession with her deportation. He personally worked to ensure that her bail was set at the extraordinarily high sum of fifteen thousand dollars. He directed the network of agents who scoured the country for evidence with which to deport her—nearly all of the many letters directing the evidence-gathering campaign were signed by Frank Burke, Assistant Director and Chief of the Bureau of Investigation, but were written and initialed by

Hoover. He wrote the government's brief, attended both Bureau of Immigration hearings, badgered officials to speed up her deportation, and attended the early morning departure of the S.S. *Buford*.

Hoover's weekly "Report[s] of the Radical Section," from August to October 1919, provide a detailed overview of his activities during his first few months in charge of the General Intelligence Division. During this time he supervised not only Goldman's deportation but that of hundreds of members of the Union of Russian Workers. He completely reorganized the Bureau to try to assure successful deportations; he established an index card file that within a few months would contain the names of eighty thousand dissident individuals and organizations; and he expanded and defended the use of undercover informants.

The legal process effecting Goldman's deportation was a complicated mixture of administrative and judicial proceedings. The Supreme Court has consistently held that deportation is a civil, not criminal, matter to which the full constitutional rights associated with a jury trial do not apply. In 1919, the Bureau of Immigration was required only to provide an administrative hearing, conducted by its own personnel. The only way to appeal the Bureau's decision was by means of a writ of habeas corpus, an emergency measure designed to protect people in custody from only the most serious abuses of due process. The prospective deportee had the difficult task of proving the fundamental unfairness of the impending government action while in custody.

After extensive negotiations, the Bureau of Immigration allowed Goldman to post a fifteen thousand dollar bond upon her release from prison and agreed to transfer her deportation hearing from Missouri to Ellis Island. After several postponements at Weinberger's request, the hearing took place on October 27 and November 12, 1919. Goldman refused to participate in what she termed "an inquisition" into her opinions. She read a prepared statement and refused to answer any questions from the government. Weinberger requested an adjournment of thirty days in order to present evidence that Goldman was a U.S. citizen.

The Bureau of Immigration refused to adjourn the hearing and Weinberger refused to submit a brief to the Bureau, choosing instead to rely on the courts. On November 29,

1919, Assistant Secretary of Labor Louis Post, though sympathetic to her plight, reluctantly ordered Goldman deported. He gave her and Berkman until December 5, 1919, to appear at Ellis Island for deportation.

On that day, when Goldman and Berkman were interned at Ellis Island, Weinberger petitioned the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York for a writ of habeas corpus. He argued that the deportation was invalid for many reasons, citing flaws in Kersner's denaturalization and the government's failure to notify Goldman of the denaturalization case in advance. He protested that the government could not deport Goldman for her political opinions; nor could they deport her to Russian territory controlled by anti-Bolshevik forces where her life would be in danger.

Judge Mayer, who presided over Goldman's trial in 1917, also presided over the habeas corpus case. He heard oral arguments on December 8, 1919, and ruled in favor of the government. He agreed to stay the deportation for two days to give Weinberger time to appeal to the Supreme Court, but refused to release Goldman on bail during this period.

The Supreme Court agreed to hear Goldman's appeal. However, government assurances of a speedy deportation to Soviet Russia introduced an opportunity for Goldman and Berkman to take part in the revolutionary struggle in Russia. She decided to accept the inevitability of her deportation rather than stay on Ellis Island to struggle to raise money to fight a losing appeal and be separated from her lifetime friend. In the early-morning hours of December 21, 1919 the government deported Goldman, Berkman, and 247 other Russian radicals on the S.S. *Buford*.

The documentary record of Goldman's deportation includes the arrest warrant, the administrative hearing transcript, and the records of the habeas corpus case and the Supreme Court appeal. The document header for the hearing transcript, a fifty-three page document dated October 27, 1919, contains cross-references to the many exhibits presented at the hearing. Most of these exhibits consist of early documents that are included with other material of the same date in this microfilm edition.

The legal papers from the habeas corpus case, titled *United States ex rel. Goldman v. Caminetti*, include Weinberger's petition for the writ, the government's reply in opposition, and the sixty-nine-page stenographer's transcript of Harry Weinberger and

Francis Caffey's arguments before Judge Mayer on December 8, 1919. The papers in the Supreme Court appeal are Weinberger's petition for a writ of error and his assignment of errors, Justice Brandeis's grant to hear the appeal, and Weinberger's motion to dismiss the appeal, dated December 18, 1919. In addition to the court papers, there is an extensive correspondence maintained by Weinberger regarding the details of the deportation. This correspondence reveals the government's obsession with deporting Goldman and their efforts to conceal their specific plans from her.

Introduction to Reel 65
Government Documents
(December 23, 1919, to March 31, 1922)

The U.S. government's efforts to rid the country of alien radicals peaked in January 1920. Agents of Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer's Justice Department raided offices of organizations identified with communism nationwide the night of January 2, 1920, and arrested thousands, many without warrants. The Bureau of Immigration planned a series of mass deportations modeled after the *Buford* deportation. Ellis Island was filled with Eastern European radicals awaiting deportation.

The Red Scare hysteria provides the backdrop for Goldman's government files in the early 1920s. Correspondence regarding the voyage of the *Buford* dominates the government documents. The Bureau of Immigration sent lists of the names of those deported on the *Buford* to various government agencies. They circulated Goldman's photograph to border officials. Since the *Buford* and its cargo of 249 radicals was en route to Soviet Russia, a country with which the United States had no diplomatic relations, the State Department became involved in negotiating arrangements with the Finnish government to transport the deportees to the Russian frontier at the height of winter.

Two documents provide personal descriptions of Goldman during her deportation. Representative William Vaile of Colorado gave a firsthand account of the *Buford*'s early morning departure in the *Congressional Record* of January 5, 1920. On February 11, 1920, F. W. Berkshire, the Bureau of Immigration's representative on board the *Buford*, submitted his detailed report of the voyage.

During Goldman's two years in Soviet Russia and for the first few months after she left Russia, the U.S. government monitored her activities as closely as possible. The State Department, particularly W. L. Hurley in the Office of the Undersecretary of State, solicited reports on Goldman from returning travelers, collected newspaper clippings of her perceptions of Russia, and received and circulated letters to and from Goldman confiscated by security forces in Europe and the United States. These reports track Goldman's growing dissatisfaction with the Soviet government.

Many of the letters Goldman wrote during her voyage and her first few weeks in Russia were confiscated. She attempted to smuggle numerous copies of each letter into the United States using different couriers. Finnish authorities detained one of the couriers, radical journalist John Reed, and found a letter from Goldman to Stella Ballantine. The letter, addressed only to "Darling," caused considerable excitement when J. Edgar Hoover and others assumed it was sent to Reed and reflected a hitherto unsuspected romantic relationship between the two (see Hoover letter of August 14, 1920).

Other confiscated letters include two from M. Eleanor Fitzgerald—one to Berkman (June 30, 1920) and the other to Alexander Schapiro (July 26, 1921)—as well as a letter from Goldman to Stella Ballantine contained in the September 24, 1921, report of Agent 1076, in which the agent provides accurate parenthetical explanations of Goldman's abbreviations and circumlocutions. Goldman's confiscated letters are included in both the Correspondence series and the Government Documents series.

The Government Documents series includes five letters to and from Lenin, obtained from the Central Party Archives of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Moscow. These include letters between Lenin and Angelica Balabanoff, then secretary of the Third International, arranging an interview for Goldman and Berkman; their list of questions submitted to Lenin before the meeting; an outline of their proposals submitted after the meeting; and Goldman and Berkman's letter protesting the arrest of Henry Alsberg while he was traveling with them.

The departure of Goldman, Berkman, and Alexander Schapiro from Soviet Russia in early December 1921 provoked a flurry of activity in the United States. Fearful that they would try to return, State Department officials sent warnings and photographs to consular officials all over Europe, and to immigration, military intelligence, and investigative officials in the United States. Evan Young, the U.S. representative in Riga, Latvia, submitted frequent reports on Goldman. His report of December 31, 1921, is particularly interesting because it describes Goldman and Berkman's detention by Latvian officials and contains transcripts of documents taken from them, including two address books, Berkman's diary, their credentials to the Anarchist Congress in Berlin, and personal letters.

When Goldman moved to Sweden on a temporary visa in January 1922, American embassy officials there picked up the surveillance. They reported on her continuing visa problems and noted the publication of her appeal on behalf of anarchists imprisoned in Soviet Russia.

In the United States, the State Department sent copies of the material confiscated from Goldman and Berkman in Riga to many government agencies. The Bureau of Investigation began to investigate the people named in the address books. Government documents from March 1922 show the reactions of officials and private citizens to Goldman's anti-Soviet series in the *New York World*.

Introduction to Reel 66
Government Documents
(April 1, 1922, to October 16, 1942)

During Goldman's years in exile after she left Russia, the U.S. government kept only sporadic accounts of her activities. The State Department tracked her moves from Sweden to Germany in April 1922, inaccurately reporting that she went first to Czechoslovakia, and from Germany to England in August 1924. Reports on Goldman's stay in Sweden continued to trickle in throughout 1922, including reports on her lover Arthur Svensson (or Swenson) and on Albert Jensen, her Swedish host. Embassy officials kept Washington informed about Goldman's articles in the European press, her visa problems, and the publication of *My Disillusionment in Russia.*

The Bureau of Investigation chronicled various attacks on Goldman from the communists and the anarchists over what they considered, from various perspectives, to be her betrayal of the revolution. Of particular interest is the October 5, 1922, report of Agent Hopkins, which includes an exchange of letters between Goldman and Joseph Spivak of the International Anarchist Aid Federation. Spivak condemns Goldman's decision to publish her critique of the Soviet state in the *New York World* rather than an anarchist publication, and Goldman caustically defends herself.

Goldman's paper marriage to Welsh coal miner James Colton on June 27, 1925, enabled her to travel freely as a British citizen. In October 1926 she took advantage of her British passport to go to Canada. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police followed her activities closely from her arrival in October 1926 to her departure in February 1928. They concentrated their efforts on her tour of western Canada in the fall and winter of 1926-27 and her fall 1927 lectures in Toronto. Their reports describe Goldman's speeches, audiences, and lecture topics and often include the names and addresses of her hosts. These accounts are especially interesting for their descriptions of the status of anarchist organizations in Canada and the battles between the anarchists and the communists.

Goldman's arrival in Canada in the fall of 1926 provoked an escalation of interest on the part of the U.S. government. The State Department worried that she might try to slip

across the border. In November 1926 journalist Isaac Don Levine prodded the State Department to consider her return to the United States. In an undated letter to Secretary of Labor James J. Davis, marked "not delivered," the State Department concluded that as a British citizen Goldman need only apply for a visa at the border. In fact, as a former deportee and self-proclaimed anarchist she needed special permission from the secretary of labor to reenter the United States.

Between Goldman's departure from Canada in February 1928 and her return in late 1933, she lived in St. Tropez, France, writing her autobiography and making several speaking tours in Europe. The Government Documents series contains few records from this period. The French archives have not yet been able to locate Goldman's personal file with the Sûreté Générale, if indeed such a file exists. The departmental archives in Nice have found Berkman's expulsion file under the name of Alexandre Schmidt-Bergmann, but to date the file is closed to the public. [Editor's Note: Goldman's file from the Sûreté Générale, consisting of over ninety documents, is included in supplementary reel 67. The majority of the documents date from 1895 to 1908, but the file does include correspondence form 1929 and 1930 regarding efforts made to expel Goldman from France.]

In early 1930, prominent author and journalist H. L. Mencken wrote to the Justice Department on Goldman's behalf, asking them to return the manuscripts and lecture notes they confiscated when they arrested her in June 1917. A somewhat perfunctory search by J. Edgar Hoover and others yielded no documents.

In November 1933 a lobbying campaign began to secure for Goldman a visitor's visa to the United States. A committee headed by prominent liberal Mabel Carver Crouch and American Civil Liberties Union cofounder Roger Baldwin organized a massive letter-writing campaign directed at the Commissioner General of Immigration, Daniel MacCormack, and the first woman cabinet member, Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins. Playwright Eugene O'Neill and novelist Sherwood Anderson, among others, petitioned for Goldman's visit.

On November 8, 1933, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, formerly the Bureau of Immigration, prepared a memorandum on the legal and political feasibility of

allowing Goldman to return. They concluded that no legal obstacles existed. From November 1933 through January 1934 Roger Baldwin and attorneys Harry Weinberger and Arthur Leonard Ross negotiated with the Immigration Service over the conditions of her visit.

The Immigration Service finally agreed to issue Goldman a ninety-day visa for the purpose of visiting family and friends. She in turn agreed to lecture on literature and drama, not on politics or current events. Goldman followed these guidelines in her own imaginative way, lecturing on the drama of modern Germany and on her autobiography as literature.

Goldman spent from February 2 to the end of April 1934 in the United States. During her visit, her friends continued to petition the government on her behalf, first to lift the speaking restrictions and then to extend her visa. The Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Immigration Service maintained newspaper clipping files of Goldman's visit. Only a few agent reports of her many speeches exist. One particularly detailed account, on April 11, 1934, describes Goldman's speech in Pittsburgh about her autobiography.

The government files contain a number of letters from private citizens protesting the decision to allow Goldman back. A member of the New York jury that convicted her in 1917 sent a telegram. Several women wrote to Eleanor Roosevelt, worried that Goldman might try to kill the president. Her replies, dated January 31 and June 7, 1934, made light of these fears.

Government reports on the later years of Goldman's life are scarce. The Federal Bureau of Investigation, acting under the Emma Goldman Papers Project's Freedom of Information Act request, released many heavily censored reports from this period, but most only mention Goldman in passing. The Spanish government's records from the Civil War period are unavailable to the extent that they still exist.

Goldman moved to Canada in April 1939, where she remained until her death in May 1940. Her Royal Canadian Mounted Police file for this period contains newspaper clippings of her fall 1939 tour to Winnipeg, her illness, and her death. A few reports from December 1939 describe Goldman's speeches condemning Stalin and reflect the anti-Semitism of the Canadian officials. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the

Federal Bureau of Investigation in Washington, and the Italian Interior Ministry all reported Goldman's death.

Introduction to Reel 67
Government Documents and Goldman Writings
Supplementary Reel

The Government Documents in this reel consist of the material received too late for inclusion in the body of the microfilm. The majority of the documents in this collection are from Goldman's German and French police files.

The German police file, not available until 1989 when the government changes in the German Democratic Republic allowed access to the Staatsarchiv Potsdam, covers the years 1895 to 1917. It includes copies of articles published in various radical newspapers, texts of speeches given by Goldman and Hippolyte Havel at the Anarchist Congress in Paris (1900), and a report on Goldman identifying her as a swindler and a liar.

The French police file tracks Goldman's movements in France around the time of the Anarchist Congress, and includes her Paris landlord's list of mail received by Goldman and newspaper articles describing the interception of mail that revealed "extraordinary plots against the capitalists" (*Le Journal*, March 30, 1908).

The writings in this reel complete the Goldman Writings series (reels 47 to 55). They include essays, drafts of lectures and essays, interviews, summaries of lectures, and Goldman's address book. These documents further illustrate the significant impact of Emma Goldman on her contemporaries. In socialist Yiddish newspapers in New York and in anarchist newspapers in Republican Spain, Goldman continued to write and speak out about justice, freedom of expression, women's rights, and anarchism.

Introduction to Reels 68 and 69
Correspondence—Supplementary Reels
(October 1, 1908, to March 13, 1939)

The two supplementary reels of correspondence include material spanning over thirty years. Most of the correspondence on these reels was received by the Emma Goldman Papers Project too late to be included in the Correspondence series. In some cases, the archives' initial reluctance to grant permission to reprint copyrighted material prevented the inclusion of correspondence in the earlier reels.

The letters on the supplemental reels are as substantive as those on the earlier reels of the Correspondence series. The supplemental reels include further examples of the extraordinary correspondence Goldman and Alexander Berkman sustained for over forty years; of particular significance are five letters written in 1920, during the earliest months of their exile in Soviet Russia, that illustrate their sense of isolation after being uprooted from family and friends in the United States. Reel 68 also features Goldman's letters from the mid-1920s through the early 1930s to H. L. Mencken, editor of the *American Mercury*, which complement the Mencken documents that appear in the Correspondence series. Among other notable collections of letters reproduced in the supplement is the Alfred A. Knopf correspondence, which chronicles the publishing history of Goldman's autobiography, *Living My Life*.

The most voluminous part of the supplementary reels, extending from the later material on reel 68 into reel 69, is devoted to Goldman's official correspondence during the Spanish Civil War as the English-language representative for the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo-Federación Anarquista Ibérica (CNT-FAI) in London. Most of the CNT-FAI material was integrated into the Correspondence series, including signed copies of letters and correspondence on the CNT-FAI letterhead as well as Spanish and English versions of the same letter. Multiple copies in other languages were incorporated into the supplementary reels.

Errata

The errata that follow are divided into five different categories: corrections of errors in individual documents in the Correspondence series and Goldman Writings series, organized chronologically; corrections of errors in institutional locations of individual documents; specific institution citation corrections; global institutional corrections and amendments; additions of cities' names to institutional locations.

The editors wish to draw particular attention, however, to an egregious error in reel 55 of the Goldman Writings series, where we reproduced "The Trotzkyist-Fascist Put[s]ch in Barcelona," attributing it to Emma Goldman. In fact, this typescript is a fragment of a copy of an article that appeared in *Pravda*, May 11, 1937, and thus represents a perspective on the May Days diametrically opposed to that of Goldman. (Indeed, on another copy of the same article among her personal papers at the International Institute of Social History, Goldman wrote in the margin, "You can see to what depths the Moscow gang will go in lying and besmirching our comrades.") For Goldman's perspective on the events in Barcelona, see, for example, "The Barcelona Uprising" and "Where I Stand" on reel 53.

1. Errors in individual documents in Correspondence and Goldman Writings

1908 Dec. 5?	Emma Goldman to Creole Johnson Tucker.	Recipient's name should read Oriole Johnson Tucker.
1911 March 19	Emma Goldman to *The Agitator*	*The Agitator* was located in Home, Wash., not New York City.
1915? April 11	Emma Goldman to Alfred Stieglitz	Identical to a letter from Goldman to Stieglitz of [1916] April 11. The latter date is the correct one.
1924?	Ralph Gilbert Ross to Emma Goldman.	The date should be 1934 between May and July.
1925 Jan. 7	W. Wise to Emma Goldman.	The author's name should be W. Wess.

1927 July 27	Alexander Berkman to Emma Goldman	Pages 2-4 of this letter belong to the 1927 Aug. 16 letter, making the latter a complete four-page letter. Incorrectly reproduced on the microfilm because the editors followed the contributing institution's organization of them.
1927 July 28	Alexander Berkman to Emma Goldman	Pages 2-4 of this letter belong to 1927 July 27, making the latter a complete four-page letter and leaving 1927 July 28 a complete one-page letter. Incorrectly reproduced on the microfilm because the editors followed the contributing institution's organization of them.
1927 Sept. 13	Emma Goldman to J. Sigman	The recipient's first name should be Morris.
1927 Sept. 14	Emma Goldman to Alexander Berkman	This is a fragment of 3 pages, not a complete letter of 5 pages as the header reads.
1927 Sept. 20	Emma Goldman to Elizabeth S. Evans	Recipient's name should read Elizabeth G[lendower] Evans.
1927 Sept. 21	[Interview] Goldman, vella militant anarquista Russa...	Language is Catalan, not Spanish.
1927 Nov. 7	Elizabeth S. Evans to Emma Goldman	Author's name should read Elizabeth G[lendower] Evans.

[1929? Aug.?]	Genia Schwarzward to Emma Goldman.	Author's name should read [Eu]genia Schwarzwald.
1930 Jan. 6	Davis to Emma Goldman.	The date should be June 1; the author's name is Sania (that is, Alexander Schapiro).
[1931] June 22	Mabel [Carver] Crouch to Emma Goldman	The year should be [1933?].
1933 March 6	Mabel Carver Crouch to Emma [Goldman]	The date should read 1933 [Dec.] 6.
[1933] July 5	Emma Goldman to unknown recipient.	The unknown recipient has been identified as Federica Montseny.
1936 March 10	Emma Goldman to Milly Witcop Rocker, Crompond, N.Y.	The recipient's name and location are incorrect. The recipient was Millie Desser in Toronto.
1936 July 5	[Emma Goldman] to Agranov.	The year should be 1933.
1937 Nov. 2	[A letter from Emma Goldman: "Madrid is the wonder of centuries"]	Language is Catalan, not Spanish.

2. Errors in institutional locations of individual documents

1906 May 21	Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, and Carl Nold to [Moses Harman] in *Lucifer the Lightbearer*	Obtained from the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Stanford, Calif.

1911? Aug. 19	Emma Goldman to Lola Ridge	From the Lola Ridge Papers, the Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, Northampton, Mass.
1913 Dec. 18	Emma Goldman to Ellen A. Kennan	From the Edna Kenton Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University.
1913 Dec. 27	Emma Goldman to Mary Heaton [Vorse]	From the Mary Heaton Vorse Papers, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University, Detroit, Mich.
1919 Aug. 12	Emma Goldman to Louis Kramer	From the Adolph Germer Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.
1923?	Emma Goldman Sees the Truth	From the Paul Avrich Papers, United States Library of Congress.
1924 Dec.	Emma Goldman to Hippolyte Havel	From the Paul Avrich Papers, United States Library of Congress.
1924 Dec. 24	Henry G. Alsberg to Emma Goldman	From the University of Michigan, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library: Agnes Inglis Papers, Labadie Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. (The header for this document has an incomplete permission line.)

1924 Dec. 24	Henry G. Alsberg to Emma Goldman	From the House of Lords Record Office, London, England. (The header for this document has an incomplete permission line.)
1925 May 1	The Decline of Emma. Ex-Anarchist's Capitalist Alliances Exposed.	The permission line had an incomplete location. The article is from the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Scotland: Guy Aldred Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Department.
1927 Aug. 16	Emma Goldman to D. Liebovitz	From the Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.
1928 Feb. 6	Emma Goldman to Louis Kramer	From the Adolph Germer Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison.
1929 April 29	Emma Goldman to Theodore Dreiser	From the Theodore Dreiser Collection, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania.
[1929 June 27]	[Greetings to Emma Goldman. In German] Emma Goldman zum Gruß!	From the Emma Goldman Archive, International Institute of Social History.
1929 Aug. 22	Joseph Ishill to Emma [Goldman]	From the Joseph Ishill Papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Department, University of Florida Library.

1932 April 16	[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman i härnad mot diktaturens maktspråk [Emma Goldman at war against the language of dictatorship. In Swedish]	From the Emma Goldman Archive, International Institute of Social History.
1937 May 5	Emmy Eckstein to Emma Goldman	From the Emma Goldman Papers, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

3. Specific institution citation corrections

Various	The Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif	Several documents give the wrong collection at this institution.
1913 Nov. 24	Emma Goldman, Ben L. Reitman, and Alexander Berkman to Jack London	From the Jack London Collection.
1916 April 28	Emma Goldman to Sara Bard Field	From the C. E. S. Wood Collection.
1918 Jan. 8	Emma Goldman to Kitty Beck	From the C. E. S. Wood Collection.
1918 Oct. 13	Emma Goldman to Kitty Beck	From the C. E. S. Wood Collection.
1925 Oct. 24	Havelock Ellis to Emma Goldman	From the Sonya Levien Hovey Collection.
1925 Nov. 6	Emma Goldman to Sonya Levien Hovey	From the Sonya Levien Hovey Collection.

1925 Nov. 8	Emma Goldman to Havelock Ellis	From the Sonya Levien Hovey Collection.
1925 [between] Dec. [8 and 31]	Emma Goldman to Gustave Percival Wiksell.	From the Sonya Levien Hovey Collection.

4. Global institution corrections and amendments

The George Bernard Shaw Papers and the Anna Baron Papers at the Boston University Libraries, Department of Special Collections	All documents attributed to these collections are in fact from the Emma Goldman Papers at that institution.
The University of Michigan Library, Harlan Hatcher Graduate Library: Federico Arcos Papers, Labadie Collection, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections	"Federico" was misspelled.
From the private collection of Federico Arcos, Windsor, Ontario, Canada	"Federico" was misspelled.
The University of Wisconsin, Madison, Archives: Charles R. Van Hise Presidential Papers, General Correspondence Files, Series 4/10/1, Box 18	University campus corrected to Madison.
The Peter Kropotkin Collection in the Central State Archive of the October Revolution	The correct citation for material from this collection is as follows: The Central State Archive of the October Revolution (TsGAOR SSSR), Moscow: Fond 1129, Peter Kropotkin Collection.
The George Seldes Collection, Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania	Material in Goldman Writings cited as being from this collection was misattributed. It comes from the Pennsylvania State University Libraries, University Park, Pa.

The Alexander Berkman Archive at the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam	Documents from this archive are distinguished by a "Be" stamp in the upper right corner of the document next to the institution's stamp.
The London Public Libraries, London, Ontario: The London Room	Permission from The London Free Press, London, Ontario, should be appended to documents from this institution.
The D. B. Weldon Library of the University of Western Ontario, Special Collections Department	Permission from The London Free Press, London, Ontario, should be appended to documents from this library.

5. Omitted cities.

The names of cities were omitted from the following institution locations:

American Jewish Historical Society, Waltham, Mass.

Archiv Trotzdem Verlag, Grafenau, Germany.

Biblioteca Arus, Barcelona, Spain.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

National Library of Medicine, Bethesda, Md.

National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, Dyfed, Wales.

New York State Archives, Albany.

State Library of Pennsylvania, Harrisburg.

The Emma Goldman Papers
Correspondence Series
Index by Personal Name

Correspondent
Date . . . . . *Reel*

Aaron, Manley M.
* 1930 Feb. 20 22
* 1930 Feb. 20 68
* 1930 March 12 22
* 1930 March 12 68
* 1930 March 19 22
* 1930 March 19 68
1930 March 31 22
1930 March 31 68
* 1930 April 25 23
* 1930 A[pril] 25 68
1930 May 2 23
1930 May 2 68
* 1930 June 7 23
* 1931 May 22 24
[19]31 May 31 24
[19]31 May 31 68
* 1931 Nov. 27 25

Abad de Santillán, Diego
[19]37 Feb. 3 39
* 1939 March 14 45
* 1939 March 16 46
* 1939 March 19 46

Abbott, Leonard D.
* 1925 Jan. 13 14
1927 April 5 18
1927 July 30 18
* 1928 Jan. 17 19
* 1928 Aug. 17 20
* 1928 Sept. 6 20
* 1929 Dec. 28 22
* [19]30 Jan. 12 22
* 1930 Feb. 2 22
* [19]30 April 26 23
* [19]31 July 3 24
1931 Aug. 21 24
* 1931 Sept. 13 24
* [19]31 Nov. 21 25
1931 Dec. 2 25

Correspondent
Date . . . . . *Reel*

1931 Dec. 29 25
* 1932 Jan. 20 26
1932 Feb. 8 26
1932 Feb. 8 26
* 1932 Feb. 22 26
* 1934 Feb. 4 30

Abbott, Leonard; Alexander Berkman; Emma Goldman; et al.
* 1911 June 5
* 1922 Aug. 13

Abramovich, Raphael
* 1937 July 28 40
* 1937 Nov. 8 41

Abrams, Irving S.
* [1940 June?] 46

Ackerman, Mollie
[19]31 Oct. 7 25

Adams, Harold M.
[19]36 May 27 37
* 1936 June 3 37

Adams de Puertas, Gwendolyn
* [1938?] 41
* 1938 June 16 43

Addison, Peter
* 1938 Feb. 1 42
* 1938 Feb. 2 42
[19]38 Feb. 19 42

Address List to Ben L. Reitman
[1910? June?] 3

L'Adunata dei Refrattari
[1922 April?] 12
[1927 April?] 18
[1928 Dec. 1] 20

The Agitator
1911 March 19 5

Agranov
[19]33 July 5 28

(* denotes "written by")

Agronsky, Gerston
* [19]39 Feb. 14 45
[19]39 Feb. 16 45
Aitken, E. L.
[19]36 May 27 37
* 1936 June 5 37
Aldred, Guy
* 1936 Nov. 28 38
* 1936 Nov. 28 38
* 1937 March 31 39
Allan, Martha
* 1935 Jan. 15 33
1935 Jan. 19 33
Allan, S. J.
1928 Jan. 6 19
Allen, Frank Theodore
* 1918 March 21 11
George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
1934 Nov. 29 33
* 1934 Dec. 12 33
1934 Dec. 27 33
1935 Feb. 13 33
[19]37 Nov. 21 41
Almonte, Marie
* 1937 Nov. 26 41
Alsberg, Henry G.
* 1924 Dec. 24 14
* 1924 Dec. 24 14
* 1924 Dec. 24 14
* 1924 Dec. 24 14
* 1924 Dec. 24 14
* 1925 March 25 14
* 1925 May 13 15
* 1925 July 22 15
* 1925 Sept. 26 15
* 1926 Aug. 27 16
* 1926 Dec. 15 16
* 1927 Dec. 25 19
* 1929 Jan. 22 20
[19]29 Jan. 25 20
* 1929 Jan. 2[6] 20
* 1929 Feb. 6 20
[19]29 Feb. 9 20
* 1929 March 22 21
* 1929 April 24 21
* 1929 June 4 21
* 1929 June 18 21
1929 June 30 21
* 1929 July 23 21
* [1929 Sept.?] 21
[19]29 Oct. 22 22
* 1929 Nov. 3 22
1929 Nov. 26 22
* 1929 Dec. 22 22
1930 Jan. 7 22
* 1930 Feb. 8 22
1930 Feb. 11 22
* 1930 Feb. 26 22
* [1930 Feb. 26] 22
* 1930 March 3 22
* 1930 March 3 22
* 1930 March 4 22
1930 March 4 22
[1930] March 11 22
1930 March 20 22
* 1930 March 24 22
1930 March 31 22
* 1930 April 3 23
* 1930 April 3 23
* 1930 April 4 23
1930 April 23 23
[1930 April 23] 23
1930 May 2 23
* 1930 May 7 23
1930 May 12 23
* 1930 May 14 23
* 1930 May 14 23
* 1930 May 14 23
1930 May 21 23
* 1930 May 25 23
* 1930 June 18 23
* 1930 June 18 23
1930 June 27 23
* 1931 Feb. 17 23
* 1931 March 10 23
1931 March 24 23
* 1931 April 14 23
* [1931] June 10 24
* 1931 July 6 24
* 1931 July 28 24
[19]31 Aug. 17 24
* 1931 Aug. 19 24
* [1931] Aug. 20 24
1931 Sept. 15 24
* [19]31 Dec. 30 25
* [19]33 Jan. 3 28

Alsberg, Henry G. (cont'd.)
[1933? Feb.?] 28
* [1933?] July 20 28
* [1933] Dec. 26 29
* 1934 Jan. 6 29
1934 April 9 30
* [1934 April 25?] 30
* [1934 April 26?] 30
1934 May 4 31
[19]34 May 20 31
1934 Sept. 21 32
* 1935 April 2 34
* [19]35 April 16 34
[19]35 April 21 34
* [19]35 April 23 34
[19]35 June 2 34
[19]35 June 2 34
[19]35 Sept. 28 35
* [1935] Oct. 31 35
[19]35 Nov. 19 35
[19]36 March 2 36

Alsberg, Henry G., and Saxe Commins
* 1929 [Aug. 15?] 21
* 1929 Aug. 15 68

Alsberg, Henry G., and Emma Goldman
* 1928 Dec. 12 20
* [19]28 Dec. 26 68

Altrincham Garrick Society
[19]36 May 15 37

American Mercury
* 1932 March 18 26
* 1934 July 13 31
1934 July 16 31

American News Company, Ltd.
* 1934 Dec. 5 33

Anarchist Syndicalist Union
[19]38 June 1 43

Anarcho-Syndicalist Congress
1931 June 24

Ander, L.
* 1938 Aug. 23 44

Anderson, John
[19]36 May 27 37

Anderson, Margaret ("Martie")
* [1929 Sept.?] 22
* [1930 April?] 23
* [19]30 April 19 23

Andersson, John
[19]37 July 21 40
[19]38 Jan. 19 42
* 1938 Feb. 18 42
[19]38 July 21 44
* 1938 Aug. 4 44
[19]38 Aug. 9 44
[19]38 Nov. 19 44
* 1938 Nov. 23 44
* 1938 Dec. 44
[19]38 Dec. 1 44
* 1938 Dec. 3 69
* 1938 Dec. 7 44
[19]38 Dec. 21 45
* 1939 Jan. 14 45
[19]39 Feb. 5 45
[19]39 Feb. 6 45
* 1939 Feb. 9 45
* 1939 Feb. 10 45
[19]39 Feb. 13 45
* 1939 Feb. 16 45
[19]39 Feb. 18 45
[19]39 Feb. 20 45
[19]39 Feb. 22 45
* 1939 Feb. 24 45
* 1939 March 7 45
[19]39 March 8 45
* 1939 March 10 45
[19]39 March 12 45

Andrea, Leonardo
1931 Dec. 29 25

Andrews, John B.
1907 Dec. 2 2

Angoff, Charles
* [1934] March 2 30
* [1934] March 2 30
1934 March 8 30
* 1934 March 9 30
[1934 May?] 31
* [1934] May 25 31
1934 June 21 31
* [1934] July 2 31
1934 July 4 31
* [1934] July 11 31
1934 July 14 31
1934 July 18 31
[19]34 July 23 31
* 1934 July 24 31

Angoff, Charles (cont'd.)
[19]34 July 27 31
* [1934] July 30 31
1934 Aug. 12 32
1935 April 6 34
1935 April 22 34
Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation
[19]37 Jan. 19 39
Antolini, Gabriella
1927 Oct. 28 19
Antona, David
* [1937 Feb.?] 39
* 1937 Feb. 25 39
* 1937 March 30 39
* [1937 March 30] 39
* 1937 April 17 40
* 1937 April 1[7] 68
* [19]37 May 22 40
* 1937 May 22 40
* 1937 May 22 40
* 1937 May 22 68
Appeal for the CNT to the English Trade Unions
1938 Jan. [15?] 41
D. Appleton-Century Company
1935 Oct. 15 35
Aragon, Teresa
* [19]37 Aug. 28 41
Arbetaren
1924 Jan. 31 13
Archdale, Helen A.
* 1925 May 12 15
1925 May 13 15
* 1925 May 26 15
1925 June 3 15
* 1925 June 10 15
* 1925 July 9 15
1925 July 10 15
* 1925 July 14 15
Armitt, R. E.
* [19]36 Feb. 6 36
[19]36 May 27 37
Armstrong, William
1927 May 14 18
* [1927] June 19 18
Aron, Anna
* 1934 Dec. 31 33
1935 March 21 34
* 1935 March 23 34
Aronstam, Modest. ***See*** **Stein, Modest**
Ashby, Margaret
1937 March 25 39
1939 March 13 69
Association Internationale des Travailleurs. ***See also*** **Mascarell, Manuel; Rüdiger, Helmut**
[1938 July?] 43
Association of Writers for Intellectual Liberty
[19]38 June 1 69
Astor, Nancy (Viscountess Astor)
1926 April 5 15
* 1926 April 7 15
[19]26 April 9 15
1926 April 17 15
[1926 April 17] 15
[1926 April 17] 15
1926 April 24 15
* 1926 April 26 15
1926 April 29 15
1926 May 10 16
1926 May 18 16
[19]26 May 21 16
* 1926 May 26 16
* 1926 May 26 16
1926 May 31 16
Atlantic Monthly
* 1927 June 30 18
Authorization for Emma Goldman
[1937 Jan. 11] 39
Avery, R. R.
* [1936 July?] 38
Axelson, Carl
1927 Nov. 28 19
Axler, B.
* 1933 Dec. 31 29
[19]34 Jan. 17 29
[19]34 Jan. 23 29
Ay, Jean
* 1937 Nov. 8 41
1938 Jan. 17 42
[19]38 Nov. 2 44
[19]38 Nov. 2 69
1938 Nov. 28 44
1939 Jan. 17 45

Ay, Jean (cont'd.)
[1939 Feb. 4] 45
1939 Feb. 6 45
[19]39 Feb. 15 45
B.
* [1938 Jan. btw. 11 and 31] . . 41
* [19]38 Nov. 16 44
Ba Jin
[1925] 14
1927 May 26 18
* 1927 July 5 18
1927 Aug. 4 18
1927 Sept. 28 19
1927 Nov. 11 19
1928 April 24 20
* [btw. 1930 and 1940] 22
* [1933 Sept.?] 28
* [1933 Sept.?] 28
Baginski, Max
* 1927 July 8 18
Baginski, Max, and Emma Goldman
* 1906 Jan. 20 2
* [1906 April 1?] 2
Baker, Gladys
* 1934 Jan. 31 29
Baker, Jacob
1927 Sept. 27 19
Baker, S. Josephine
* 1932 April 22 26
Balabanoff, Angelica
* [19]25 July 7 15
1925 Aug. 15 15
* [1925? Dec.?] 15
* [1926?] 15
* [1926?] 15
* [1931] Oct. 5 25
[19]31 Oct. 9 25
* [1932] Feb. 8 26
* 1932 Feb. 9 26
* [1932? April?] 26
* [1933?] June 23 28
* [1933?] Dec. 2 29
[19]34 Jan. 7 29
1934 Feb. 23 30
* 193[4] May 10 31
1934 July 16 31
* 1934 Aug. 26 32
* [1934] Aug. 26 32
* [1934] Oct. 1 32
1934 Oct. 9 32
* [1935] July 7 35
* [1935] Aug. 8 35
[19]35 Aug. 23 35
[19]35 Aug. 29 35
* [1935] Sept. 7 35
* 1935 Nov. 27 35
[19]35 Nov. 29 35
[19]35 Dec. 5 36
* [1935] Dec. 24 36
* [1935] Dec. 31 36
[19]36 Jan. 10 36
[19]36 Feb. 25 36
* [1936] March 2 36
* [19]36 March 16 37
* [19]36 July 8 38
[19]36 Aug. 2 38
* [1936] Aug. 21 38
1939 Jan. 26 45
* [19]39 Feb. 8 45
1939 Feb. 17 45
1939 July 31 46
Baldwin, Roger
1909 Sept. 10 3
* 1909 Sept. 20 3
1910 Dec. 7 4
* 1910 Dec. 10 4
1910 Dec. 21 4
* 1910 Dec. 23 4
* 1911 Jan. 24 4
[1911] Jan. 24 4
1911 Feb. 11 5
* 1913 April 25 7
1919 Feb. 6 11
* 1922 Sept. 12 13
1922 Oct. 23 13
* 1923 Feb. 12 13
* [1923? Sept.?] 13
* 1923 Nov. 20 13
1924 March 18 13
* 1924 April 23 13
1924 June 3 13
* 1924 June 20 13
* 1924 Sept. 15 13
1924 Nov. 6 14
1924 Nov. 6 14
* 1924 Nov. 24 14

Baldwin, Roger (cont'd.)
1925 Jan. 5 14
1925 Jan. 5 14
* 1925 March 27 14
* 1925 March 27 14
1925 April 20 14
1925 April 20 14
1925 April 20 14
1925 April 20 14
1925 April 20 14
1925 April 20 14
* 1925 May 15 15
[1925] Oct. 23 15
1925 Oct. 23 15
* 1928 Jan. 24 19
1928 April 4 20
* 1928 April 20 20
1928 May 3 20
* 1928 June 1 20
* 1928 June 1 20
1930 Feb. 21 22
* 1930 March 14 22
* 1930 March 14 22
1930 April 7 23
* 1930 April 21 23
* [1930] July 31 23
* [1930] Aug. 26 23
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Baldwin, Roger (cont'd.)
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Baldwin, Roger (cont'd.)
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* 1937 June 9 40
* 1937 June 18 40
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Ballantine, David
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Ballantine, Edward
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Ballantine, Edward and Ian
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Ballantine, Harry
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Ballantine, Ian
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Ballantine, Stella (cont'd.)
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Ballantine, Stella (cont'd.)
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Ballantine, Stella (cont'd.)
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Ballantine, Stella (cont'd.)
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* 1940 May 2-6 46
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* 1940 May 27 46
1940 June 4 46

Ballantine, Stella, and Saxe Commins
* [19]36 [July] 2 38
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[1936 Sept. 9] 38
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Ballantine, Stella, and M. Eleanor Fitzgerald
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1920 June [15]-29 12
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1921 Jan. 29 12

Ballantine, Stella, and M. Eleanor Fitzgerald (cont'd.)
1921 Jan. 29-Feb. 5 12
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1921 May 19 12
Ballantine, Stella, and Emma Goldman
1919 Jan. 25 11
* 1934 March 8 30
Balston, Thomas
* 1932 Oct. 17 27
* 1932 Oct. 24 27
1932 Oct. 31 27
* 1932 Nov. 4 27
Bank of Montreal
* 1935 Oct. 12 35
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Bannister, G. H.
* 1939 Dec. 6 46
Banque Seligman
1929 April 30 21
* [1932 June 23] 27
[19]38 March 26 42
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Banque W. F. King
* 1929 Oct. 2 22
Barber, Walter L.
[19]36 May 15 37
* 1936 May 19 37
Barker, Christina Ross
* [19]35 Aug. 2 35
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Barker, Mary
* 1936 July 12 38
Barnett, Kathleen
* 1936 June 9 37
Barnsdale, Aline
* 1925 Oct. 22 15
[19]30 May 9 23
[1932? Jan.?] 26
* 1932 July 30 27
1932 Aug. 28 27
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Barondess, Joseph
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* 1903 Dec. 29 1
Barr, Ralph
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Barrett, Fannie
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* 1936 July 10 38
1937 March 5 39
1937 March 5 39
1937 July 6 40
1937 July 6 40
Barton, J. Craig
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Baruta Vilá, Mateo
[1939 Jan. 5] 45
1939 Jan. 5 69
Baruta Vilá, Mateo, and Lucía Sánchez Saornil
* 1939 Jan. 27 45
Baskette, Ewing C.
* 1934 Nov. 29 33
1934 Dec. 8 33
1934 Dec. 8 33
Bass, Leon. *See* **Malmed, Leon**
Battaglia, Luis
1939 Oct. 31 46
Bauer, Kaspar
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Baum, Lilly
* 1936 July 18 38
* [19]36 July 18 38
Beach, Sylvia
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1925 Sept. 20 15
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Beard, Charles A.
1928 Jan. 26 19
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Beazell, W. P.
* 1923 Aug. 19 13
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1924 Feb. 3 13
Becchetti, Leo
* [19]40 Feb. 3 46
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Beck, Gustav
* 1928 Jan. 25 19
1928 Feb. 8 19
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1932 May 25 26
* 1934 Feb. 8 30
Beck, J. H.
[1936 May 15] 37
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Beck, Kitty
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Bederick, Jennie
1916 Aug. 28 10
1916 Oct. 28 10
Beffel, John Nicholas
1915 Oct. 16 9
Bell, Thomas H.
* 1926 Nov. 22 16
1926 Dec. 31 16
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* 1937 April 5 40
* 1937 April 5 40
1937 May 14 40
1937 May 14 40
1937 July 1 40
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Benson, Bernard
* 1926 July 28 16
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Bentley, Arthur Fisher
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Berger, Victor L.
* 1927 Nov. 15 68
1927 Dec. 8 19
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Berkman, Alexander ("Sasha"). *See also* Eckstein, Emmy, and Alexander Berkman
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1925 July 27 15
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Berkman, Alexander ("Sasha" – cont'd.)
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192[7] Jan. 31 17
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Berkman, Alexander ("Sasha" – cont'd.)
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Berkman, Alexander ("Sasha" – cont'd.)
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Berkman, Alexander ("Sasha" – cont'd.)
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Berkman, Alexander ("Sasha" – cont'd.)
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Berkman, Alexander ("Sasha" – cont'd.)
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Berkman, Alexander ("Sasha" – cont'd.)
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Berkman, Alexander ("Sasha" – cont'd.)
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Berkman, Alexander ("Sasha" – cont'd.)
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1934 Nov. [3?] 33
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[1933 Nov. 9-10] 68
[19]34 Nov. 14 33
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Berkman, Alexander ("Sasha" – cont'd.)
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[1935 Aug. 20?] 35
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* [19]35 Nov. 9 35
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Berkman, Alexander ("Sasha" – cont'd.)
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[1936 Feb. 14?] 36
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* 1936 March 23 37
[19]36 March 24 37
[19]36 March 25 37
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[1936 March 28] 37
[1936 March 29] 37
[19]36 May 1 37

Berkman, Alexander ("Sasha" – cont'd.)
[1936 May? 13?] 37
[1936 May? 13?] 37
[1936 May? 13?] 37
[1936 May] 18 37
* [1936? June?] 68
* [19]36 June 6 37
[19]36 June 9 37
* 1936 June 10 37
[19]36 June 11 37
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[1936 June 12] 37
[1936 June 12] 37
[1936 June 12] 37
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[1936 June 25] 37
* 1936 June 26 37
[19]3[6] June 26 37
* 1936 June 27 37
[19]36 June 27 37

Alexander Berkman Provisional Committee
[19]35 May 2 34

Berkman, Alexander, and Emma Goldman
* 1920 Feb. 28-March 4 68
* 1920 March 14 68
* 1920 May 1 68

Berkman, Alexander; Emma Goldman; and Carl Nold
* [1906] May 21 2

Berkman, Alexander; Emma Goldman; and Petrovsky Perkus
* 1921 March 5 12

Berkman, Alexander; Emma Goldman; and Alexander Schapiro
* 1922 Jan. 12 12
* 1922 Jan. 12 12

Berkman, Alexander; Harry Kelly; and Emma Goldman
* 1906 Nov. 3 2
* 1906 Nov. 20 2

Berneri, Camillo
* 1937 March 30 39

Bernheim, A.
* 1932 May 17 26
* [1932?] Aug. 28 27
* [19]32 Sept. 23 68
* [19]32 Sept. 28 68

Bernstein, B. A.
* 1913 July 2 7

Bernstein, Rose
[1933 Oct. 1?] 29
[19]34 Jan. 5 29
[19]34 Feb. 3 30
* 1935 May 2 34
[19]35 Sept. 5 35
* 1939 Feb. 9 45
1939 Oct. 28 46

Bernstein, Rose and Myer
[19]39 March 10 69

Bertoni, Luigi
* 1933 April 8 28

Besnard, Pierre
* 1937 Oct. 13 41

Best, Marshall A.
* 1934 Feb. 16 30
1934 Feb. 21 30
* 1934 June 7 31
1934 June 11 31
* 1934 Nov. 5 33
* 1935 July 29 35

Best & Company, Ltd.
* 1934 Jan. 30 29
1934 Feb. 24 30

Bibby, Henry Lambert
[1934] Sept. 20 32
* 1934 Sept. 26 32

Bibby, Henry Lambert (cont'd.)
1934 Oct. 31 32
1935 April 5 34
Biggs, Meriel E. D.
* 1935 Jan. 15 33
Billings, Warren K.
* 1925 Aug. 14 15
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Bing, Harold F.
* 1936 Feb. 11 36
Bird, A.
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Bjorklund, Carl Johan
1922 May 4 13
1922 Aug. 6 13
Blackwell, Alice Stone
[1906 btw. Feb. 1 and March 9] 2
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Blair, Eileen (Mrs. George Orwell)
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1938 March 21 42
1938 March 21 42
1938 April 8 42
* 1938 April 12 42
1938 April 14 42
1938 May 3 43
* 1938 May 10 43
1938 May 17 43
Blankenhorn, Mary
* 1934 Oct. 3 32
1934 Oct. 6 32
The Blast
[1916 Jan. 15] 9
[1916 Feb. 19] 9
1917 Jan. 8 10
Bluestein, Abe
[1931?] 23
* 1934 Jan. 10 29
1935 Jan. 19 33
* 1935 Feb. 6 33
1935 Feb. 11 33
[19]35 Dec. 24 36
[19]36 Feb. 17 36
* 1937 Jan. 4 39
* 1937 June 18 40
* [1937 July 1] 40
* 1937 July 1 68
* 193[8] Jan. 4 41
1938 Jan. 25 42
1938 Jan. 25 42
[1938 Jan. 31] 42
* 1938 April 16 43
1938 May 9 43
1938 July 28 44
* 1940 Feb. 23 46
Bluestein, Abe and Selma
[1937 May 13] 40
Blum, Frances
1926 June 27 16
Blum, Frances and Jerome
1926 March 31 15
Boghandel, Gyldendalske
1924 March 15 13
1924 May 5 13
* [19]24 Aug. 13 13
Bokförlaget Fedarativ
1924 [Feb.? 9?] 13
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* 1924 March 15 13
Bond, R. F.
* 1934 Aug. 17 32
1934 Nov. 1 33
Bonfils, Fred G.
1912 May 16 6
Boni, Albert
* 1926 July 26 16
[192]7 July 29 18
* 1927 Aug. 2 18
Boni, Albert and Charles
1932 April 13 26
Bonn Publishers
1934 Dec. 26 33
Bonnier, Albert
1924 Jan. 25 13
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1924 Jan. 31 13
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1924 Feb. 17 13
1924 March 18 13
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Bonnier, Albert (cont'd.)
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1924 April 21 13
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1926 March 31 15
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1926 April 19 15
* 1926 April 27 15
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* 1928 June 4 20

Bony, E.
* [1938 Oct.?] 44

Booth, E. Elliott
* 1934 July 5 31
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1934 Nov. 1 33
* 1934 Nov. 3 33

Borghi, Armando
1928 Oct. 14 20
1929 Sept. 2 21
* [1933?] 68

Bortolotti, Arthur
1938 Aug. 22 44
1938 Aug. 22 69

Bowditch, John
1934 Feb. 19 30
1935 Feb. 3 33

Bowers, Florence W.
* 1934 Nov. 15 33

Bowman, Barbara
* 1933 May 10 68

Boyesen, Bayard
1917 Aug. 8 10
[19]22 April 22 12
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1922 Aug. 3 13
1923 Feb. 20 13
1923 March 18 13
1925 June 5 15
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Boyle, Kay
* 1932 Jan. 17 26
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* 1940 Feb. 13 46

Brailsford, H. N.
* 1926 Jan. 1 15

Brainard, Clinton T.
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* 1922 July 3 13
1922 Dec. 9 13
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[1923 Sept.] 13

Bralans, Sarah
* [1934] Jan. 10 29

Brandes, Eva
[19]39 Oct. 30 46
[1939 Oct. 30] 46
* 1939 Nov. 4 46
1939 Nov. 10 46

Braund, W. E. and A.
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Brentano Publishers
1924 July 2 13

Breshkovskaya, Catherine
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1904 Dec. 14 1
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Briggs, Frances
* 1926 Aug. 25 16
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* 1935 Dec. 12 36
[19]36 Feb. 7 36
* 1936 Feb. 8 36
[19]36 Feb. 13 36
[19]36 March 4 36
* 1936 March 5 36

Briggs, Frances (cont'd.)
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* 1936 April 28 37
[19]36 May 8 37
* 1936 May 11 37
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* 1936 May 21 37
[19]36 June 8 37
* 1936 June 11 37
[19]36 June 15 37
* 1936 July 25 38
* 1937 March 12 39
[193]8 April 2 42
* 1938 April 4 42
[19]38 April 19 43
* 1939 March 17 46

Bring, Helene
1925 May 18 15

Brockway, Fenner
* 1937 Feb. 23 39
[19]37 March 5 39
* 1937 March 12 39
1937 March 24 39
1937 March 31 39
* 1937 April 2 40
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[19]37 April 28 40
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* [1937 May 22] 40
* 1937 Aug. 7 41
* [1937 Aug. 7] 41
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* 1937 Aug. 30 41
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* 1938 Jan. 14 41
* 1938 Jan. 14 41
* 1938 Jan. 27 42
* 1938 Feb. 17 42
1938 April 28 43
[19]38 July 12 69
1938 Aug. 3 44
1938 Aug. 12 44

Brooker, Ben
1935 April 2 34

Broun, Heywood
1927 Aug. 26 18

Brounstein, P.
1934 July 21 31

Brown, Isabel
* [1938 March?] 42

Brown, M. L.
* 1927 May 18 18

Browne, Maurice
1914 May 4 8
1935 Dec. 4 36
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* [1]935 Dec. 18 36
1937 April 11 40

Brupbacher, Fritz
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[19]33 Sept. 6 28

Bryant, Louise
* 1919 Jan. 25 11
1920 Nov. 4 12

Buck, F. J.
* 1936 March 3 36

Buckell, Herschel
* 1932 Nov. 7 27

Burke, Thomas
1938 April 14 42
* [1938 April 20?] 43

Burnett, Florence
* [1934 April 26?] 30
* [1935 March 22?] 34
1935 March 30 34
* [1935] Aug.18 35
[19]35 Sept. 28 68
* [1936] July 2 38
[19]36 July 16 38

Burnett, Whit
* 1931 Dec. 2 25
1931 Dec. 30 25

Burr, Gene
* 1918 Feb. 23 11

Burtchen, Willi
* 1932 Feb. 2 68

Burton, Harry Payne
1930 July 26 23

Busch, Reinhold
* 1932 May 2 26
* 1932 Oct. 4 27
[19]32 Oct. 14 27

Buttitta, A. J.
1931 Oct. 27 68

Buttitta, A. J. (cont'd.)
1933 March 6 68
1933 April 22 68
Bye, George T.
1929 Nov. 5 22
1929 Nov. 11 22
* 1929 Dec. 30 22
1930 Jan. 22 22
1934 July 11 31
* 1934 Aug. 21 32
CNT-FAI. ***See*** **Confederación Nacional del Trabajo-Federación Anarquista Ibérica; and Gudell, Martin; Herrera, Pedro; Souchy, Augustin; Vázquez, Mariano R.**
CNT-FAI Boletín de Información
[1937 Nov.] 41
Caiserman, H. M.
* 1926 Dec. 14 16
[192]7 June 14 18
* 1927 July 18 18
* [19]35 April 2 34
1935 April 6 34
1939 July 26 46
Campbell, Mrs. J. D.
1925 Jan. 20 14
1925 Jan. 30 14
Campbell, Jerome
* 1933 Aug. 10 28
1934 Jan. 17 29
Campbell, L.
* 1932 Feb. 8 26
Campbell, Thomas
[19]36 May 29 37
Cano, Juana
* 1939 Jan. 14 45
Canovas, Angelita, et al.
* [1938? Dec.?] 44
Jonathan Cape
1934 Dec. 26 33
Capes, Ben
[1911] March 21 5
191[1] March 26 5
1911 Nov. 20 5
1913 Nov. 25 7
1919 Sept. 23 11
1919 Oct. 22 12
1924 Dec. 9 14
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1925 June 23 15
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1926 Feb. 16 15
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1927 March 28 17
1927 May 14 18
1927 June 13 18
1927 July 8 18
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[1927 July 30] 18
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1927 Nov. 12 19
1927 Nov. 20 19
1928 July 4 20
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1930 Feb. 20 22
1930 May 6 23
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1932 Jan. 18 26
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1934 June 5 31
1934 June 5 31
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* 1935 May 3 34
* 1935 July 30 35
* [1935 Aug. 1?] 35
[19]35 Sept. 30 35
[19]36 July 16 38
1937 Jan. 5 39
1937 March 1 39
1938 Feb. 10 42
* [19]38 June 14 43
1938 July 5 43
* [19]38 Aug. 3 44
1938 Aug. 22 44
* [19]39 Jan. 7 45

(* denotes "written by")

Capes, Ben (cont'd.)
1939 Feb. 3 45
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Capes, Ben and Ida
[1923?] 13
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1934 Sept. 11 32
1934 Dec. 16 33
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[19]38 March 29 42
Capes, Ben and Ida, and Rudolf and Milly Rocker
[19]33 Dec. 14 29
Capes, Ida
[19]29 Sept. 22 21
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Carbó, Eusebio
1936 May 1 37
1936 May 1 37
1936 May 1 37
[1936 Dec. 15] 39
1936 Dec. 15 39
193[7] Jan. 1 39
[19]37 Jan. 15 68
1937 Jan. 16 39
Carpenter, Edward
1924 Dec. 1 14
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* 1924 Dec. 15 14
1925 Feb. 20 14
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Carrick, Lynn
* 1932 July 29 27
* 1932 Oct. 29 27
Casparsson, Ragnar
1925 Feb. 9 14
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* 1925 Feb. 15 14
* 1925 Feb. 15 14
Cassel, John
1931 Feb. 25 23
Cassell and Co. Ltd.
1935 Nov. 27 35
Century Company
* 1932 Nov. 9 27
Cerbère (France), Mayor of
* [1936? Sept.? 15?] 38
Champney, Adeline
* 1910 Sept. 4 4
Channing, Walter
1902 Oct. 18 1
Chantler, Cyril
[19]36 May 5 37
Charles-Werner, Eleanore
* [1937 May 17] 40
Charoff, J.
1938 Nov. 18 44
Chater, A. G.
* 1930 March 12 22
Chatto & Windus
1934 Dec. 26 68
Chemin de fer du Midi
[19]39 Feb. 15 45
Chernen, Erna
* 1933 Oct. 2 29
* 1933 Oct. 10 29
Cheyney, Lucia Trent
1928 Jan. 7 19
Chivers, E.
1936 May 15 37
Christy, Tom
* [19]38 June 30 43
[19]38 July 5 43
Churchill, Stella
* 1937 June 10 40
* 1938 March 17 42
* [19]38 March 19 42
1938 April 4 42
* 1938 April 7 42
* 1938 April 12 42
* [19]38 April 15 42
[19]38 April 22 43
* 1938 May 5 43
* [19]38 May 12 43
1938 June 9 43
* 1938 Nov. 24 44
[19]39 Jan. 29 45
[19]39 Feb. 1 45
* 1939 Feb. 2 45
1939 Feb. 5 45
[19]39 March 5 45
[19]39 March 17 46
* [19]40 Feb. 1 46

Clark, Ida
1924 April 24 13
Clayton, John
* [1922 May?] 13
1924 April 25 13
Clements, Sonia, and James Harrison
[19]38 March 13 42
Clouter, F. M.
* 1934 June 7 31
1934 June 18 31
1934 June 26 31
1934 Oct. 27 68
Coffin, Jo
[1939 Jan. 26?] 45
Cohen, B.
* 1928 Jan. 21 19
Cohen, Jacob
* 1928 April 10 20
1928 May 30 20
* 1939 Dec. 14 46
1940 Feb. 26 46
Cohen, Joseph
1927 March 7 17
1927 Dec. 13 19
* 1928 Jan. 25 19
1928 June 7 20
* 1931 July 22 24
[19]31 Aug. 17 24
1934 March 7 30
Cohen, Mark G.
* [19]28 Feb. 27 19
* 1933 Aug. 17 28
[19]33 Sept. 23 28
Cohn, Anne
* [19]34 Feb. 2 30
* 1936 July? 38
* [19]36 July 2 38
* [1936 July? 15?] 38
Cohn, Fannia M.
* 1934 Feb. 3 30
Cohn, Michael A.
[1922?] 12
1922 Sept. 22 13
1924 Dec. 9 14
* 1925 Jan. 23 14
1925 Feb. 27 14
1925 April 3 14
* 1925 April 23 14
1925 May 15 15
* 1925 June 17 15
* 1925 June 19 15
1925 Nov. 8 15
* 1926 April 23 15
* 1926 May 10 16
* 1926 May 26 16
* 1926 July 23 16
1926 Aug. 14 16
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1926 Sept. 15 16
* [1928] Jan. 28 19
1928 Feb. 6 19
1929 July 12 21
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1929 Nov. 26 22
* 1929 Dec. 18 22
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* 1930 Aug. 26 23
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* 1930 Sept. 22 23
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* 1931 March 26 23
1931 May 15 24
* 1931 May 18 24
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* 1931 July 8 24
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* 1931 July 29 24
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* 1931 Aug. 31 24
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1931 Nov. 18 25
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* 1932 Jan. 5 26
1932 Jan. 18 26
* 1932 May 25 26
* 1932 June 24 27
[19]32 Oct. 5 27
[19]32 Oct. 22 27
1932 Nov. 18 27

(* denotes "written by")

Cohn, Michael A. (cont'd.)
1933 Feb. 27 28
[19]33 July 1 28
[19]33 July 1 28
1933 July 1 28
* 1933 Aug. 9 28
193[3] Aug. 12 28
[19]36 July 17 38
[19]36 July 30 38
* 1936 Aug. 2 38
[19]36 Aug. 5 38
[19]36 Aug. 8 38
* [19]36 Aug. 10 38
[19]36 Aug. 13 38
[19]36 Aug. 18 38
* [19]36 Aug. 20 38
[19]36 Aug. 22 38
* [1936 Sept.?] 38
[19]36 Sept. 1 38
[19]36 Nov. 19 38
[19]36 Dec. 8 39
* [19]36 Dec. 12 39
[19]37 Jan. 4 39
[19]37 Jan. 4 39

Colby, Josephine
1928 May 23 20

Cole, Lois Dwight
* 1932 Nov. 10 27
1932 Dec. 17 27
* 1933 Jan. 12 28
[1933 Feb. 16] 28
* 1933 March 25 28
* 1933 March 25 28

Coleman, Abe. *See* **Bluestein, Abe**

Coleman, Emily Holmes ("Demi")
1925 Jan. 19 14
* [btw. 1928 June and 1929 April] 20
* [btw. 1928 June and 1929 April] 20
* [btw. 1928 July and 1929 May] 20
* [1928] Dec. 16 20
* [1929 May] 21
* [1929 May] 21
* [1929 btw. May 10 and 14] . . 21
* 1929 May 14 21
* [1929 May 14] 21
* 1929 May [14-15] 21
* 1929 May 15 21
* [1929 May 15] 21
* [1929] June 27 21
* [1929 July] 21
* [1929 July] 21
* [1929 Aug. 10?] 21
* [1929 btw. Aug. 20 and Sept. 8] 21
[19]29 Sept. 8 21
* [1929 btw. Sept. 10 and 24] . . 21
[19]29 Sept. 27 21
* [1929 Oct.] 22
* [1929 Oct.] 22
* [1929 Oct.] 22
* [1929] Oct. 4 22
[19]29 Oct. 7 22
* [1929 Oct. 12?] 22
* [1929 Oct. 12?] 22
* [1929 Dec.?] 22
* [1929 Dec.?] 22
* [1929 Dec.] 22
[19]29 Dec. 25 22
* [1930? Jan.?] 22
* [1930 Jan.] 22
* [1930 Jan. btw. 1 and 8] . . . 22
[19]30 Jan. 8 22
* [1930 March?] 22
* [1930 btw. March and April] . 22
* 1930 [btw. March and April] . 22
* [1930 btw. March and April] . 22
* [1930 btw. March and April] . 22
1930 March 30 22
[19]30 March 30 22
* [1930 Sept.?] 23
[19]30 Dec. 6 23
* [1931?] 23
* [1931? Jan.?] 23
* [1931] March 17 23
* [btw. 1931 May and 1934 Jan.] 24
* 1931 June 9 24
[19]31 July 4 24
[19]31 July 9 24
* 1931 Aug. 14 24
* [1932 Aug.?] 27
[19]32 Nov. 30 27
* [1933? btw. Jan. and May] . . 28
* 1934 Oct. 12 32
* 1935 Jan. 24 33
1935 Jan. 26 33
1935 March 23 34
* [1935] March 28 34

Coleman, Emily Holmes ("Demi" – cont'd.)
1935 April 5 34
* 1935 April 22 34
[19]35 June 5 34
* [1935 Dec.?] 36
* 1938 Nov. 19 44
1938 Dec. 13 44
1939 Feb. 24 45
1939 Feb. 24 45
Coleman, Lloyd Ring
1934 Sept. 15 68
1934 Nov. 27 33
Collier, John W.
* [19]37 Jan. 10 39
[19]37 Jan. 11 39
W. Collins Sons & Co.
1935 Nov. 27 35
Colton, James
1925 Nov. 4 15
1925 Nov. 15 15
1926 June 22 16
1932 March 1 26
* [1936 Aug.?] 38
[19]36 Aug. 5 38
Colyer, W. T.
* 1936 April 6 37
1936 April 16 37
Comaposada, Mercedes
* 1936 April 17 37
* 1936 April 17 68
[19]36 April 24 37
* 1936 June 16 37
* 1936 [June?] 20 37
1936 June 24 37
* 1936 July 10 38
[19]37 Feb. 18 39
* 1937 June 8 40
[19]37 June 20 40
* 1937 July 30 40
* [1937 July 30] 40
* 1938 Feb. 11 42
* 1938 Dec. 11 44
Cominsky, Lena
[1921] Oct. 19 12
Cominsky, Stella. *See* **Ballantine, Stella**
Comissariat de Propaganda Foyer du Français Anti-Fasciste
* 1937 Jan. 27 39
Comité de Ayuda a Euzkadi y Norte Secretario
* 1937 July 25 40
Comité de Défense de la Révolution Espagnole Antifasciste
[19]37 Feb. 5 39
1937 Feb. 5 39
* 1937 Feb. 9 39
Commins, Ruth. *See* **Low, Ruth**
Commins, Saxe
1923 Nov. 28 13
1924 Dec. 26 14
* 1925 Jan. 13 14
* 1925 March 22 14
* 1925 June 14 15
* [19]25 July 29 15
* [1925? Dec.?] 15
* [19]26 Sept. 22 16
* [1927] June 3 18
[1927?] Sept. 6 19
* [1927? Nov.?] 19
* [1928? Jan.?] 19
* 1928 Aug. 23 20
* 1928 Dec. 3 20
[19]28 Dec. 8 20
[19]29 Jan. 27 20
* 1929 March 27 21
* 1929 May 5 21
* 1929 Aug. 7 21
* 1929 Aug. 15 21
* [1929] Aug. 15 21
* 1929 Aug. 15 68
* 1929 Aug. 21 21
* 1929 Aug. 21 21
1929 Aug. 25 21
* 1929 Oct. 2 22
* 1929 Oct. 9 22
[19]29 Oct. 14 22
[19]29 Oct. 22 22
* 1929 Oct. 26 22
* 1929 Nov. 4 22
[19]29 Nov. 13 22
[19]29 Nov. 17 22
* 1929 Dec. 26 22

Commins, Saxe (cont'd.)
* [1930?] 22
* [1930?] 22
* 1930 April 12 23
* 1930 May 3 23
* [1930] May 5 23
* [1930 May 7?] 23
[19]30 May 22 23
1931 May 17 24
* 1931 May 22 24
* 1931 June 13 24
[19]31 July 14 24
* 1931 Aug.? 24
[19]31 Aug. 2 24
* 1931 Aug. 15 24
* 1931 Sept. 16 24
[19]31 Oct. 8 25
* [1931] Oct. 23 25
* 1931 Dec. 10 25
* [1931?] Dec. 24 25
* 1932 Jan. 20 26
[19]32 Feb. 9 26
* 1932 April 10 26
* 1932 April 13 26
* 1932 June 14 27
[19]32 June 29 27
* 1934 May 29 31
* 1934 July 6 31
[19]34 July 10 31
1934 Aug. 21 32
* 1934 Aug. 28 32
[19]34 Sept. 9 32
* [1934] Sept. 12 32
* 1934 Sept. 19 32
[19]34 Sept. 19 32
[19]34 Sept. 24 32
* 1934 Dec. 24 33
* 1935 Jan. 10 33
1935 Feb. 15 33
* [1935 Feb. 17] 34
* 1935 Feb. 18 34
1935 Feb. 26 34
* 1935 May 2 34
* 1936 March 28 37
[19]36 April 29 37
* 1936 June 19 37
* 1936 July 1 38
* 1936 July 16 38
[19]36 July 18 38
* 1936 Aug. 1 38
* 1938 June 17 43
* 1938 Sept. 6 44
* 1938 Sept. 27 44
* [1]939 Feb. 3 45
[19]39 Feb. 21 45
[19]39 Feb. 21 45

Commins, Saxe and Dorothy
[1936] Aug. 1 38

Commins, Stella. ***See*** **Ballantine, Stella**

Comyn, Stella. ***See*** **Ballantine, Stella**

Comyns, Stella. ***See*** **Ballantine, Stella**

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, Comité Nacional
[19]36 Oct. 1 38
[19]37 March 11 39
[19]37 March 11 39
1937 [March? 15?] 39
1937 March 29 39
[19]37 April 1 40
1937 April 5 40
* 1937 April 10 40
* 1937 April 10 40
* [1937 April 10] 40
[19]37 April 12 40
[19]37 April 12 40
1937 April 13 40
[19]37 April 19 40
1937 April 19 40
1937 April 19 40
1937 May 8 40
1937 May 8 40
* 1937 June 21 40
* 1937 June 21 40

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo-Federación Anarquista Ibérica, Comité Nacional
* 1937 [May?] 40
* 1937 [May?] 40
[19]37 May 3 40
[1937 May 3] 68
1937 May 11 40
1937 May 11 40
1937 May 11 40
[19]37 June 7 40
[19]37 June 7 40
1937 June 9 40

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo-Federación Anarquista Ibérica, Comité Nacional (cont'd.)
[19]37 June 10 40
1937 June 10 40
1937 June 10 40
1937 June 10 40
1937 June 10 68
1937 June 19 40
* 1937 June 21 40
1937 June 2[4] 40
1937 June 24 40
[19]37 July 8 40
1937 July 8 40
1937 Nov. 26 41

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo-Federación Anarquista Ibérica, Comité Nacional [and] Comité Regional
1936 Sept. 1 38
[1936 Sept. 1] 38
[1936 Sept. 1] 38
1937 Jan. 1 39

Confederación Nacional del Trabajo-Federación Anarquista Ibérica, Comité Regional
* 1936 Sept. 20 38
[19]37 Jan. 16 68
[19]37 Jan. 16 68
1937 Jan. 16 39
1937 Jan. 16 39
1937 Feb. 21 39
1938 July 19 44
* 1938 Oct. 3 44
[1938 Oct. 10] 44
[1938 Oct. 10] 69

Confederación Regional del Trabajo de Cataluña
* [19]36 Dec. 7 39
* 1936 Dec. 7 39

Congreso Internacional Anarquista
* 1937 Jan. 27 39

Contemporary Review
1924 Dec. 27 14

Cook, Cassius V.
1910 May 13 3
* 1930 July 8 23
* 1934 March 29 30
1934 April 2 30
* 1935 April [9?] 34
* 1935 April 16 34
1935 April 30 34
[19]35 Aug. 22 35
* [19]35 Aug. 27 35
* 1935 Sept. 3-4 35
[19]35 Sept. 29 35
1935 Sept. 29 35
[19]35 Sept. 29 35
[19]36 April 20 37
1937 Feb. 8 39
[1939 Feb. 24] 45
1939 Feb. 24 45
1939 Feb. 24 45
1939 June 28 46
* [1939 July?] 46
* 1940 Feb. 26 46

Cook, Inez
[19]25 Jan. 15 14

Cook, John H.
1925 Feb. 25 14

Cook, Sadie L.
* [1927 Aug. 6] 18
[1927 Sept. 10] 19
1927 Dec. 13 19
* 1931 May 19 24

Cooley, Winifred Harper
* [1934 Jan. 15?] 29

Coops, Emilie
[19]33 June 10 28
[19]35 May 27 34
1935 May 27 34
* 1935 May 27 68
[19]35 Sept. 7 35

Corcoran, Norah Meade
* [1937?] Dec. 16 41

Couch, W. T.
* 1934 Aug. 16 32
1934 Aug. 31 32
* 1934 Sept. 3 32

Covici, Pascal
* 1927 July 28 18

Covici, Friede
1935 Oct. 13 35
1935 Nov. 27 35

Cowan, John A.
* [1937 March?] 39

Coward-McCann Inc.
* 1932 Nov. 10 27
1934 Oct. 26 68
Cowley, Malcolm
1939 Nov. 15 46
* 1939 Dec. 4 46
1939 Dec. 16 46
Crank, Ruth
* [19]38 Feb. 23 42
Cronaca Sovversiva
[1]903 June 1 1
1906 Nov. 3 2
Cronan, Richard J.
* 1930 March 18 22
* 1930 March 18 22
1930 April 28 23
Cronyn, T.
* [1925? Jan.?] 14
Crotch, Martha Gordon ("Auntie")
[19]33 Dec. 27 29
[1936] July 18 38
* [19]36 July 19 38
[19]36 July 23 38
1936 Oct. 7 38
[19]36 Nov. 20 38
[19]37 April 2 40
* 1937 April 4 40
[19]37 April 8 40
* 1937 April 12 40
* [19]37 April 21 40
[19]37 April 28 40
* 1937 May 1 40
[19]37 May 9 40
* [19]37 May 19 40
* [19]37 May 27 40
[19]37 May 29 40
[19]37 June 5 40
[19]37 June 19 40
* [19]37 June 25 40
* [19]37 July 3 40
[19]37 July 7 40
* [19]37 July 9 40
[19]37 July 14 40
* 1937 July 20 40
[19]37 July 25 40
[19]37 July 28 40
* [1937 Aug. 3] 41
* [19]37 Nov. 24 41
* [19]37 Dec. 14 41
* [19]38 Jan. 16 42
[19]38 Jan. 17 42
* [19]38 Jan. 24 42
[19]38 Jan. 27 42
* [19]38 Jan. 31 42
[19]38 Feb. 5 42
* [19]38 Feb. 10 42
* [19]38 March 18 42
[19]3[8] March 26 42
* 1938 June 5 69
* 1938 June 24 43
1938 June 30-July 1 43
[19]38 Nov. 28 44
* [19]39 March 7 45
* [19]39 March 11 45
[19]39 March 13 45
Crouch, Mabel Carver
* [1931?] June 22 24
* 1933 March 6 28
[19]33 Aug. 29 28
* [1933 Sept.?] 28
[19]33 Sept. 23 28
* [1933 Oct.?] 29
* [1933 Oct.?] 29
* [1933 Oct.] 29
* 1933 Oct. 6 29
[19]33 Oct. 23 29
* [1933] Oct. 30 29
* [1933] Oct. 31 29
* [1933 Nov.?] 29
* [1933] Nov. 29
* [1933 Nov.] 29
* 1933 Nov. 6 29
[19]33 Nov. 7 29
[19]33 Nov. 16 29
* [1933 Dec.?] 29
* [1933 Dec.?] 29
* [1933 Dec.?] 29
* [1933 Dec.?] 29
* [1933 Dec.?] 29
* 1933 Dec. 5 29
* 1933 Dec. 5 29
* 1933 Dec. 30 29
[19]34 Jan. 10 29
[19]34 Jan. 20 29

Crouch, Mary
[19]35 Nov. [2]9 35
Thomas Y. Crowell Company
1935 Oct. 13 35
Crozier, W. P.
1936 Oct. 18 38
* 1938 March 3 42
Crudo, Vincent
* [1940 May 14] 46
Cultura Proletaria
1935 April 12 34
1937 Sept. 23 41
1937 Nov. 11 41
[19]39 Aug. 8 46
Cumming
1926 June 10 16
Cunard, Nancy
1938 Jan. 22 42
[19]38 Dec. 10 44
Curti, Merle
* [1930] April 24 23
1930 April 26 23
* 1931 July 12 24
[19]31 Aug. 2 24
Curtiss, John
1924 March 15 13
Curtiss, Pauline V.
* 1924 Jan. 28 13
1924 Jan. 30 13
* 1924 Feb. 2 13
* 1924 Feb. 14 13
1924 Feb. 17 13
* 1924 March 10 13
* 1924 March 12 13
Cuthbertson, Vivien C.
[19]36 May 15 37
* [19]36 July 11 38
da Camara Pires, I.
* 1937 Sept. 11 41
[1938? May?] 43
[19]38 May 3 43
[19]38 May 19 69
* 1938 May 24 43
1938 July 29 44
* 1938 Aug. 13 44
1938 Aug. 15 44
* 1938 Aug. 19 44
[19]38 Nov. 15 44
* 1938 Nov. 18 44
[19]38 Nov. 22 44
* 1938 Dec. 19 45
* 1938 Dec. 26 45
[1939 Jan.?] 45
[1939 Jan. 22] 45
1939 Jan. 22 45
[1939 Jan. 22] 45
[19]39 Jan. 22 45
* 1939 Jan. 25 45
[19]39 Jan. 28 45
1939 Jan. 30 45
* 1939 Feb. 1 45
[19]39 Feb. 6 45
* 1939 Feb. 8 45
Dahlberg, Edward
* 1937 Nov. 18 41
1937 Dec. 21 41
* 1938 Jan. 8 41
1938 Jan. 22 42
* 1938 Feb. 24 42
* 1938 May 6 43
1938 May 24 43
[1938 June? 15?] 43
* 1938 July 5 43
1938 July 19 44
1938 July 19 69
* 1938 Aug. 7 44
[1938 Aug. 25?] 44
Daily Express
1937 Nov. 24 41
1937 Nov. 24 41
Daily Herald
1925 Nov. 15 15
1925 Nov. 24 15
Daily News
1925 June 25 15
Daily Telegraph
1937 Jan. 25 39
[1937 Feb.?] 39
Daniel, C. W.
* 1926 May 13 16
* 1926 May 27 16
* 1926 July 29 16
* 1926 Sept. 18 16
* 1926 Dec. 6 16
* 1926 Dec. 23 16
1926 Dec. 29 16

Daniel, C. W. (cont'd.)
1927 Jan. 13 17
1927 March 7 17
* 1927 Aug. 15 18
1927 Sept. 13 19
* 1927 Sept. 29 19
1928 Jan. 26 19
* 1928 Feb. 15 19
* 1928 March 19 20
* 1928 May 5 20
* 1929 Feb. 23 20
* 1929 May 29 21
* 1929 June 13 21
* 1929 June 20 21
* 1930 July 11 23
1931 Dec. 2 25
* 1931 Dec. 3 25
1931 Dec. 30 25
* 1932 Jan. 2 26
1932 Feb. 8 26
* 1933 Dec. 31 29
1935 Nov. 20 35
* 1935 Nov. 25 35
* 1935 Nov. 28 35
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* 1935 Dec. 30 36
[19]36 Jan. 2 36
* 1936 Feb. 5 36
[19]36 Feb. 7 36
* 1936 Feb. 11 36
* 1936 Feb. 12 36
[19]36 March 12 36
[19]36 March 22 37
[19]36 April 17 37
* 1936 April 28 37
[19]36 May 1 37
* [1936 June 17] 37
* 1936 June 18 37
[19]36 June 21 37
[19]37 July 20 40
* 1937 July 27 40
[19]38 Feb. 3 42

C. W. Daniel Company
* 1926 Dec. 21 16
1927 Jan. 6 17
* 1928 May 10 20
* 1934 Dec. 31 33
* 1935 Nov. 21 35
* 1935 Nov. 21 35
* 1935 Nov. 25 35
* 1935 Dec. 2 36
* 1935 Dec 6 36
* 1935 Dec. 16 36
* 1935 Dec. 30 36
* 1935 Dec. 31 36
* 1936 Feb. 19 36
* 1936 Feb. 20 36
* 1936 March 16 37
* 1936 March 20 37

Darling, Donald
[19]36 Dec. 17 39
* [19]36 Dec. 18 39
[19]37 Jan. 10 39
[19]37 Jan. 14 39
* [19]37 Jan. 15 39
[19]37 Jan. 25 39
[19]37 Jan. 29 39
* [19]37 Feb. 22 39
[19]37 Feb. 25 39

Dave, Victor
1908 Aug. 27 2
[19]08 Sept. 6 2
1913 Oct. 22 7

Davidoff, Bess
* 1934 Aug. 29 32
1934 Sept. 1 32
* 1936 March 11 36
[19]36 April 24 37

Davidoff, Bess, Henry, and Bob
* [1940] May 15 46

Davidson, Jo
* [19]31 Aug. 24 24
1931 Aug. 29 24

Davies, F. E.
* [19]38 Feb. 11 42

Davies, Peter
* 1933 March 11 28
* 1933 March 21 28
1933 April 22 28

Davis, Pete
1934 Dec. 26 68
[19]38 May 30 43

de Cleyre, Voltairine; Alexander Berkman; Hippolyte Havel; Emma Goldman; George Bauer; and Harry Kelly
* [1908 Oct.] 68
de Jong, Albert
* 1923 Nov. 13 13
* [1928?] Nov. 18 68
* 1929 May 8 21
1929 May 12 21
* 1931 Oct. 7 25
* 1931 Nov. 13 25
[19]31 Nov. 30 25
1931 Dec. 19 25
* 1932 Sept. 13 27
* 1932 Oct. 3 27
* 1933 Feb. 2 28
[1934] Feb. 22 30
* [1934 March?] 30
* 1934 May 30 31
* 1934 July 2 31
1934 July 17 31
* 1934 Aug. 9 32
1934 Aug. 14 32
1934 Aug. 21 32
* 1934 Aug. 29 32
* 1934 Sept. 11 32
* 1934 Sept. 11 32
1934 Sept. 27 32
1934 Oct. 27 32
1934 Dec. 5 33
1935 Jan. 25 33
* 1935 Feb. 23 34
1935 May 27 34
[19]35 June 7 34
1936 May 1 37
* 1936 May 12 37
1937 June 2 40
1937 June 2 40
1937 June 2 40
1937 June 2 40
[19]38 Nov. 19 44
* [1938 Dec. 20?] 45
[19]39 Jan. 23 45
de Sesias?, Mejorte?
* 1938 Jan. 10 41
1938 Jan. 12 41
[19]38 Jan. 12 41
* 1938 Jan. 13 41
1938 Jan. 17 42
De Silver, Margaret
1938 May 3 43
1938 May 24 43
* [1938 June?] 43
1938 Nov. 22 44
* [1939? Jan.?] 45
* [1939 Jan.?] 45
De Silver, Margaret, and Carlo Tresca
[19]39 Jan. 17 45
De Sousa, Germinal
* 1937 Oct. 6 41
* 1938 May 10 43
1938 June 15 43
[19]38 June 15 43
De Sousa, Germinal, and J. Prince
* 1938 May 25 43
Debs, Eugene V.
1926 March 18 15
* 1926 May 13 16
Debs, Theodore
* 1928 Jan. 27 19
1928 Feb. 6 19
* 1928 Feb. 20 19
* 1928 Feb. 20 19
1928 April 3 20
1928 April 3 20
D'Eck, R.
* [19]36 Aug. 5 38
[193]6 Aug. 8 38
* [19]36 Aug. 25 38
Deering, Henry
* [19]32 Aug. 31 27
Dell, Floyd
1911 Jan. 23 4
The Demonstrator
[1907 Aug. 21] 2
[1907 Oct. 2] 2
[1908 Oct.] 68
Denee, Marjorie L.
[19]36 May 29 37
Denison, Merrill
* 1927 17
J. M. Dent & Sons
1934 Aug. 12 32
* 1934 Aug. 14 68

J. M. Dent & Sons (cont'd.)
1934 Aug. 16 32
* 1934 Aug. 18 68
Des Souses, Agostinho
* 1937 Oct. 15 68
Desi, Morris
* 1931 Aug. 8 24
1931 Aug. 21 24
Desser, Abraham, et al.
* [1940] May 14 46
Desser, Joe
[19]26 Aug. 11 16
[19]33 Aug. 21 28
1933 Aug. 21 28
1934 Feb. 8 30
[1934? Dec.?] 33
1935 May 1 34
[19]35 May 13 34
[19]35 June 24 34
[1935 Nov. 18?] 35
1936 April 2 37
* [1936 June 20] 37
[19]36 July 13 38
[19]36 Aug. 23 38
* 1937 Dec. 8 41
[1938] 41
1938 June 3 43
* 1938 Sept. 5 44
1938 Nov. 14 44
[19]40 Jan. 24 46
[1940] May 14 46
Desser, Joe, Sophie, Beckie, and Millie
[1934 Nov. 6] 33
[19]34 Nov. 15 33
Desser, Millie
[1934 Nov.?] 33
[1934 Nov.?] 33
[1934 btw. Nov. 10 and 20] . . 33
[19]34 Nov. 13 33
[1935 March?] 34
[19]35 March 14 34
[1935 May?] 34
1935 May 1 34
[19]35 May 4 34
[1935 May 5] 34
[1935] May 11 34
[19]35 May 21 34
[1935? July?] 35
[19]35 Aug. 7 35
1935 Sept. 18 35
1935 Oct. 6 35
[19]35 Oct. 6 35
[19]35 Oct. 30 35
1935 Dec. 10 36
[19]35 Dec. 29 36
[1935 Dec. 29] 36
[19]36 March 10 36
1936 April 20 37
[1936? May? 1?] 37
* 1936 June 19 37
1939 Nov. 30 46
* 1940 Feb. 24 46
* [1940 May 30?] 46
Detroit Sentinel
1898 July 25 1
Deutsch, Babette
* 1934 April 5 30
1934 May 4 31
Deutsche Freiheit
* 1934 Aug. 4 32
1934 Aug. 20 32
* 1935 Jan. 21 33
1935 Feb. 18 34
Dewey, John
1938 Jan. 10 41
* [19]38 Feb. 21 42
* [19]38 Feb. 21 42
* [19]38 Feb. 21 42
1938 May 3 43
1938 May 3 69
Di Domenico, Nick
* 1939 Oct. 17 46
[19]39 Oct. 19 46
[19]39 Oct. 22 46
* 1939 Oct. 28 46
* [1939] Nov. [1?] 46
* 1939 Nov. 4 46
* 1939 Nov. 13 46
1939 Nov. 16 46
1939 Nov. 20 46
* 1939 Nov. 22 46
1939 Nov. 22 46
* [1939 Nov. 24] 46
* 1939 Nov. 25 46
1939 Nov. 27 46
* 1939 Nov. 29 46

Di Domenico, Nick (cont'd.)
[19]39 Dec. 2 46
* 1939 Dec. 5 46
[19]39 Dec. 7 46
* 1939 Dec. 12 46
[19]39 Dec. 14 46
* [1939 Dec. 16] 46
1939 Dec. 19 46
* 1939 Dec. 26 46
* [1939 Dec. 30] 46
* 1940 Jan. 4 46
* [1940 Jan. 6?] 46
1940 Jan. 6 46
* 1940 Jan. 7 46
[19]40 Jan. 9 46
* 1940 Jan. 10 46
[19]40 Jan. 12 46
* 1940 Jan. 17 46
[19]40 Jan. 18 46
[19]40 Jan. 25 46
1940 Feb. 6 46
* 1940 Feb. 7 46
[19]40 Feb. 9 46
[19]40 Feb. 10 46
* 1940 Feb. 15 46
1940 Feb. 15 46
[19]40 Feb. 17 46

Diamond, Ida and Frieda
* 1934 Feb. 2 30
* 1940 May 15 46

Diebloff, Erich
* [19]32 Feb. 2 68

Dingler, Karl
* 1932 Sept. 16 27

Dingler, Karl and Paula
* 1932 May 16 26
[19]32 Oct. 13 27

Dix, Mark H.
[19]28 Dec. 13 20
* 1929 Jan. 10 20
[19]29 Jan. 23 20
[19]29 Jan. 27 20
* 1929 Feb. 6 20

Döblin, Alfred
[19]36 Jan. 11 36
* [19]36 Jan. 29 36
1936 Feb. 2 36

Dobson, A. N.
[19]36 May 15 37
* 1936 June 12 37

Dodd, Mead Publishers
1934 July 19 31

Dodge, Mabel
1913 June 4 7
[1913] Dec. 15 7
[1914?] Feb. 11 7
1914 Dec. 29 8
[1915] Jan. 16 8
* [1940] Feb. 20 46

Domela Nienwenheiss Museum
1939 Jan. 18 45

Doran, Josephine
1936 May 15 37
* 1936 May 21 37
[19]36 June 8 37
* [19]36 Aug. 25 38
[19]36 Aug. 30 38
* 1936 Sept. 1 38

Dorster, Gustel
* 1934 March 22 30
[19]34 May 20 31
* 1934 June 1 31

Dosch-Fleurot, A.
* 1930 March 19 22
1930 April 28 23

Doubleday, Russell
* 1923 Oct. 31 13

Doubleday, Doran & Co.
1929 June 17 21
[19]34 Jan. 18 29
1934 Nov. 29 33

Doubleday, Page & Co.
[1923] Nov. 15-16 13
* 1924 Nov. 29 14

Dowling, Allan
* 1929 Nov. 28 22
* 1929 Dec. 20 22
1930 Jan. 4 22

Dowling, Allan and Valencia
* [1936 July] 38

Drake, E. Millington
* [1933 Dec. 9] 29
1934 April 2 30
[19]34 April 2 30

Drake, E. Millington (cont'd.)
* 1934 Oct. 5 32
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Dreiser, Theodore
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Dreyer, C. F. W.
* 1923 March 7 13
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Dreyfach, Alice
* 1924 July 3 13
* 1924 July 18 13
Dubinsky, David
1940 Jan. 14 46
Dubinsky, Jack
[1933 Jan. 20] 28
1933 Jan. 20 28
Gerald Duckworth & Co.
1932 Oct. 13 27
1932 Oct. 21 27
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[19]32 Nov. 25 27
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Duff, Charles
* 1938 May 20 69
* 1938 May 20 69
1938 June 9 43
* 1938 June 20 43
Dugdale, V.
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E. P. Dutton Co.
1934 June 18 31
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Eckstein, Emmy
1929 July 20 21
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Eckstein, Emmy (cont'd.)
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Eckstein, Emmy (cont'd.)
[1936 March 5?] 36
[1936 March 10?] 36
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* 1937 March 4 39
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* 1938 June 28 43
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* [1939?] 45

Eckstein, Emmy, and Alexander Berkman
[19]34 Jan. 17 29
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1934 March 14 30
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[19]35 May 2 34
[19]35 May 15 34
1935 Dec. 31 36
1936 Feb. 25 36
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Edie
* 1936 July 20 38
[19]36 Aug. 1 38
* 1936 Aug. 18 38

Edlin, William
* 1924 March 26 13
Edmond, Tom
* [19]35 Sept. 25 35
* [19]37 Jan. 10 39
[19]38 May 26 43
Edwards, George
* 1912 Nov. 23 6
Eikeboom, H., and Anthon Bakels
* [btw. 1922 May and 1924 July] 13
Ejarque, A.
* [1938 Feb.?] 42
Elliott, James B.
1901 March 15 1
Ellis, Havelock
1924 Dec. 1 14
1924 Dec. 1 14
* 1924 Dec. 14 14
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* [19]24 Dec. 14 14
1924 Dec. 27 14
1924 Dec. 27 14
1924 Dec. 27 14
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1925 Feb. 26 14
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* 1925 Oct. 24 15
* [19]25 Oct. 24 15
1925 Nov. 8 15
1925 Nov. 8 15
* [19]25 Dec. 7 15
* [19]26 April 27 15
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1937 Feb. 24 39
* 1937 March 3 39
1937 March 5 39
* [19]37 March 7 39
1937 March 19 39
1937 April 29 40
Ellis, T. R.
[19]36 May 15 37
* 1936 Aug. 18 38
Ely, Robert Erskine
1901 March 23 1
1903 Oct. 22 1
1905 Feb. 2 1
Emergency Committee for Strikers' Relief
* 1928 Feb. 17 19
Engelmann, Theodore
* [19]32 Jan. 11 26
1932 Jan. 18 26
Engholm, Nancy
1937 Jan. 13 39
England, Kitty
[19]37 Jan. 10 39
Epstein, Jacob
* 1927 June 29 18
1929 June 21 21
* 1929 June 29 21
Epstein, Marc
1934 July 31 31
Ernst, M. M.
* 1936 Sept. 25 38
1937 May 14 40
Erskine, John
1928 Jan. 6 19
Esgleas, Germinal
* 1940 Feb. 17 46
L'Espagne Antifasciste
[1936 Oct.] 38
[1936 Oct.] 38
Estrany, P.
* [19]36 Dec. 5 37
Ettlinger, Jeannette
* 1932 April 12 26
Evans, C. S.
* 1935 Oct. 31 35
Evans, Elizabeth Glendower
1927 Sept. 20 19
* 1927 Nov. 7 19
Evans, W. Winifred
[19]37 Feb. 24 39
* 1937 Feb. 26 39
[19]37 Feb. 27 39
* [19]37 March 1 39
1937 March 3 39

Evans, W. Winifred (cont'd.)
* 1937 March 4 39
1937 March 16 39
Evening Standard
1937 Jan. 25 39
Evening Telegram
1916 Oct. 26 10
Ewing, H. W.
* 1918 Jan. 19 11
Fabijanovic, Stephanus
1928 June 20 20
Fabregas, Joan P.
* 1936 Nov. 2 38
* [1936 Nov. 2] 38
[19]36 Nov. 20 38
Fadiman, Clifton
1932 May 25 26
1932 May 25 26
* 1932 June 7 27
* [1932 Aug. 12] 27
* 1932 Aug. 12 27
[1932 Aug. 16?] 27
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Falcon Press
1934 Nov. 21 33
Falk, J.
* [19]31 March 20 23
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* [19]38 April 4 42
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Farrar & Rinehart Publishers
1934 June 26 31
1934 Nov. 1 33
1935 Oct. 12 35
* 1935 Oct. 28 35
1935 Nov. 27 35
Farrer, W.
* 1937 June 3 40
[19]37 June 8 40
Fearon, George
[19]36 Feb. 7 36
* 1936 Feb. 10 36
* 1936 Feb. 13 36
[19]36 Feb. 18 36
* 1936 Feb. 19 36
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* 1936 Feb. 26 36
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* 1936 March 22 37
Federación Anarquista Ibérica. ***See also*** **Herrera, Pedro**
* 1937 April 6 40
Federación Ibérica de Juventudes Libertarias
* 1936 Dec. 22 39
* 1936 Dec. 22 39
Federn-Kohlhaas, Etta
* 1932 Jan. 20 26
1932 Jan. 28 26
* 1932 May 3 26
* 1932 May 23 26
* 1932 June 27
Feinstone, Morris C. ***See also*** **Guskin, Reuben, and Morris C. Feinstone**
1939 July 20 46
Feivel, Mary
* 1937 Jan. 24 39
1937 Feb. 9 39
* [1937 April?] 40
1937 April 25 40
* 1937 May 10 40
1937 May 22 40
[1937 May 29] 40
Felicani, Aldino
1939 Dec. 16 46
Fels, Joseph
* 1910 Jan. 12 3
Fiedler, Kurt
* 1932 April 16 26
* 1932 April [19?] 26
* 1932 April 25 26
[19]32 May 28 26

Fiedler, Kurt (cont'd.)
* 1932 June 9 27
1932 June 25 27
* 1932 July 4 27
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* 1933 May 2 28
Field, Sara Bard
[1916] April 28 9
Field, Sara Bard; Emma Goldman; and Alexander Berkman
* [19]16 July 18 10
Fife, Hamilton
* [19]25 Nov. 18 15
1925 Nov. 24 15
Fijlstra, P.
* 1937 April 8 40
1937 April 29 40
* 1937 June 5 40
Finco, Angelo
* [19]17 Dec. 29 10
Finnmore, Ahna V.
* [19]37 April 24 40
The Firebrand
[1895 July 21] 1
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Fishman, Jake
1927 Nov. 30 19
Fitzgerald, M. Eleanor ("Fitzi")
* [1918] Feb. 14 11
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1919 June 12 11
1919 Aug. 5 11
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[19]28 Dec. 8 20
[19]28 Dec. 23 68
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[19]29 March 25 68
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* 1935 April 12 34
* 1936 March 25 37
* 1936 May 12 37
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* 1936 July 6 38
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[19]36 Sept. 25 38
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1939 Jan. 12 45
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1939 April 24 46
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1939 Nov. 17 46
* 1939 Nov. 25 46
1939 Nov. 27 46
1939 Nov. 27 46
1939 Nov. [28] 46
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1939 Dec. 17 46
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Fitzgerald, M. Eleanor ("Fitzi" – cont'd.)
1939 Dec. 21 46
1939 Dec. 25 69
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Fitzgerald, M. Eleanor, and Pauline Turkel
* [193]6 July 2 38
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Fjellstedt, Inga
1928 April 24 20

Flaum, Irving
1940 Jan. 46

Fleshin, Senya. ***See also*** **Steimer, Mollie, and Senya Fleshin**
1924 June 12 13
1925 Aug. 22 15
1927 Aug. 10 18
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[19]28 May 9 20
* 1928 June 16 20
* 1928 June 16 20
* 1928 July 1 20
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* 1934 March 23 30

Flower, Desmond
* 1935 Nov. 5 35

Flynn, Edward
* 1934 Feb. 28 30

Flynn, Elizabeth Gurley
1910 Dec. 18 4
1920 Jan. 10 12

Fontana, B.
* 1924 Feb. 7 13

Ford, Ford Madox
1938 Jan. 22 42

Ford, Lida M.
* 1923 March 21 13

Ford, Maria
[19]36 May 29 37

Ford Hotel
[19]34 Oct. 16 32

Fordham
[19]39 March 15 45

Forrest, William
1938 Jan. 22 42

Fouchs, Delo
* 1936 July 2[0?] 38

Foulke, William Dudley
1928 Sept. 11 20

Foyle, Christine
* 1933 March 2 28

Francis, William Henry
* 1934 Feb. 11 30
1934 Feb. 13 30

Francon-Davies
[19]38 Feb. 9 42

Frank, Glenn
* 1924 June 30 13
1925 June 5 15
* 1925 June 13 15
1925 July 10 15
* 1925 July 20 15

Frank, Louis
* [1937] July 21 40
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* 1938 Feb. 28 42
* 1938 Aug. 9 44
[1938 Aug.? 15?] 44
* 1938 Aug. 17 44
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* 1938 Dec. 25 45
1939 Jan. 9 45
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1939 Nov. 10 46

Franklin, Cecil A.
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* 1938 July 26 69
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Fraser, I.
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Fraser, Ted
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Fraser, William
* 1926 Dec. 27 16
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1927 June 29 18
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Frawley, Margaret
* 1934 Jan. 21 29
Fred
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[19]36 July 16 38
Frédéric, Garrec
1938 Nov. 28 44
[1938 Dec.?] 69
1939 Feb. 1 45
[1939 Feb. 4] 45
Frederickson, Lenore
* 1933 June 27 28
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* 1933 Aug. 23 28
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Fredrics, Clara
* 1935 Dec. 11 36
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Free Society
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1900 April 22 1
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1900 Sept. 25 1
Free Society Group of Chicago and Southside Libertarian Group of Chicago
* 1935 May 2 34
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Freedman, Clara
* 1938 April 11 42
* 1938 July 4 43
Freedman, Samuel
1934 July 13 31
1934 Aug. 15 32
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1937 March 30 39
1937 March 30 39
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1937 Dec. 7 41
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1937 Dec. 31 41
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1938 March 21 42
1938 March 21 42
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1938 May 6 43
1938 May 27 43
1938 May 27 69
* 1938 June 3 43
1938 June 3 43
1938 June 3 69
* 1938 June 11 43
* [1938 June 11] 43
[19]38 June 14 43
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[19]38 June 27 43
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1938 Aug. 15 44
1938 Aug. 15 69
* 1938 Aug. 25 44

Freedman, Samuel (cont'd.)
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1938 Dec. 13 44
1938 Dec. 13 69
1938 Dec. 20 45
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Freedom
1912 July 6
1922 Jan. 7 12
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Freelander, Ronald
* 1933 Feb. 13 28
Freeman, Alden
* 1911 July 11 5
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* 1934 Feb. 14 30
Freethought Press Association
1934 Nov. 1 33
Freie Arbeiter Stimme
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1929 April 10 21
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1930 Sept. 12 23
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1935 March 6 34
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1936 April 20 37
1936 July 24 38
[19]36 Aug. 15 38
[19]37 Jan. 5 39
1939 July 24 46
1939 Oct. 4 46
[1939 Oct. 4] 46
[1939 btw. Oct. 31 and Nov. 2] 46
[1939 btw. Oct. 31 and Nov. 3] 46
Freie Arbeiter-Union Deutschlands
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Freiheit
[1907 Sept. 14] 2
Freund-Hopper, Martha
* [19]32 Oct. 19 27
193[2?] Dec. 4 27
Fromkin, Morris
* 1934 Jan. 23 29
* 1934 March 30 30
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1934 July 5 31
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1935 Dec. 16 36
1936 April 16 37

Fromkin, Morris and Becky
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Frumkin, Abraham
1934 July 31 31
Furgessen, Jean
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Furman, L. S.
* 1934 Nov. 30 33
Gaisberg, F. W.
1937 April 40
Gale's
[1919 Nov. 1] 12
Galve, Nemesio
* 1937 March 9 39
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1938 Feb. 24 42
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* 1938 March 8 42
Galve, Nemesio, and Manuel Mascarell
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Gampe, Franz
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García, Marcelino
1936 Dec. 16 39
[1936 Dec. 16] 39
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1939 Oct. 9 46
1939 Nov. 23 46
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1939 Dec. 19 46
Garden City Publishing Company
[19]36 July 23 38
* 1937 Feb. 16 39
* 1937 May 24 40
* 1937 June 1 40
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* 1937 Dec. 1 41
* 1937 Dec. 8 41
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1938 July 25 44
Gay, Jan (Helen Reitman)
1929 Dec. 7 22
* 1930 July 15 23
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* 1930 Nov. 29 23
* [1930] Dec. 26 23
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Gelder, Madeline
1934 Aug. 68
Genosh & Co.
1924 March 15 13
Germain, Andre
1938 Nov. 9 44

Germain, Andre (cont'd.)
* 1938 Nov. 12 44
* 1938 Nov. 14 44
[19]38 Nov. 17 44
* 1938 Nov. 18 44
Gershoy, Ida
* [1937 Jan.?] 39
* [1938 March?] 42
Gerson, T. Perceval
[1913] May 28 7
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1913 June [4?] 7
1913 July 17 7
1913 Oct. 4 7
* [1914 April? 27?] 8
1914 May 1 8
1914 May 2 8
1914 June 15 8
1914 July 9 8
1914 July 24 8
1914 Aug. 13 8
1914 Oct. 6 8
1914 Nov. 24 8
[1916 Feb.?] 9
1916 June 5 9
1916 Aug. 15 10
1929 Dec. 2 22
* 1929 Dec. 24 22
* 1929 Dec. 31 22
1930 Jan. 28 22
1930 Jan. 28 22
* 1932 Aug. 14 27
1932 Nov. 5 27
[19]33 Aug. 19 28
[19]33 Sept. 29 28
Gertz, Elmer
* 1929 Nov. 12 22
1929 Nov. 29 22
Gibbs, Carolyn
* [19]36 Feb. 6 36
Gibbs, T. H.
1938 June 9 43
Gibson, Julie ("Auntie")
1927 Nov. 30 19
[19]37 March 26 39
Gibson, Julie, and Chris Lewis
* [19]36 July 18 38
[19]36 July 24 38
[19]37 Jan. 20 39
[19]38 Feb. 9 42
Giesecke, Dorothy. ***See*** **Rogers, Dorothy**
Ginn, Eva
* 1934 June 25 31
1934 Aug. 9 32
* 1934 Aug. 28 68
Giovannitti, Arturo
* 1940 May 16 46
Glaenser, Richard Butler
* 1932 Nov. 9 27
Gleiser, S.
1937 Feb. 23 39
Gliditsch, Ellen
* 1932 Jan. 30 26
* 1932 April 24 26
* 1932 April 27 26
Goetze, Elly
* 1938 May 29 43
[19]38 June 7 43
* [19]38 Nov. 20 44
1939 March 5 45
1939 March 5 69
Gold, Michael
* [1930 Sept.?] 23
[1930 Sept.?] 23
Goldberg, Isabel
[19]36 July 23 38
Golding, Louis
[19]37 April 18 40
* 1937 April 1[9] 40
1938 Jan. 14 41
[19]38 Feb. 22 42
* 1938 Feb. 23 42
1938 Feb. 24 42
* 1938 Feb. 25 42
1939 March 13 69
* 1939 March 15 45
Goldman, Babsie
* [1931? March?] 23
* 193[1] Nov. 4 25
* 1931 Dec. 10 25
[19]32 Jan. 6 26
* 1932 Aug. 4 27
* 1932 Sept. 1 27
[19]32 Sept. 19 27
* 1932 Oct. 3 27
[19]32 Oct. 22 27

Goldman, Babsie (cont'd.)
* [19]32 Nov. 6 27
1934 June 22 31
* 1934 July 18 31
* 1935 April 1 34
[1935 April 3?] 34
* 1936 April 17 37
[19]36 May 5 37
[19]36 June 1 37
* [1936 July?] 38
[19]36 Aug. 1 38
[19]36 Aug. 10 38
* [19]36 Aug. 16 38
[19]36 Aug. 26 38

Goldman, Babsie and Morris
* [19]30 Jan. 9 22
1934 Jan. 7 29
[19]34 Aug. 11 32
[19]35 April 5 34
* [1935 June 15?] 34
[19]37 Sept. 6 41
* 1938 Jan. 13 41
[19]39 Jan. 27 45

Goldman, Emma, et al.
* [1907 Sept. 14] 2
* [1907 Oct. 2] 2
* 1910 Nov. 12 4
* 1910 Nov. 12 4
* [1910 Nov. 29?] 4

Goldman, Emma, and Alexander Berkman
* 1906 June 22 2
* 1906 Nov. 3 2
* [btw. 1910 and 1919] 3
[19]12 Nov. 8 6
* [1916 btw. July 22 and Aug. 7] 10
* 1916 Aug. 15 10
1917 July 12 10
1917 July 15 10
1917 July 16 10
1918 March 21 11
* [1919?] 68
1919 Sept. 19 11
* 1919 Nov. 1 12
* [1919 Nov. 1] 12
* [1919 Nov. 29] 12
1919 Nov. 29 12
[1919 Nov. 29] 12
* 1919 Dec. 2 12
1919 Dec. 5 12
1919 Dec. 6 12
* 1919 Dec. 9 12
1919 Dec. 10 12
* 1919 Dec. 19 12
* 1920 Jan. 10 12
* 1920 Jan. 10 12
* 1920 Jan. 29 12
* 1920 March 3 12
* [1920 March 13?] 12
* 1920 March 13 12
* [19]20 Sept. 12 12
* [1920] Oct. 23[-24] 12
* [1920 Nov.] 12
1921 Nov. 23 12
* 1922 Jan. 7 12
1922 Jan. 17 12
1922 Jan. 17 12
* [1926 June?] 16
* [19]27 Feb. 7 17
* [19]28 Aug. 31 20
* [1929 Sept. 27] 68
* 1930 Sept. 12 23
* [1931] May 2 24
* 1931 June 24
[19]33 June 17 28
1935 Sept. 16 35

Goldman, Emma; Alexander Berkman; Armando Borghi; et al.
* [1923? Jan.?] 13

Goldman, Emma; Alexander Berkman; L. Chauvet; Senya Fleshin; M. Langlois; et al.
* [1928 Dec. 1] 20

Goldman, Emma; Alexander Berkman; and Hippolyte Havel
* [1907 Aug. 21] 2
* [1907 Aug. 21] 2

Goldman, Emma; Alexander Berkman; Mark Mratchny; Y. Yartschun; Grigorii Petrovich Maksimov; et al.
* [1922 April?] 12

Goldman, Emma; Ben Capes; and Alexander Berkman
* 1929 July 9 21

Goldman, Emma, and Cassius V. Cook
1939 July 3 46

Goldman, Emma, and Emmy Eckstein
1936 July 1 38
[19]36 July 1 38
[19]36 July 3 38
Goldman, Emma; Emmy Eckstein; and Alexander Berkman
1936 May 25 37
Goldman, Emma, and Valia Gorska
[1932 Oct.] 27
Goldman, Emma, and Ben L. Reitman
* [1914 July] 8
Goldman, Emma; Ben L. Reitman; and Alexander Berkman
* [19]13 Nov. 24 68
Goldman, Emma; Ben L. Reitman; Alex Horr; and Cassius V. Cook
* 1909 Jan. 26 3
Goldman, Emma; Milly Witcop Rocker; Alexander Berkman; Grigorii Petrovich Maksimov; et al.
* [1929?] 20
Goldman, Emma, and Dr. Rupprecht
[1924 Jan. 22] 13
Goldman, Emma; Justus Schwab; and Edward Brady
* 1898 Dec. 7 1
1898 Dec. 11 1
* 1898 Dec. 13 1
Goldman, Herman
* 1932 Oct. 13 27
[19]32 Oct. 24 27
* 1933 Feb. 21 28
Goldman, Joseph
* 1932 Aug. 6 27
* [1933] Aug. 28
* 1934 March 4 30
[1934] March 6 30
[1934 May 3] 31
19[3]4 May 16 31
* 1934 June 11 31
* 1934 June 11 31
1934 June 16 31
1934 July 31 31
1934 July 31 31
1934 July 31 31
* 1934 Sept. 1 32
* [1934 Oct. 6] 32
* 1934 Oct. 6 32
1934 Oct. 18 68
1934 Oct. 20 32
* 1934 Oct. 27 32
1934 Oct. 30 32
* 1935 Jan. 10 33
1935 Feb. 14 33
* 1935 March 4 34
[19]35 March 9 34
* [1935 March? 15?] 34
1935 March 28 34
* 1935 April 4 34
1935 April 30 34
* [1935] May 2 34
* 1935 Sept. 1 35
[19]35 Sept. 16 35
[19]36 Feb. 3 36
Goldman, Morris ("Maische")
* [19]29 Oct. 29 22
* [19]30 April 6 23
* [1931? March?] 23
* [19]31 May 9 24
* [19]31 June 10 24
* [1931 Dec.?] 25
* 1932 May 31 26
* [19]32 Nov. 16 27
[19]32 Nov. 22 27
* 1934 March 19 30
* 1934 July 18 31
[19]34 July 21 31
* 1934 Aug. 20 32
[19]34 Aug. 23 32
[19]35 July 6 35
* 1937 Aug. 12 41
* [1937 Aug. 12] 41
* 1938 June 8 43
* 1938 Dec. 27 45
[1940] May 15 46
1940 May 15 46
Goldman, Sol
1934 March 26 30
Goldman, Thelma
* 1936 Jan. 10 36
1936 Feb. 1 36
1936 Feb. 1 36
Goldring, Douglas
* 1938 Feb. 10 42
* 1938 Feb. 17 42
[19]38 Feb. 22 42

Goldstein, Marjorie
* 1935 March 11 34
1935 April 2 34
* 1935 May 2 34
[19]35 May 26 34
* 1935 June 7 34
[19]35 June 23 34
* 1935 July 9 35
[19]35 Aug. 7 35
[19]35 Aug. 7 35
* 1935 Aug. 15 35
* [19]35 Sept. 8 35
[19]35 Sept. 19 35
[19]36 Aug. 20 38
* 1937 Dec. 6 41
1938 June 7 43
* 1938 June 30 43
1938 Dec. 13 44
* [19]39 Jan. 4 45
[19]39 Jan. 31 45
* [1940 March?] 46
* [1940 May 10] 46
* 1940 May 10 46

Goldwater, A. L.
1927 Aug. 17 18
1938 June 24 43

Gollancz, Victor
* 1933 March 17 28
* 1933 March 17 28
* [1933 March 17] 28
[19]33 March 17 28
1933 Oct. 31 29
1934 Nov. 27 33
1934 Dec. 26 33
[19]36 Jan. 9 36
[19]36 March 17 37

Gomes, Amador
* 1938 May [1?] 43

Gonzalez, F.
* 1939 Nov. 13 46
1939 Nov. 16 46
* [1940 May 14] 46

Goodhart, G.
1937 April 40

Goosens, Sidonie
1938 May 3 43

Gordon, Philip S.
* 1934 April 21 30

Gorska, Valia
* 1936 Aug. 12 38
[19]36 Aug. 22 38

Grabisch, Agatha Bullitt
* [1936] Aug. 30 38
* [1936] Sept. 15 38

Grant, John E.
* 1937 Feb. 26 39

Green, Horace
* 1932 Aug. 22 27
1932 Oct. 15 27
* 1932 Nov. 17 27
[19]32 Dec. 4 27
* 1933 March 1 28

Greenberg and Co.
1932 Nov. 9 27

Greer, J. H., et al.
* 1911 Nov. 30 5

Greet, Ben
* [1925 July?] 15
1925 July 2 15

Griffin, J. B.
1927 Oct. 29 19

Griffith, Grace
1938 Aug. 2 44
1938 Aug. 5 44
* [19]38 Sept. 11 44
1938 Dec. 6 44
* [19]38 Dec. 9 44

Grosser, David
* 1917 Dec. 24 10
* 1934 April 9 30
1934 Sept. 24 32

Grosser, Phillip B.
* 1930 March 6 22
1930 April 29 23

Grossmann, Rudolf (Pierre Ramus)
1912 June 4 6
1912 Aug. 23 6
[1919?] 68
[1919 Nov. 12?] 12
1919 Nov. 12 12
1922 Jan. 6 12
1922 Jan. 12 12
1922 Jan. 17 12
1922 Feb. 17 12
1922 March 29 12
1922 April 7 12

Grossmann, Rudolf (Pierre Ramus – cont'd.)
192[2] April 19 12
1922 May 11 13
1922 Aug. 10 13
1922 Sept. 23 13
1925 May 18 15
[1925 May 18] 15
[1925 June?] 15
[1925 June 17] 15
1925 June 23 15
1925 Oct. 20 15
1925 Oct. 28 15
1925 Dec. 16 15
1926 June 16
* 1936 July 6 38
[19]36 July 31 38
* 1936 Aug. 8 38
Grossmann, Rudolf and Sonja
* 1936 July 24 38
Gruening, Martha
[19]31 July 4 24
Grundy, J. Owen
* 1938 Sept. 13 44
1938 Nov. 15 44
* [1938] Dec. [15?] 44
1939 Feb. 9 45
Grupo Liberi
[19]39 Oct. 24 46
Gube, Walter
* 1938 Jan. 1 41
1938 Feb. 1 42
* [19]38 Feb. 12 42
Gudell, Martin
* 1936 Sept. 1 38
* [1936 Sept. 1] 38
* 1936 Sept. 1 38
* 1936 Sept. 6 38
* 1936 Sept. 6 38
[19]36 Sept. 8 38
* 1936 Dec. 23 39
* 1936 Dec. 27 39
[193]6 Dec. 28 39
* 1937 Jan. 1 39
1937 Jan. 3 39
* 1937 Jan. 6 39
* 1937 Jan. 8 39
[19]37 Jan. 9-11 39
[19]37 Jan. 16 39
[19]37 Jan. 16-23 39
* 1937 Jan. 20 39
1937 Jan. 21 39
[19]37 Jan. 28 39
* 1937 Feb. 23 39
* [1937 Feb. 23] 39
[19]37 March 6 39
[1937 March 6] 39
* 1937 March 11 39
[19]37 March 18 39
[19]37 July 21 40
* 1937 July 27 40
[19]37 Aug. 4 41
* 1937 Aug. 6 41
* 1937 Aug. 6 41
* 1937 Aug. 16 41
1937 Aug. 31 41
* 1937 Oct. 27 41
* 1937 Nov. 10 41
* 1937 Nov. 11 41
* 1937 Nov. 11 41
[19]37 Nov. 15 41
* 1937 Nov. 25 41
1937 Nov. 25 41
* 1937 Nov. 27 41
[19]37 Nov. 29 41
* 1937 Dec. 8 41
* [1937 Dec. 8] 41
* 1937 Dec. 11 41
* 1937 Dec. 11 41
* 1937 Dec. 18 41
1937 Dec. 22 41
* 1937 Dec. 23 41
* 1937 Dec. 25 41
1937 Dec. 28 41
* [1938?] 41
* [1938?] 41
* 1938 Jan. 1 69
* 1938 Jan. 3 41
1938 Jan. 3 41
[1938] Jan. 4 41
* 1938 Jan. 10 41
[19]38 Jan. 19 42
* 1938 Jan. 21 42
* 1938 Jan. 21 69
* [19]38 Jan. 28 42
* 1938 Jan. 28 69

Gudell, Martin (cont'd.)
* 1938 Feb. 1 42
* 1938 Feb. 1 69
[19]38 Feb. 3 42
[19]38 Feb. 3 69
* 1938 Feb. 9 42
* 1938 Feb. 9 69
1938 Feb. 15 42
* 1938 March 1 42
* 1938 March 1 69
* 1938 March 10 42
* 1938 March 10 69
[19]38 March 13 42
[1938 March 13] 42
* 1938 March 22 42
* 1938 March 22 69
1938 March 24 42
[19]38 March 29 42
[19]38 March 29 42
* 1938 April 21 43
* 1938 April 21 69
* 1938 May 9 69
* [1938 May 9] 69
* 1938 May 11 43
1938 May 11 43
* 1938 May 11 69
1938 May 11 69
[1938] May 12 69
[1938 May 15] 43
* 1938 May 23 43
* 1938 May 23 69
* 1938 May 27 43
1938 May 27 43
* 1938 May 27 69
* 1938 June 9 43
[19]38 June 9 43
[19]38 June 9 43
* 1938 June 9 69
* 1938 June 28 43
* 1938 June 28 69
[1938 July?] 69
19[3]8 July 1 43
19[3]8 July 1 69
1938 July 11-12 43
1938 July 11-12 69
* 1938 July 12 43
1938 July 21 44
1938 July 21 69
* 1938 July 25 44
* 1938 July 25 69
* 1938 July 30 44
* 1938 July 30 69
* [1938 Aug.?] 44
1938 Aug. 3 44
1938 Aug. 6 44
1938 Aug. 11 44
* [1938 Aug.? 15?] 44
* [1938 Aug.? 15?] 44
1938 Aug. 18 44
* 1938 Aug. 22 44
* 1938 Aug. 22 69
* 1938 Aug. 29 44
* 1938 Aug. 29 69
* 1938 Aug. 31 44
* 1938 Aug. 31 69
* 1938 Oct. 12 44
* 1938 Oct. 12 69
[19]38 Nov. 2 44
[19]38 Nov. 2 69
1938 Nov. 9 69
* 1938 Nov. 10 44
* 1938 Nov. 10 69
1938 Nov. 15 44
* 1938 Nov. 16 44
* 1938 Nov. 16 69
* 1938 Nov. 23 44
* 1938 Nov. 23 69
* 1938 Nov. 25 44
* 1938 Nov. 25 69
* 1938 Nov. 28 44
1938 Nov. 28 44
* 1938 Nov. 28 69
[19]38 Nov. 29 44
1938 Dec. 1 44
* 1938 Dec. 8 44
* 1938 Dec. 8 69
* 1938 Dec. 9 44
* 1938 Dec. 9 44
* 1938 Dec. 9 44
* 1938 Dec. 9 69
* 1938 Dec. 9 69
* [1938 Dec. 9] 69
* 1938 Dec. 13 44
* 1938 Dec. 13 69
1938 Dec. 19 45
* 1938 Dec. 27 45

(* denotes "written by")

Gudell, Martin (cont'd.)
* 1939 Jan. 3 45
1939 Jan. 5 45
[19]39 Jan. 15-22 45
[19]39 Jan. 15 69
* 1939 Jan. 16 45
* 1939 Jan. 17 45
* 1939 Jan. 21 45
[19]39 Jan. 22 69
1939 Jan. 26 45
* [1939 Feb.?] 45
[19]39 Feb. 19 45
* 1939 Feb. 23 45

Guggenheim, Peggy
* [1926? May?] 16
* [1926? June?] 16
* [btw. 1926 Oct. and 1927 June] 16
* [1927 btw. March and July] . . 17
1927 March 1 17
1927 Sept. 13 19
[1927 Sept. 13] 19
* [1929] 22
* [1929 June?] 21
* [1929] Aug. 5 21
* [19]29 Sept. 14 21
* [1929] Sept. 26 21
[19]29 Nov. 3 22
* [1929? Dec.?] 22
* [1931?] 23
* [btw. 1931 May and 1934 June] 24
[1931 Nov.?] 25
* [1931] Nov. 12 25
[19]31 Nov. 15 25
[1931? Dec.?] 25
* [1931?] Dec. 20 25
[19]33 Sept. 13 28
[19]33 Sept. 13 28
[19]39 Feb. 22 45

Guskin, Reuben, and Morris C. Feinstone
* 1939 June 27 46
[19]39 July 11 46

Hadley, Lynton
1937 April 40

Hainert, Vera
1939 July 29 46

Haldeman-Julius, Emanuel
1916 Dec. 26 10
1917 Jan. 22 10

Hale, Robert S.
1932 July 2 27
* [19]32 July 15 27
* 1932 Aug. 2 27
1932 Nov. 5 27

Hall, Bolton
[1905 btw. Oct. and Dec.] . . 1
[1908] April 6 2
1908 July 21 2
1909 April 13 3
1910 Dec. 12 4
* 1911 Feb. 3 5
1911 Feb. 11 5
* 1911 Feb. 13 5
[1911] Sept. 5 5
1913 June 16 7
[1913] Sept. 7 7
1915 Oct. 19 9
1916 April 6 9
1916 April 11 9
1916 May 12 9
1917 April 26 10
[1917] June [16?] 10
* [1917? Aug.?] 10
1917 Aug. 26 10
1926 Dec. 31 16
* [1927? Jan.?] 17
1927 Dec. 8 19
* 1928 Jan. 13 19
1928 March 30 20
* 1928 April 10 20
[1928 May 6] 20
* 1928 May 12 20
1928 May 23 20
1928 June 17 20
* 1929 April 12 21
* [1932 Jan. 24] 26
* [19]32 Jan. 26 26
1932 Feb. 2 26
* [1932 April 4] 26
* [1932 April 14] 26
1932 Sept. 15 27
1934 Jan. 17 29
* [19]36 July 1[6?] 38

Hall, Bolton (cont'd.)
* 1936 July 16 38
[19]36 Aug. 12 38
Hall, Hilda
* 1933 Aug. 8 28
[19]33 Aug. 19 28
Hall, Roger
* [19]38 May 10 43
1938 May 27 43
Hallgarten, Constanze
[19]32 Oct. 18 27
Halperin, Aaron
1938 March 21 42
Halperin, Julia
* 1934 July 17 31
Halperin, Julia and Aaron
[19]34 July 10 31
* 1934 July 15 31
1934 July 31 31
* 1935 April 30 34
1935 May 8 34
Halperin, Lucille
* 1935 Nov. 23 35
[19]35 Dec. 10 36
Hamon, Augustin
[18]96 March 23 1
[18]96 March 23 1
[18]96 April 28 1
[18]96 July 23 1
[18]96 Dec. 17 1
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1897 June 25 1
[1897 June 25] 1
[1897] Aug. 20 1
[18]99 Sept. 27 1
* [18]99 Nov. 2 1
[18]99 Nov. 13 1
[19]00 [March] 9 1
[19]00 March 13 1
1900 April 2 1
[19]00 April 24 1
[19]00 May 11 1
* 1901 Nov. 27 1
* 1922 May 4 13
1922 May 17 13
* [19]22 June 15 13
Handshear, J.
1934 May 5 31
1934 July 10 31
1934 Aug. 16 32
1934 Aug. 31 32
1934 Oct. 20 32
1934 Nov. 10 33
1934 Nov. 17 33
1934 Dec. 21 33
* 1935 Jan. 26 33
1935 Jan. 31 33
1935 Jan. 31 33
1935 April 11 34
* 1935 May 2 34
[19]38 Sept. 12 44
Hanline, Maurice A.
* [1929 June 2-5] 21
* 1929 June 5 21
* 1929 June 5 68
1929 June 10 21
* 1929 June 18 21
* 1929 July 2 21
1929 July 19 21
* 1929 July 23 21
1929 Nov. 30 22
Hanson, Arthur
* [19]37 April 15 40
Hapgood, Hutchins
1911 Jan. 31 4
1911 Feb. 23 68
1923 Feb. 21 13
[1923] March 26 13
1923 Nov. 20 13
* 1927 Oct. 20 19
1927 Oct. 26 19
* [1928? Sept.?] 20
* 1929 Feb. 11 20
1930 Jan. 16 22
1930 Jan. 16 22
1930 Jan. 16 22
* 1932 Nov. 25 27
1933 March 18 28
[19]36 Sept. 12 38
1939 Aug. 20 46
1940 May 18 46
Hapgood, Powers
[1924] Oct. 10 14
1924 Nov. 21 14
[1924] Nov. 25 14
1924 Dec. 27 14

Hapgood, Powers (cont'd.)
1925 Jan. 19 14
1925 March 5 14
1925 April 13 14
1927 Sept. 19 19
1928 Feb. 7 19
1928 Feb. 7 19
Hapgood, William Powers
* 1927 Sept. 30 19
1927 Oct. 5 19
Harcourt, Brace & Co.
1935 Oct. 12 35
Harding, Stan
* 1924 Nov. 13 14
* 1925 Jan. 27 14
* 1925 Feb. 18 14
* 1925 March 10 14
* [1925] March 17 14
Harman, Lillian
* [19]28 Aug. 24 20
* [19]28 Nov. 19 20
Harman, Moses
[1906] May 21 2
Harper & Brothers
1934 July 19 31
1935 Oct. 10 35
Harris, Frank
[1919] Dec. [20-]21 12
1919 Dec. 27 12
[1920 Jan. 16] 12
1920 Jan. 16 12
[1920 Jan. 29] 12
1920 Jan. 29 12
1920 Jan. 29 12
1920 Jan. 29 12
* [1923 March 9?] 13
* 1923 May 26 13
* 1924 Feb. 3 13
[1924 March?] 13
* 1924 March 13
1924 March 9 13
1924 March 9 13
* 1924 March 15 13
1924 March 18 13
1924 March 31 13
* 1924 April 15 13
1924 April 30 68
* [19]24 May 7 13
* [19]24 May 11 13
* 1924 May 26 13
1924 June 2 68
* 1924 June 17 13
* [1924] Sept. 5 13
* [19]24 Oct. 10 14
* 1924 Nov. 10 14
* [1925?] 14
* [19]25 Jan. 23 14
* 1925 March 7 14
* 1925 March 12 14
[1925 May?] 15
* 1925 May 22 15
* 1925 June 18 15
* 1925 July 2 15
* 1925 July 8 15
* 1925 July 10 15
1925 July 13 15
* 1925 July 16 15
* 1925 July 24-25 15
1925 Aug. 7 15
* 1925 Aug. 12 15
1925 Sept. 6 15
* 1925 Sept. 13 15
* 1925 Sept. 30 15
* 1925 Oct. 11 15
* 1925 Oct. 21 15
* 1925 Dec. 2 15
* [19]26 Oct. 15 16
1927 June 29 18
1927 June 29 68
1927 Aug. 4 68
* 1927 Aug. 23 18
* 1927 Oct. 3 19
1927 Oct. 26 19
[19]27 Nov. 19 68
* 1927 Dec. 7 19
1927 Dec. 12 68
1928 Jan. 27 19
[19]28 March 1 68
1928 April 4 20
1928 April 4 68
1928 July 12 68
* 1929 Nov. 29 22
1929 Dec. 3 22
1930 Aug. 10 23
Harris, Helen ("Nellie")
* [1925 btw. Jan. and June] . . . 14

Harris, Helen ("Nellie" – cont'd.)
1925 July 29 68
* 1925 Sept. 29 15
1927 Dec. 29 19
[1928 March? 1?] 68
* [1929?] 20
[19]30 Jan. 4 22
* [1930 May?] 23
* [1930 May?] 23
[19]30 May 17 23
* 1931 Sept. 13 24
* [1931 Sept. 20?] 24
[19]31 Oct. 9 25
[19]31 Oct. 28 25
* [1931 Nov.?] 25
* [1931 Nov.?] 25
[19]31 Nov. 15 25
* [1931 Nov. 21] 25
[19]31 Nov. 23 25
[19]31 Dec. 1 25
* 1931 Dec. 9 25
1931 Dec. 10 25
[19]31 Dec. 10 68
* [1931 btw. Dec. 11 and 20] . . 25
[19]31 Dec. 19 25
* 1931 Dec. 21 25
* [1931 Dec. 24?] 25
1931 Dec. 30 25
* 1932 Jan. 1 26
[19]32 Jan. 12 26
* [1932 May?] 26
* 1936 Jan. 10 36
* [1936 July 1] 38
[1936] July 24 38
[1936] July 24 68
[19]37 July 28 68
[19]38 Feb. 9 42

Harrison, James
* 1932 Nov. 21 27
1932 Dec. 17 27
* 1933 March 14 28
1938 May 3 43

Harrison, May
1938 April 14 42
1938 May 3 69

Hart, Leila C.
* 1928 Jan. 23 19

Haskell, Arnold L.
* [1933] April 1 28
1933 April 5 28
[19]33 April 20 28
* [19]33 April 21 28
[19]33 Aug. 14 28

Havel, Hippolyte
1924 Dec. 14

Hawkes, John
1924 Dec. 13 14
1924 Dec. 13 14
* [19]28 Oct. 10 20

Hays, Arthur Garfield
1927 May 31 18
[192]7 June 14 18

Hegyessy, James
* [19]13 July 19 7

Heinemann Publishers
1934 Dec. 26 68
1935 Nov. 27 35

Heiner, Frank G.
* [1934 April 10?] 30
[1934 April 11?] 30
[19]34 April 17 30
[19]34 April 17 30
* [1934 April 20?] 30
1934 April 26 30
[19]34 May 6 31
[19]34 May 6 31
* [1934 May 7?] 31
* [1934 May 12?] 31
[19]34 May 18 31
1934 May 18 31
* [1934 May 21?] 31
[19]34 May 22 31
1934 May [22] 31
[1934] May 23 31
[1934] May 23 31
* [1934 May 25?] 31
[1934 btw. June 1 and 8] . . . 31
[1934 btw. June 1 and 8] . . . 31
* [1934 btw. June 4 and 9] . . . 31
[19]34 June 11 31
[19]34 June 11 31
[19]34 June 21 31
* [1934 btw. June 22 and 25] . . 31
[19]34 June 23 31
[19]34 June 23 31

(* denotes "written by")

Heiner, Frank G. (cont'd.)
* [1934 btw. June 24 and 27] . . 31
1934 June 26 31
1934 June 27 31
[19]34 June 27 31
[19]34 June 28 31
* [1934 June 28-29?] 31
* [1934 June 29?] 31
[19]34 July 7 31
[1934? July 8?] 31
* [1934 btw. July 9 and 11] . . . 31
[19]34 July 12 31
[19]34 July 12 31
* [1934 btw. July 14 and 16] . . 31
[19]34 July 21 31
[19]34 July 21 31
* [1934 btw. July 23 and 25] . . 32
[19]34 July 24 31
[19]34 July 24 31
[19]34 July 31 31
[19]34 July 31 31
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1934 Dec. 9 33
1934 Dec. 9 33
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[19]34 Dec. 19 33
[19]34 Dec. 19 33
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1934 Dec. 21 33
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1934 Dec. 28 33
[19]34 Dec. 28 33
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1935 Feb. 4 33
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* [1935 btw. March 10 and 13] . 34
* 1935 btw. March 18 and 22] . 34
1935 March 27 34
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1935 April 13 34
[19]35 April 22 34

Heiner, Frank G. (cont'd.)
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1935 July 7 35
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1935 Aug. 14 35
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* [1935 btw. Aug. 28 and 31] . . 35
* [1935 btw. Sept. 6 and 10] . . 35
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[19]35 Sept. 20 35
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[19]36 July 16 38
[19]36 July 16 38

Heiner, Mary Koll
* 1934 April 4 30
* [1934 May 12?] 31
[19]34 June 23 31
* [1934] Aug. 10 32
[19]34 Aug. 14 32

Heiner, Mary and Harriet
1934 April 9 30

Hellins, Eleanor M. M.
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Hellman, George
* 1923 July 20 13

Henderson, Arthur
1924 March 31 13

Heney, James
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1939 Oct. 31 46
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1939 Nov. 3 46
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1939 Nov. 9 46
1939 Nov. 9 46
1939 Nov. 16 46
* 1939 Nov. 20 46
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1939 Nov. 23 46
* [1939] Nov. 27 46

Hennacy, Ammon A.
* 1936 July 5 38
* [1936 July 5] 38
[19]36 July 24 38

Henneberger, M.
* 1932 Aug. 16 27

Hepworth, Barbara
[19]39 March 15 45

Herdman, Ramona
* 1934 Feb. 28 30

Herlick, C. M.
* 1928 Jan. 13 19
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Herlick, C. M. (cont'd.)
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Herman, I. A.
* [1935 Oct.] 68
[19]35 Oct. 31 35
Herrera, Pedro. *See also* Vázquez, Mariano R., and Pedro Herrera
[19]37 Jan. 15 39
1937 Jan. 16 39
* 1937 March 4 39
* 1937 March 4 39
* 193[7 April?] 40
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* 1937 Oct. 27 41
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[19]37 Dec. 3 68
1937 Dec. 6 41
1937 Dec. 6 41
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1937 Dec. 22 41
1937 Dec. 22 41
1937 Dec. 22 68
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1937 Dec. 28 41
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* 1937 Dec. 30 41
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1938 Jan. 3 41
[1938 Jan.? 15?] 41
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1938 Feb. [14] 42
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1938 March 2 42
1938 March 2 42
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1938 April 1 42
1938 April 1 42
[1938 April 1] 69
* 1938 April 2 69
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* [1938 April 15] 42
* [1938 April 15] 69
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* [19]38 April 21 43
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* [1938 April 21] 69
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* 1938 April 21 69
* [19]38 April 23 43
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1938 May 5 43
1938 May 5 43
1938 May 5 69
1938 May 23 43
1938 May 23 69
1938 May 31 43
[1938 June?] 43
* 1938 June 2 43
[1938 June 9] 43
1938 June 10 43
1938 June 10 69
1938 June 13 43
[19]38 June 23 43
* 1938 July 8 43
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* [193]8 July 8 69
* 1938 July 8 69
1938 July 15 43
1938 July 23 44
1938 July 28 44
* 1938 Aug. 3 44
* 1938 Aug. 12 44
[19]38 Aug. 24 44
* 1938 Sept. 9 44
* [19]38 Nov. [11?] 44
1938 Nov. 16 44
* [19]38 Nov. 1[8?] 44

Herrera, Pedro. (cont'd.)
1938 Nov. 28 44
* 1938 Dec. 22 45
* 1938 Dec. 23 45
1939 Jan. 21 45
* 1939 Feb. 10 45
1939 Feb. 11 45
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1939 Feb. 20 45
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Hersch, Virginia
1931 May 15 24
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* [1931 July?] 24
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Herts, B. Russell
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1932 June 7 68
Herzfelde, W.
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1932 June 20 27
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* [19]32 Dec. 6 27
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Hewett, R. P.
1938 Jan. 22 42
Hillman, Alex L.
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1937 Nov. 24 41
Hillquit, Morris
1931 July 17 24
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Hilse, Max
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Hinton, John
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Hirschfeld, Magnus
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Hoagland, Susan
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Hochstein, David
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1918 Nov. 7 11
Hochstein, Hymen
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Holloway, Joseph
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Holman, Phyllis
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Holmes, John Haynes
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Holmes, John Haynes (cont'd.)
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1934 April 23 30
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1934 Oct. 10 32
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1934 Oct. 26 32
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* 1934 Nov. 27 33
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1935 March 28 34
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1935 July 11 35
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1935 Oct. 15 35
1935 Oct. 15 35
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1936 April 2 37
1936 April 2 37
[1936 April 2] 37
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1940 Jan. 27 46
1940 Jan. 27 46
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1940 Feb. 17 46
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* 1940 May 27 46

Holmes, Marion H.
1933 March 18 28
* 1933 Aug. 15 28
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Holmes, Will
* [19]12 Nov. 8 6

Henry Holt and Company
1934 Nov. 1 33

Holtz, J.
* 1927 Nov. 25 19
1927 Dec. 1 19
1936 April 9 37
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Holzwarth, Adam
1911 July [24?] 5
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1914 July 10 8
[1915 May?] 9

Hopkins, Prince
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Hopkins, Prince (cont'd.)
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Horner, Mrs. E. E.
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Hornstein, Fred
1927 Oct. 25 19
Horwitch, C.
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Houghton Mifflin Company
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* 1932 Nov. 29 27
1934 Nov. 1 33
Hourwich, Iskander
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1928 Sept. 9 20
Housman, Laurence
* 1938 Feb. 23 42
1938 Feb. 24 42
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Hovey, Sonya Levien
1925 Nov. 6 15
Howard, Brian
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Howard, Roy W.
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Howe, Bertha W.
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Howe, Marie Jenney
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1934 Feb. 17 30
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1939 July 17 46
1939 Oct. 9 46
Hughes, Alice
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Huneker, James Gibbons
1905 Nov. 23 1
1905 Dec. 26 1
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Hutchinson, Rosa E.
* 1933 July 10 28
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Huxley, Aldous
[1938] 41
1938 Jan. 11 41
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* [19]38 Jan. 28 42
1938 Feb. 15 42
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* [19]38 March 15 42
* [19]38 March 15 42
1938 July 1 43
1938 July 8 43
Inglis, Agnes
1915 Oct. 9 9
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[1915] Oct. 22 9
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Inglis, Agnes (cont'd.)
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1930 April 11 23

Inglis, Agnes (cont'd.)
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* 1939 Oct. 19 46
1939 Oct. 20 46
1939 Oct. 22 46

Ingold, P. L.
* [1936] March 8 36
[19]36 May 15 37

Iñigo, Rafael
* 1938 Aug. 1 69

International Anarchy Aid Federation
* 1922 March 6 12
1922 March 25 12
1922 March 25 12

Ishill, Joseph
1912 Sept. 25 6
[19]12 Dec. 31 6
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1916 May 17 9
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1924 Feb. 5 13
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1927 Jan. 22 17
1927 March 1 17
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* 1927 April 21 18
* 1927 June 15 18
1927 June 22 18
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Ishill, Joseph (cont'd.)
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1932 June 15 27
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* 1932 Aug. 2 27
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1934 April 19 30
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1934 June 13 31
193[4] June 13 31
* 1934 June 18 31
1934 Aug. 4 32
1934 Aug. 4 32
* 1934 Aug. 22 32
1934 Sept. 12 32
1934 Sept. 12 32
* 1934 Oct. 2 32
1934 Nov. 29 33
1934 Nov. 29 68

Ishill, Joseph (cont'd.)
* 1934 Dec. 28 33
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1935 Feb. 13 33
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Ishill, Joseph and Rose F.
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Itinerary
190[8] Sept. [20] 2
Jackson, Sir Barry
1925 May 21 15
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Jacob, Fred
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* 1926 Nov. 10 16
Jacobs, Sid
1927 June 29 18
Jaffe, Gussie
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James, C. L.
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Japan, Ambassador of
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Javsicas, Gabriel
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Javsicas, Gabriel (cont'd.)
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* 1936 July 4 38
[19]36 July 16 38

Javsicas, Gabriel and Erma
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Jawschitz, Gabriel. ***See*** **Javsicas, Gabriel**

Jeffrey, Patrick
[19]36 May 29 37
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Jenkins, H. F.
* 1932 Aug. 15 27
* 1932 Dec. 6 27

Jensen, Albert
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Jensen, Elise. ***See*** **Ottesen-Jensen, Elise**

Jespersen, E.
1923 Sept. 18 13
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Joachim, M.
* [19]38 April 18 43
1938 April 21 43

Johnson, Mrs. Lewis J.
1917 Sept. 9 10
1917 Oct. 3 10

Johnstown Democrat
[1931? July?] 24

Jolas, Maria
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Jones, Henry J.
1934 Aug. 27 68
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Jones, L. J.
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Jones, Laurence C.
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Jong, Wim
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Jong, Wim (cont'd.)
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Jordan, Philip
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Joysky, Polya. ***See*** **Turkel, Pauline**
Jueneman, Ilse
* 1937 Feb. 16 39
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Justice
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Kaminski, Anita Karfunkel
1938 March 21 42
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Kaminski, Anita and Hanns-Erich
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Kaminski, Hanns-Erich
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Kapp, Phillip
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Kapp, Phillip (cont'd.)
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Karlin, Alexander
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Kassler, Grace M.
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Kastendike, Lilian
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Kater, Elisa
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Kater, Fritz
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Kauffman, Reginald Wright
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Kavanagh, K. B.
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Kay, Arthur
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Keell, Thomas H.
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Keller, Helen
1916 Feb. 8 9
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Kelly, Harry
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Kelly, Harry (cont'd.)
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Kelly, Harry, and M. Eleanor Fitzgerald
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Kemp, Jack
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Kennan, Ellen A.
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Kennan, Ellen A. (cont'd.)
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Kennan, Ellen A. (cont'd.)
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Kenton, Edna. *See* **Kennan, Ellen A.**

Kerr, Stewart
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1938 July 19 69
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* 1940 June 4 46

Keun, Odette
* [1924] Nov. 20 14
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Kiefer, Daniel
* 1910 June 22 3
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Kilgeur, Johnston E.
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Kimmel, Sonia
* [1931] Nov. 28 25
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Kimmelman, Bessie
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Kind, Samuel
1934 April 19 30

Kinzinger, Alice Fish
* 1932 Oct. 16 27
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1934 March 24 30
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1934 Sept. 21 32

Kinzinger, Edmund
* [1932] Oct. 5 27
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Kinzinger, Edmund and Alice
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Kirchwey, Freda
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Kirschner, E. A.
* [19]37 Jan. 15 68
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Kirschner, Max
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Kirschner, Zelda
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1937 April 2 40

Kisliuk, Lillian
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Klaus, Samuel
* 1930 Jan. 29 22
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Klingenberg, (Mrs.)
1931 Feb. 21 23

Knopf, Alfred A.
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Knopf, Alfred A. (cont'd.)
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Knopf, Alfred A. (cont'd.)
* 1934 Jan. 16 29
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Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
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Kogos, Eli
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Koldofsky, Liza
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Koldofsky, Liza and Semion
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Kon, Christina
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Kopeloff, Nicholas
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Kowitz, M. L.
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Kramer, Henrietta
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Kramer, Leon
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Kramer, Louis
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Kress, Melville
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Kroch, A.
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Kropotkin Group
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Peter Kropotkin Memorial Committee
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Kutna, G.
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LaDame, I.
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Labadie, Joseph A.
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Laddon, Esther and Ben
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Laddon, Esther and Max
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Laddon, Ora
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Landau, Katia
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Lang, Harry
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Lang, Lucy Robins
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Langbord, Morris and Becky
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Lavers, Thomas and Nelly
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Lawrence, Frieda
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Martin Lawrence Publishers
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Leavitt, Mary
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Legend, Sheila
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Leighton, George R.
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Leighton, George R. (cont'd.)
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Leverton, Nancy
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Levey, Jay
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Levey, Jeanne
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Levey, Jeanne (cont'd.)
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Levey, Jeanne and Jay
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Levi, Lucille
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Levine, Isaac Don
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Levine, Isaac Don (cont'd.)
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Levine, Isaac Don and Mary
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Lewis, Sinclair
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Lewis and Keuhn
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Lewisohn, Ludwig
1926 May 28 68
Li Fei-kan. ***See*** **Ba Jin**
Li Pei. ***See*** **Ba Jin**
Libertaire
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Liebovitz, D.
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Lind, J. B.
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Linder, Pola and Solo
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Lindsey, Ben B.
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J. B. Lippincott Co.
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Little Review
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***Living My Life*, Royalty Report on**
1932 [July? 1?] 27

Livshis, Peter
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London, Charmian
1911 June 23 5
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London, Jack and Charmian
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London Morning News
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Lopez, P.
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1935 March 30 34
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Lou and Rodie
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Louzon, Fragonard
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Low, Robert
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Low, Robert and Ruth
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Low, Ruth
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Lowensohn, Minna (cont'd.)
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Luber
* 1940 Feb. 17 46

Lucifer the Lightbearer
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1902 Nov. 30 1

Luhan, Mabel Dodge. ***See*** **Dodge, Mabel**

Luisa, Maria
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Lusskin, Abraham
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Lusskin, Libby
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1940 July 19 46

Lynch, H.
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Mackenzie, Frances
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Macmillan Company
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Macmillan Company of Canada
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Mainwaring, Sam
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1937 Jan. 11 39
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1938 June 3 43
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1938 June 7 43
Makeev, Nicholas
* [1932 Oct.] 68
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Maksimov, Grigorii Petrovich
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Maksimov, Olga
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Maksimov, Olga and Grigorii Petrovich
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Malik Verlag
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Malleson, Miles
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Malmed, Leon (cont'd.)
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Malmed, Leon (cont'd.)
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Malmed, Leon (cont'd.)
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Malmed, Leon (cont'd.)
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Malmed, Leon (cont'd.)
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Manchester Guardian
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Manchester Guardian (cont'd.)
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Mann, John H.
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Mannin, Ethel
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Mannin, Ethel (cont'd.)
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Mannin, Ethel (cont'd.)
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Manning, Nathalie B.
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Marcus, L.
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Margolis, Jacob
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Margolis, Lena
1927 March 21 17

Marian, Julius
* 1935 May 2 34

Marks, Lawrence
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1935 May 31 34
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Marsden, F. M.
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Marsh, Edward C.
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Martens, Ludwig A.
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Martie. ***See*** **Anderson, Margaret**

Martin, Fidel
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Martin Secker & Warburg Ltd.
1934 Dec. 26 33
1937 April 29 40
1937 Nov. 23 41
1938 April 20 69

Martinez, Victor
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1934 July 30 31
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1934 Aug. 22 32
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1934 Oct. 22 32
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[19]36 April 24 37

Mascarell, Manuel
* 1937 Nov. 41
* 1938 Jan. 7 41
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1938 May 3 43
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1938 May 20 43
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Mascarell, Manuel (cont'd.)
* [19]38 May 28 43
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1938 July 29 44
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[1938 Aug. 19] 44
1938 Aug. 19 69
1938 Aug. 23 44
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1938 Nov. 17 44
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1938 Nov. 27 44
1938 Nov. 29 44
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1938 Dec. 9 69
1938 Dec. 10? 69
1938 Dec. 15 44
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1939 Jan. 21 45
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1939 Feb. 1 45

Masters, Edgar Lee
1935 April 20 68
* 1935 April 24 34

Matheson, H.
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Elkin Mathews
1934 Dec. 26 33

Mattson, B.
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Maule, H. E.
* 1932 Nov. 11 27
[1932 Dec. 17?] 27
1932 Dec. 17 27
1932 Dec. 17 27
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* 1933 April 4 28

Mawa
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1939 Feb. 11 45

Maxton, James
* 1938 Aug. 17 44
* [1938 Aug. 17] 44
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McBride, Robert M.
1935 Nov. 27 35

Robert M. McBride Company
1935 Oct. 15 35

McBrodie, Jean D.
* 1935 Nov. 1 35

McCarthy, Cliff
* [19]31 April 2 23

McCarthy, John
* 1935 May 8 34
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McCleland, Olga Y.
* 1938 April 28 43
* 1938 April 28 69
1938 May 27 43
* 1938 May 28 43

McClure Newspaper Syndicate
1923 April 2 13
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McCord, Mary Rose
1928 May 23 20

McCormick, Ken
* 1940 March 13 46

McCullough, Billee
1929 Sept. 17 21

McCullough, Perry E.
1929 Nov. 29 22
McCullough, Perry and Billee
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McGill, Margaret
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McGraw-Hill Book Company
1934 Nov. 2 33
McKay, Frank J.
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McKeol, Frances
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McKnight, Richard George
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George J. McLeod Ltd.
1934 [Aug. 1?] 32
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McNair, John
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* 1938 April 25 43
* [1938 April 25] 43
1938 April 26 43
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1938 Aug. 12 44
McRoy, John T.
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Meelis, Dien
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Meelis, Tom and Dien, and Dorothy Rogers
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* [1936 July?] 38
Meltzer, Albert
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Mencken, H. L.
1925 June 18 68
1925 July 10 68
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1925 Sept. 1 68
[1925 Sept. 1] 68
1925 Sept. 29 68
[1925 Sept. 29] 68
1926 Feb. 12 68
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1931 Sept. 18 68
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1931 Nov. 9 25

Mencken, H. L. (cont'd.)
1931 Nov. 9 68
1931 Dec. 29 25
1931 Dec. 29 68
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1932 March 3 26
1932 March 3 68
[1932 March 3] 68
[19]32 March 13 68
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Mendelsohn, Lillian
1938 July 19 69
1938 July 29 44
1938 July 29 44
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1939 Feb. 17 45
1939 Feb. 25 45
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Mendelsohn, William and Lillian
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Mesirow, Mildred ("Midge")
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1935 Feb. 16 34
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1935 April 4 34
* [1935 April 26] 34
[1935 April 29] 34
1935 April 29 34
1935 April 29 34
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Mesirow, Nic
* 1933 Aug. 8 28
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Metcalfe, John
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Metropolitan Magazine
1905 Dec. 4 1
Metzkow, Max
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1909 Nov. 22 3
Meyer, Ernest L.
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* 1934 May 22 31
1934 May 28 31
Meyer, Hokon
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Meyer, R.
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Meyerovitch, Joseph
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Meyers, Sidney S.
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Mezhinik
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Michael
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Michaelis, Karin
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1930 May 21 23
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* 1932 Feb. 26
* 1932 June 27
1932 June 9 27
* 1932 Nov. 27
* 1933 June 28
1934 Jan. 25 29
* 1934 Feb. 30
1934 July 21 31
* [1937 Feb.?] 39
1937 Feb. 10 39
* [1937] Feb. 21 39
1937 March 12 39
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1939 Aug. 3 46
Middleton, George
1914 July 3 8
1914 Nov. 23 8
1924 May 20 13
Millikin, Mark
* 1934 Dec. 3 33
1934 Dec. 21 33
Milner, Lucille B.
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1939 Oct. 28 46
1939 Nov. 11 46
* 1939 Nov. 14 46
Min Zhong
[1925 July 15] 15
[1926 Dec.] 15
Mindlin, A.
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Mitchell, Charles Henry
* 1937 Sept. 12 41
* 1937 Nov. 12 41
1937 Dec. 21 41
1937 Dec. 21 68
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1938 Jan. 22 42
1938 Jan. 22 42

Mitchell, E. J.
1927 Sept. 13 19
Mitchell, Peter Chalmers
1938 Jan. 19 42
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1938 Jan. 31 42
1938 March 3 42
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* [1938] March 18 42
Molt, Emil
* 1923 April 6 13
Montgomery, Henry
1919 Nov. 27 12
Montseny, Federica
1932 Nov. 5 27
1932 Nov. 5 68
Mooney, Tom
* 1917 May 25 10
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Moore, Fred H.
* 1923 Aug. 8 13
* 1923 Oct. 9 13
Moore, Harry T., Jr.
1932 Nov. 2 27
* 1932 Dec. 23 27
1933 March 29 28
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Moore, J. B.
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Moore, Ruth
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Moore, T. E.
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Morgan, J. Edward
* 1932 Feb. 13 26
Morgan, Louise
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Morin, Emilienne
* 1937 July 13 40
Morison, Elizabeth S.
* 1925 May 11 15
Morison, Samuel Eliot
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Morris
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William Morrow Publishers
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Morton, James F.
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Mosher, Thomas Bird
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Mother Earth
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1906 June 2 2
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Mother Earth (cont'd.)
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Mratchny, Mark
[btw. 1922 and 1924] 12
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1922 March 26 12
1922 April 8 12
[btw. 1922 May and 1924 July] 13
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1925 Jan. 14
1925 June 8 15
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1926 April 15 15
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1936 Nov. 3 38
1936 Nov. 3 38
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1937 Feb. 8 39
1937 April 2 40
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1938 Nov. 22 44
1938 Nov. 22 69
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1939 Jan. 30 45
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1939 July 1 46
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[19]40 Feb. 6 46
Mratchny, Mark, and Johanna Boetz
[1928? March?] 68
[19]31 June 6 24
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[19]31 July 29 24
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Mratchny, Mark, and Samuel Freedman
[19]38 Dec. 9 44
Mühsam, Erich
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Mühsam, Zenzl
1934 Sept. 11 32
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[19]35 Jan. 30 33

Mühsam, Zenzl (cont'd.)
[19]35 Feb. 25 34
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[19]35 May 23 34
Muigo, D.
* 1938 July 9 43
1938 Aug. 2 44
Mujeres Libres. ***See*** **Comaposada, Mercedes**
Müller-Lehning, Arthur
* 1933 Aug. 21 28
* [19]33 Aug. 21 28
[19]33 Sept. 26 28
1933 Nov. 28 29
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1938 Aug. 2 44
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1938 Sept. 2 44
[19]38 Sept. 3 44
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[19]38 Nov. 27 44
1938 Dec. 20 45
Müller-Lehning, Arthur and Madeleine
* [1938? Dec.?] 44
1939 Jan. 23 45
[19]39 Feb. 10 45
Munter, Paul
* 1931 Nov. 9 25
Murobuse, Koshin
* [btw. 1923 and 1928?] 13
Murphy, Helen
* 1934 June 28 31
Murphy, K. M.
* 1937 June 15 40
Mussier, Alexander
1929 May 10 21
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1930 April 28 23
* 1933 Jan. 19 28
* 1933 Jan. 19 28
1933 Jan. 25 28
1933 May 22 28
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Musson Book Co.
1935 April 2 34
Mycroft, Walter C.
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Nafe, Gertrude
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Nathan, George Jean
1927 Sept. 13 19
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Nathan, George Jean, and H. L. Mencken. ***See also*** **Mencken, H. L.**
1923 Sept. 18 68
Nathanson, William
1917 June 29 10
Nation
1934 Nov. 2 33
1934 Dec. 5 33
[1935] April 13 34
1935 May 27 34
National Council of Women
1937 March 24 39
Nationalrat der Englischen Sektion
1938 May 2 43
Navaro, N.
* [19]12 July 28 6
Neagoe, Peter
* 1931 July 5 24
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Negrín, Juan
* 1938 July 2 43
Nesbitt
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Nettlau, Max
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1923 May 30 13
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* [19]24 Dec. 26 14
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[1925?] 68

Nettlau, Max (cont'd.)
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Nettlau, Max (cont'd.)
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Nettlau, Max (cont'd.)
1934 Dec. 28 33
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1934 Dec. 31 33
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Nevinson, Henry W.
1924 Dec. 27 14
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1938 Jan. 11 41

New Leader
[1926 April?] 15

New Statesman
1937 March 2 39

New York Times
1925 June 12 15
1925 June 12 15
1937 June 18 40

New York Times (cont'd.)
1937 Dec. 7 41
1937 Dec. 7 41
1937 Dec. 7 41
1937 Dec. 7 41
1937 Dec. 7 68
New York Tribune
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New York World
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1898 Sept. 18 1
Newlander, Carl ("Carolus")
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Newman, Edgar G.
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Newman, Emma
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***News Chronicle*, *Daily Herald*, et al.**
[1938 Feb.? 15?] 42
Nicholson, B.
* 1925 Nov. 16 15
Ivor Nicholson & Watson Ltd.
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* 1935 Feb. 22 34
Noble, Edmund
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Northern Transport Agency Ltd.
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W. W. Norton & Company
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Nuno, M.
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Nuss, Louise
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O'Brian, George H.
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O'Brien, Conor Cruise
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O'Brien, Joe
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O'Brien, Mary Heaton Vorse. ***See*** **Vorse, Mary Heaton**
O'Hare, Kate Richards
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Orwell, Mrs. George. ***See*** **Blair, Eileen**
Oscherovitch, M.
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Oxford University Press
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1934 July 4 31
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Pa Jin. ***See*** **Ba Jin**
Palmer, Paul
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Palmer, Paul (cont'd.)
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Pesotta, Rose (cont'd.)
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Pethick-Lawrence, Lady Emmeline
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Pfemfert, Franz
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Pierpoint, Raymond
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Post Office Director, Geneva
1938 Feb. 15 42

Posthumus, N. W.
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Powys, John Cowper
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Prieto, Horacio M.
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Prince, J.
* 1938 June 22 43
Prost, H. G.
[19]36 May 15 37
La Protesta
1937 Sept. 41

Puig Elias, Juan
1938 Oct. 19 44
1938 Dec. 15 44
Putnam, George
1931 Feb. 17 23
G. P. Putnam's Sons
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Radowitzky, Simon
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Ramus, Pierre. ***See*** **Grossmann, Rudolf**
Raney, Rebekah E.
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Rasmussen, Hans
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Reburn, A.
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Recchione, Vero. ***See*** **Richards, Vernon**
Reed, John
1914 July 8
Reedy, William Marion
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Reese, Curtis W.
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Reeves, J.
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Reiß, Erich
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Reitman, Ben L.
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Reitman, Ben L. (cont'd.)
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Reitman, Ben L. (cont'd.)
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Reitman, Ben L., and Walter Merchant
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Reitman, Helen. ***See*** **Gay, Jan**
Reynold's Illustrated News
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Rhee
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Rhondda, Lady
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Rider, Dan
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Robinson, D.
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Rocker, Rudolf, and Emma Goldman
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Rocker, Rudolf and Milly, and Pauline Turkel
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Rogers, Dorothy, and Esther Laddon
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Ross, Arthur Leonard (cont'd.)
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Ross, Arthur Leonard (cont'd.)

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1937 June [btw. 1 and 10] . . 68
1937 June 22 40

Ross, Arthur Leonard (cont'd.)
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Ross, Ralph Gilbert
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Rosselli, Carl
* [1933] April 10 28
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Rosselli, Marion
1937 June 15 40
Rotenberg, Louis, Jr.
* 1927 April 5 18
Rowe, F. W.
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Rowland, John
1936 Jan. 29 68
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Royal Board of Swedish Telegraphs
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Royer, Ben
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Ruch, Ricarda
1924 March 22 13
Rüdiger, Helmut
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1938 May 5 43
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Rüdiger, Helmut (cont'd.)
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1939 Aug. 4 46

Rüdiger, Helmut and Dora
* 1939 Feb. 19 45
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Ruedebusch, Emil F.
* 1927 Oct. 25 19
* [1927 Oct. 25] 19
1927 Nov. 14 19
1927 Dec. 20 19

Ruiz, Paquita
* 1939 Jan. 14 45

Rumball, Edwin A. R.
1909 Dec. 17 3

Rumsey, Jesse Clyde
* 1914 Dec. 18 8
* 1915 Sept. 5 9

Rushworth, G. E.
[1936 May 1?] 37
* 1936 May 28 37

Russell, Bertrand
[1922] July 8 13
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Ryan, Bill
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Ryerson, Michael
* 1938 May 26 43

Sacco, Rosa
1927 Sept. 3 19
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Sadleir, Michael
* 1935 Nov. 26 35
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Saerchinger, Cesar
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Saerchinger, Cesar (cont'd.)
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Saerchinger, Marion and Cesar
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St. Louis Post-Dispatch
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Salzberg, Saul
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* 1933 March 22 28
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Sánchez Saornil, Lucía
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Sánchez Saornil, Lucía (cont'd.)
* 1939 March 9 45
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Sánchez Saornil, Lucía; Christina Kon; and Mateo Baruta Vilá
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Sandström, Robert
1930 April 1 23
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1937 [June] 30 40
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Sandström, Robert and Eugenie
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Sanger, Margaret
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* 191[6] March 14 9
Sanjuan, Jose
* 1937 Nov. 3 41
Sankey-Jones, Nancy
* 1929 March 1 21
Saunders, S. J. Reginald
* 1935 Feb. 14 33
1935 April 2 34
Sawyer, Ramona J.
* 1934 Feb. 1 68
Saxton, Eugene F.
* 1932 Nov. 10 27
Schapiro, Alexander ("Sania")
* [19]24 Feb. 25 13
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* 1936 July 6 38
Scheerer, Herman
1939 Jan. 10 45
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Scheerer, Herman and Lissie
* 1938 Dec. 18 45
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* 1933 April 27 28
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Schmalhausen, Samuel D. (cont'd.)
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Schmitt, Gladys L.
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Schreiber, Horst
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Schreider, Cornelia
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Schuster, Eunice M.
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Scott, Evelyn
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Scott, Evelyn (cont'd.)
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Scott, Evelyn (cont'd.)
[19]36 June 23 37
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1937 March 8 39
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1938 May 17 43
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1938 June 24 43
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1938 July 19 44
1938 July 19 69
1938 July 19 69
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1939 Feb. 9 45
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Charles Scribner's Sons
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1935 Oct. 14 35

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Scully, Margaret
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1932 March 12 26

Seffner, Josef Maria
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* 1936 Sept. 7 38

Segel, Esther
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Seldes, George
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1938 Nov. 15 69

Seldes, George (cont'd.)
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Seldes, Gilbert
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Seldes, Nunia
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Seltzer, Clar L.
* 1938 July 28 44
1938 Aug. 15 44
Seltzer, Marion
* 1934 Nov. 13 33
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Semenoff, Monya and Vasili
* 1934 Feb. 8 30
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Semenoff, Vasili
* 1940 Feb. 20 46
* 1940 Feb. 28 46
Sendon, Claro J.
* 1937 April 27 40
* 1937 April 27 40
* 1937 April 27 68
Seton, Marie
* [1937 March?] 39
Seymour, Anne
* 1927 July 29 18
Shair, Ruth M.
* 1932 Sept. 8 27
Shane, Bernard
1938 April 21 43
* 1939 Oct. 27 46
Shane, Bernard and Emma
* 1935 May 2 34
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Shapiro, Alexander. *See* **Schapiro, Alexander**
Shapiro, Meyer
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Shapiro, Meyer and Sophie
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Shaw, George Bernard
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Sheinberg, Claire L.
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Shelley, Rebecca
1917 Dec. 4 10
Shields, Marion M.
* 1940 May 1 46
Shields, Mary
* 1918 March 9 11
Shirt Makers Union, Butchers Union, B[a]g[e]l Makers Union
1939 July 20 46
Sigman, Morris
1927 Sept. 13 19
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Silverstein, Bunya and Jacob
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Simon, Emmy
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Slocombe, George
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Smedley, Agnes (cont'd.)
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Smith, Bernard
* 1934 Feb. 15 30
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Smith, Mildred Chatfield
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1934 July 31 31
* 1934 Aug. 21 32
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* 1935 Feb. 18 34
1935 March 1 34
Smith, Rhoda
1939 Jan. 31 45
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Smith, Sophia
[1934 March 11?] 30
Smith, T. R.
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* 1932 Dec. 28 27
Smith and Haas Publishers
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Smithells, Phillip A.
* [19]37 Jan. 18 39
Smythe, Albert E. S.
* 1930 July 6 23
Snyder, Tom
1927 Nov. 30 19
Socialist Party Membership Meeting
* 1940 Feb. 21 46
Sokolsky, George E.
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Solidaridad Internacional Antifascista (SIA). ***See*** **Sánchez Saornil, Lucía**
Solidarity
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1898 July 1
Solomon, Clara
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Solomon, Sidney
1939 Oct. 14 46
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Solotaroff, Hillel
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* 1926 Nov. 3 16
Soper, B. K.
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Soskice, David
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Soskice, David (cont'd.)
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Soskice, Juliet
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Souchy, Augustin
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* [1937 Jan. btw. 8 and 16] . . . 39
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1938 May 18 43
1938 Aug. 18 44
* 1939 Feb. 3 45
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[19]39 March 5 45

Souchy, Augustin (cont'd.)
* 1939 March 6 45
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* 1939 March 11 45
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Souchy, Therese
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[19]36 Aug. 21 38
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Spain and the World
[19]37 Jan. 25 39
1937 May 7 40
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1938 March 18 42
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1938 Aug. 69
1938 Dec. 3 44
Spanier, Florence
* 1934 Feb. 6 30
* 1934 March 24 30
1934 April 15 30
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1934 July 31 31
Spanier, Florence and Max
1938 May 14 69
* [19]3[8] Oct. 28 44
1938 Nov. 15 44
Spanish Revolution
1937 Dec. 20 41
Spargo, John
[btw. 1900 Oct. and 1901 May] 1
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Sperry, Almeda
* [btw. 1912 and 1913] 68
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Sperry, Almeda (cont'd.)
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* [1913 Aug.?] 7
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Spielman, Jean E.
1906 Nov. 3 2

Spivak, Lawrence E.
* 1934 July 19 31

Sprading, Charles T.
* 1927 Aug. 6 18
1927 Sept. 10 19
* 1927 Oct. 2 19
1927 Nov. 14 19

The Spur
1914 Sept. 25 8
[1915] Oct. 16 9
1917 Jan. 29 10

Squire, Dorothie
* 1933 Jan. 29 28

Stamm, Dolly
1934 Feb. 27 30
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1934 March 18 30
1934 Dec. 12 33
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[19]35 Nov. 17 35

Stapleton, M. Cotton
* 1925 May 11 15
* 1925 May 15 15
* 1925 June 10 15
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Stark, Fan
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Stark, M. T.
* 1935 Aug. 7 35
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* 1935 Sept. 21 35
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* 1935 Nov. 28 35
[1936] 68
[19]36 Jan. 6 36

Starrett, Walter. ***See*** **Van Valkenburgh, W. S.**

Stead, E.
1938 Feb. 25 42

Steffens, Lincoln
[1912] July 19 6
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Steimer, Mollie
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Steimer, Mollie (cont'd.)
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* [19]36 July 1 38
* 1936 [July] 2 38
* [19]36 July 7 38
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* 1936 July 16 38
* 1936 July 23 38
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* 1939 July 18 46
* 1939 July 23 46
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* 1939 Nov. 23 46
* [19]40 Feb. 18 46
* 1940 Feb. 22 46

Steimer, Mollie, and Senya Fleshin
1925 Dec. 16 15
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Stein, Clayton M.
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Stein, Modest ("Fedya")
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Stein, Modest ("Fedya" – cont'd.)
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Steinberg, Isaac N.
1925 Sept. 20 15
* 1925 Nov. 1 15
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Stepniak, F.
* [19]38 July 30 44

Sterie, Bertha
[19]36 May 29 37

Stern, Harry J.
* 1934 Dec. 21 33
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* [1935 Feb. 26?] 34
1935 March 34
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Stieglitz, Alfred
1915 Jan. 5 8
* 1915 Jan. 8 8
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1917 March 7 10

Stocker, Helene
* 1923 Dec. 19 13
* 1925 Feb. 6 14

Stokes, Rose Pastor
[1916 Ap]ril [2?]9 9
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Stokes, Rose Pastor (cont'd.)
1916 Oct. 25 10
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Stone, Wilbur M.
* [1908 Nov. 17] 2
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Stone, William C.
* 1923 Dec. 12 13
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1926 Oct. 26 16
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Stowe, Lyman Beecher
1924 June 22 13
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Strong, Anna Louise
[1908] March 27 2
Studenterforenigens
* 1932 Feb. 8 26
Sturgess, R.
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Suzanne
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Svensson, Arthur
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Svensson, Arthur (cont'd.)
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* 1922 May 18 13
* 1922 May 24 13
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Sweet, Charles C.
* 1936 June 11 37
Swender, Hubert W.
* 1934 June 14 31
1934 June 27 31
Swenson, Arthur. ***See*** **Svensson, Arthur**
Switz, Ted
* [1925 Oct.?] 15
* [19]25 Oct. 26 15
* [19]25 Oct. 29 15
* 1930 Feb. 16 22
1930 March 10 22
* 1938 Dec. 4 44
1939 Jan. 9 45
Swope, Herbert Bayard
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1923 April 6 13
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1923 Nov. 24 13
1924 March 6 13
1924 March 6 13
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Der Syndikalist
1922 [Dec.?] 68
[1923? Jan.?] 13
Tagore, Rabindranath
* 1926 July 20 16
Tamarind, S.
* 1935 Dec. 8 36
[19]36 Jan. 11 36
Tanner, Jack
1938 June 9 43
Taylor
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1906 Feb. 2 2
Taylor, Ben
* 1935 July 7 35
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* 1936 April 28 37
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Taylor, Ernest
* [19]37 March 1 39
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Taylor, Ernest and Margaret
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Taylor, G. P.
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Taylor, Helen K.
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Tcherkesoff, Frida
[19]27 Oct. 7 19
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Tead, Ordway
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Teissier, Nonore
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Terrandoz, Magi
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* 1934 Nov. [1?] 33
Thomas, Charles Wright
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Thompson, Dorothy
1939 March 15 45
Thompson, Esther
* 1927 March 1 17
Thompson, F. G.
* 1934 Nov. 9 33
Thompson, Frank
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Thompson, Phoebe
1929 Dec. 5 22
Thomson, A. W.
1926 Sept. 7 16
* 1926 Sept. 15 16
Thornberg, Ahrne. ***See*** **Thorne, Ahrne**
Thorndike, Sybil
1937 March 11 39
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Thorne, Ahrne
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Thurtle, Ernest
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Tiltman, Hugh Hessell
* 1932 Dec. 29 27
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Tiltman, Marucia
* 1933 May 26 28
* 1933 Sept. 11 28

Time and Tide
* 1925 Aug. 15 15
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Times Book Club
* 1925 May 6 15
1925 May 7 15
1925 May 7 15
Timmerman, Claus
[1930] 68
Titus
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Tobin, A. I.
* 1932 March 28 26
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Tollemache
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The Torch
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The Truth Seeker
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Turner, Archie
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Tutt, Florence I.
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Underwood, Thomas
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United Hebrew Trades
1928 June 9 68

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1932 Sept. 29 27
1932 Oct. 13 27

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1934 March 17 30

University of North Carolina Press
1934 Aug. 12 32

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1909 Dec. 12 3

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Urkevich, Maximoff. ***See*** **Maksimov, Grigorii Petrovich**
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Van Arsdale, J. R.
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Van Essen, W. J.
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Van Valkenburgh, W. S. (cont'd.)
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Van Valkenburgh, W. S., and Sadie L. Robinson
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Van Vechten, Carl
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Van Vechten, Carl and Fania
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The Vanguard
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Vanguard Press
1934 June 18 31
1935 Nov. 27 35

Vanzetti, Bartolomeo
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Vaughan, George
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Vázquez, Mariano R.
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Vázquez, Mariano R. (cont'd.)
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Vázquez, Mariano R. (cont'd.)
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Vázquez, Mariano R., and Pedro Herrera
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Vázquez, Mariano R., and Pedro Herrera (cont'd.)
* 1938 March 16 69
* 1938 March 17 42
* 1938 March 17 69
* 1938 March 24 69
* 1938 March 25 42
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* 1938 March 26 69
* 1938 March 28 42
* 1938 March 28 69
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* 1938 April 5 69
* 1938 April 9 69
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1938 April 19 69
* 1938 April 27 69
* 1938 April 28 43
* 1938 April 28 43
* 1938 April 28 69
* 1938 May 2 69
* 1938 May 7 43
* [1938 May 7] 43
* [1938 May 7] 43
* [1938 May 7] 43
* 1938 May 7 69
* 1938 May 9 43
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* 1938 May 9 69
* 1938 May 12 43
* [1938 May 12] 43
* 1938 May 12 69
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* 1938 May 19 69
* 1938 May 20 43
* 1938 May 20 69
* 1938 May 20 69
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* 1938 May 21 43
* 1938 May 21 43
* [1938 May 21] 43
* [1938 May 21] 43
* 1938 May 21 69
* 1938 May 21 69
* 1938 June 2 69
* 1938 June 3 69
* 1938 June 3 69
* 1938 June 11 43
* 1938 June 11 69
* 1938 June 13 43
* 1938 June 13 69
* [1938 June 13] 69
* 1938 June 15 43
* 1938 June 15 69
* 1938 July 1 43
* 1938 July 1 43
* 1938 July 1 69
1938 July 4 43
1938 July 4 43
1938 July 4 69
1938 July 15 43
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* 1938 July 16 44
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* 1938 July 21 44
* 1938 July 21 69
* 1938 July 21 69
* 1938 Sept. 12 69
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* [1938 Sept. 13] 44
* 1938 Oct. 10 44
* 1938 Oct. 10 69
* 1938 Oct. 10 69
* 1938 Dec. 13 44
* 1939 Feb. 24 45
* 1939 Feb. 24 45

Vázquez, Mariano R., and José Rodríguez Vega
* [1938? March?] 42
* [1938? March?] 42
* [1938? March?] 42

Vera
* 1921 Dec. 10 12
1921 Dec. 20 12

Vesoll, Karl
* [19]32 May 6 26

Viking Press
1934 June 2 31
1934 Oct. 4 32

Viking Press (cont'd.)
1934 Nov. 1 33
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Vladeck, Baruch Charney
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* 1931 July 27 24
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1935 March 28 34
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Vorse, Mary Heaton
1913 Dec. 27 7
Vydrina, Elizabeta
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Wald, Lillian
1904 Nov. 1
1904 Nov. 12 1
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1910 Nov. 29 4
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191[0] Dec. 15 4
* 1910 Dec. 16 4
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1917 Sept. 9 10
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Walker, Edwin C.
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Wallace, Edna
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Walling, Anna Strunsky
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1916 July 8 10
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* 1934 Feb. 12 30
* 1936 July 2 38
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Walsh, Frank P.
* 1914 March 30 7
* 1914 April 3 8
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1917 Nov. 7 10
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* 1918 Feb. 7 11
Warburg, Fredric J.
* 1935 Nov. 4 35
* 1937 April 30 40
* 1937 June 2 40
* 1937 Dec. 7 41
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* 1938 Jan. 14 41
[19]38 Feb. 19 42
* 1938 Feb. 22 42
* 1938 Feb. 28 42
* 1938 March 7 42
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* 1938 March 21 42
* 1938 May 16 69
[19]38 July 12 43
Warshaw, R. I.
* 1933 Feb. 17 28
Warshawsky, Dave
1934 Feb. 16 30
Warshow, Adolph
* 1914 Sept. 1 8

Warwick, Frances
* 1924 Dec. 6 14
Watkins, Ann
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1934 Nov. 22 33
Watkins, Stanley
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* 1936 May 25 37
* 19[3]6 June 2 37
Watson, H.
[19]36 May 15 37
Wedgwood, Florence
* [19]24 Dec. 4 14
* [19]25 March 3 14
* [19]25 March 5 14
* [19]25 March 7 14
* [19]25 March 18 14
* [19]25 March 20 14
Wedgwood, Josiah C.
* 1924 Nov. 19 14
1924 Dec. 9 14
1924 Dec. 9 14
* [19]24 Dec. 19 14
* [19]25 Jan. 12 14
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* [19]25 Feb. 9 14
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* [19]25 [June?] 14 15
Wegner, M. C.
* 1933 March 20 28
Weinberg, Morris
1923 Jan. 13 13
1923 Nov. 11 13
1923 Nov. 21 13
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1923 Nov. 28 13
* 1923 Dec. 11 13
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Weinberger, Harry
1915 Jan. 5 8
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* 1916 Nov. 18 10
* 1916 Nov. 21 10
1916 Nov. 21 10
1916 Nov. 24 10
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* 1918 Jan. 7 11
* 191[8] Jan. 8 11
1918 Jan. 8 11
1918 Jan. 8 11
* 1918 Jan. 9 11
* 1918 Jan. 10 11

Weinberger, Harry (cont'd.)
* 1918 Jan. 14 11
* 1918 Jan. 15 11
* [1918 Jan. 15] 11
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* 1918 Jan. 22 11
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* 1918 Feb. 16 11
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1918 Feb. 24 11
1918 March 3 11
* 1918 March 6 11
* 1918 March 7 11
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* 1918 March 13 11
* [1918 March 13] 11
* 1918 March 14 11
1918 March 17 11
* 1918 March 18 11
* 1918 March 19 11
1918 March 24 11
* 1918 March 30 11
1918 March 31 11
* 1918 April 2 11
* 1918 April 3 11
* 1918 April 11 11
1918 April 14 11
* 1918 April 15 11
* 1918 April 17 11
1918 April 21 11
* 1918 April 26 11
1918 [April 28?] 11
* 1918 May 8 11
* 1918 May 18 11
1918 May 19 11
1918 May 25 11
* 1918 June 4 11
* 1918 June 6 11
* 1918 June 8 11
* 1918 June 13 11
19[18] June 16 11
* 1918 June 21 11
1918 June 23 11
* 1918 June 29 11
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* 1918 Aug. 2 11
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* 1918 Aug. 8 11
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* 1919 May 8 11

Weinberger, Harry (cont'd.)
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1919 May 25 11
* 1919 May 29 11
1919 June 1 11
* 1919 June 5 11
1919 June 8 11
* 1919 June 11 11
* 1919 June 12 11
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1919 June 29 11
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* 1919 July 23 11
* 1919 July 26 11
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* 1919 July 28 11
* 1919 July 31 11
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* 1919 Dec. 2 12
* 1919 Dec. 2 12
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[1919 Dec. 4] 12
* 1919 Dec. 5 12
* 1919 Dec. 6 12
[1919] Dec. 6 12
* 1919 Dec. 10 12
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* 1921 Nov. 23 12
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* 1922 Jan. 17 12
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1923 April 25 13
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1924 June 9 13
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* 1923 June 25 13
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1923 July 8 13
1923 July 17 13
* 1923 July 19 13
* 1923 July 19 13
1923 July 19 13
* 1923 July 26 13
* 1923 Aug. 13 13
* 1923 Aug. 20 13
1923 Aug. 31 13

Weinberger, Harry (cont'd.)
* 1923 Sept. 15 13
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* 1923 Sept. 18 13
* 1923 Sept. 26 13
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1923 Oct. 3 13
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* 1923 Oct. 26 13
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* [1923 Nov. 17] 13
* 1923 Nov. 17 13
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* 1923 Nov. 23 13
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* 1923 Dec. 5 13
* 1923 Dec. 5 13
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[1923 Dec. 9] 13
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* [1923 Dec. 24] 13
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* 1924 Jan. 11 13
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192[4] Jan. 23 13
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* 1924 Feb. 28 13
* 1924 March 1 13
* 1924 March 10 13
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* [1924 March 10] 13
1924 March 11 13
* 1924 March 15 13
* 1924 March 20 13
* 1924 March 20 13
* [1924 March 20] 13
* [1924 March 20] 13
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* 1924 April 1 13
* [1924 April 1] 13
1924 April 1 13
1924 April 11 13
* 1924 April 14 13
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* [1924 April 14] 13
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* 1924 April 25 13
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* 1924 May 14 13
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Weinberger, Harry (cont'd.)
* 1924 June 13 13
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192[5] June 1 15
* 1925 June 5 15
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* 1925 June 27 15
* 1925 July 2 15
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* 1925 July 9 15
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* 1925 July 23 15
* 1925 July 31 15
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* 1925 Aug. 24 15
* 1925 Aug. 27 15
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1926 Feb. 26 15
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* 1926 March 4 15
* 1926 March 15 15
1926 April 6 15
* 1926 April 8 15
* 1926 April 14 15
* 1926 April 22 15
1926 April 27 15
1926 June 3 16
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1926 Sept. 6 16
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* 1926 Oct. 19 16
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* 1926 Nov. 5 16
1926 Nov. 11 16
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1926 Nov. 22 16
* 1926 Nov. 24 16
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* [1928 May 5] 20
* [1928 May 6] 20
* [1928 May 7] 20
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* 1931 June 27 24
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Weinberger, Harry (cont'd.)
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* 1932 Nov. 15 27
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* 193[2] Dec. 20 27
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* 1935 April 11 34
* 1935 May 1 34
* 1935 Aug. 12 35
1936 April 2 37
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* 1936 May 25 37
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1937 March 15 39
* 1937 March 30 39
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* 1937 Sept. 23 41
1937 Nov. 11 41
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1938 April 28 43
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* 1938 July 19 44
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1938 July 26 69
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* 1938 Dec. 9 44
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* 1939 Feb. 24 45
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* 1939 April 21 46
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1939 June 14 46
* 1939 July 21 46
* 1940 Jan. 31 46
* 1940 Feb. 10 46
* 1940 March 2 46
1940 April 19 46
* 1940 May 8 46
1940 May 15 46
* 1940 May 16 46
Weinrile, Roman
* 1938 Nov. 1 44
* 1938 Nov. 11 44
1938 Nov. 15 44
1938 Nov. 24 44
* 1938 Dec. 15 44
Weiss, J. H.
* 1928 Jan. 18 19
Welfare
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Wellington, Grace Kimmerling
* 1929 Nov. 11 22
* 1929 Nov. 23 22
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* [1930?] 22
* [1930?] 68

Wellington, Grace Kimmerling (cont'd.)
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1930 March 10 22
* 1930 March 20 22
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1930 May 6 23
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* 1930 Aug. 2 23
* 1930 Aug. 17 23
* 1930 Aug. 23 23
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* 1932 Feb. 1 68
* 1934 July 22 31
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1934 Dec. 19 33
* 1934 Dec. 30 33
1935 Feb. 9 33
* 1935 Feb. 17 34
1935 Feb. 23 34
1935 March 21 34
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* 1935 Nov. 11 35
[19]35 Dec. 24 36

Wellington, Grace Kimmerling and Alex
* [1934 Feb. 1?] 30

Wells, Frank
* 1938 June 23 43
1938 July 28 44
1938 July 28 44

Wells, H. G.
1924 Dec. 1 14
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1937 Feb. 24 39
1937 March 2 39
1937 March 2 39
* 1937 March 3 39

Wells, Marjorie
* 1937 Feb. 26 39

Welsh, A.
[19]36 May 29 37
* 1936 June 2 37

Wenley, Robert Mark
1912 Oct. 11 6

Wess, W.
* [19]25 Jan. 7 14

West, Rebecca
* 1924 Oct. 2 14
* 1924 Oct. 16 14
* 1924 Oct. 16 14
* 1924 Oct. 20 14
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* 1924 Oct. 2[8?] 14
* 1924 Nov. 3 14
* [1924] Nov. 28 14
* [19]24 Dec. 8 14
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* [1925?] 14
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* 1925 Feb. 7 14
* [19]25 April 16 14
* [19]25 April 16 14
* 1925 May 16 15
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* [1925 btw. May 16 and July] . 15
* 1925 Sept. 25 15
* 1928 May 11 20
* 1928 May 11 20
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1938 Jan. 14 41
1938 March 3 42
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1938 April 4 42
* 1938 April 27 43
1939 Feb. 9 45

Wharton, James B.
* 1924 Feb. 18 13
* 1924 Feb. 26 13

Whately, Monica
* 1937 March 19 39
* 1937 April 21 40
[19]37 April 22 40
* 1937 April 23 40
1937 April 29 40

Whately, Monica (cont'd.)
[19]37 June 20 40
* 1937 June 21 40
* 1937 June 21 40
1937 June 22 40
* 1937 June 30 40
* 1937 July 9 40
[19]37 Aug. 13 41
[19]37 Dec. 1 41
* 1937 Dec. 2 41
[19]38 Jan. 5 41
[19]38 Feb. 23 42
* [19]38 Feb. 24 42
* 1938 June 23 43
1939 Feb. 9 45
* 1939 Feb. 21 45
[19]39 Feb. 22 45

Wheelock, John Hall
* 1932 Oct. 29 27
* 1932 Nov. 10 27

Whitcomb, Robert
* [19]35 Sept. 14 35
1935 Dec. 14 36

White, Eliot
* 1931 Feb. 3 23
1931 March 10 23
* [1932? Jan.?] 26
* 1932 Dec. 10 27
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[19]33 Aug. 8 28
* 1933 Nov. 23 29
* [19]36 July 5 38
1937 Feb. 19 39
* 1937 March 11 39
1937 May 14 40
* 1938 Jan. 4 41
1938 May 17 43

White, Eliot and Mabel
* 1939 July 28 46
* 1939 July 28 46

White, Jack
* 1938 April 11 42

White, Jack R.
* [1937] Nov. 20 41
[19]37 Nov. 2[1] 41
* [1937 Nov. 22?] 41
1937 Nov. 24 41
* [1937] Nov. 26 41
1937 Nov. 27 41
[19]38 Feb. 9 42

White, Jack, and Clara Freedman
1938 April 22 43

Whitehead, J. Gordon
* 1935 March 27 34
[19]35 March 27 34
[1935 May 13?] 34

Whiting, Caroline
* 1936 July 7 38

Whitworth, Geoffrey
[19]36 Jan. 11 36
* 1936 Feb. 8 36
* 1936 July 20 38
* 1939 Feb. 28 69

Wigransky, Sidney
* [1934 Feb.?] 30

Wiksell, Gustave Percival
1910 Dec. 22 68
1910 Dec. 22 68
1925 [btw.] Dec. [8 and 31] . . 15
1925 Dec. 8 15
1925 Dec. 8 68
1925 btw. Dec. 10 and 20 . . 68
* 1932 May 28 26
[19]32 Sept. 12 68
1932 Nov. 5 27
1932 Nov. 5 27
1932 Nov. 5 68

Wilkinson, Elisabeth C.
* 1938 April 11 42
1938 April 14 42
* [1938 April 15?] 42
[19]38 April 16 43
[19]38 April 20 43
1938 May 3 43
* 1938 May 5 43

Williams, A. L.
[19]36 Feb. 6 36
* 1936 Feb. 7 36
* 1936 March 10 36
* 1936 March 12 36
[19]36 April 22 37

Williams, H.
* 1939 Nov. 27 46

Willis, S. L.
* 1925 Aug. 5 15
* 1925 Aug. 6 15
1925 Aug. 6 15
* 1925 Aug. 9 15
Willoughby, Gertrude
* 1937 April 14 40
Wing, P. E.
* [19]35 April 21 34
Winn, Gussie
* 1911 July 12 5
Winn, Ross
* 1934 Sept. 23 32
1934 Oct. 13 32
* 1934 Nov. 28 33
1934 Dec. 20 33
* 1935 Feb. 6 33
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* 1935 April 5 34
Winter, Ella
[19]36 Nov. 29 38
Wiser, Graf M.
* 1923 Nov. 13
* [19]24 Feb. 22 13
* 1925 June 21 15
* 1929 Sept. 4 21
1929 Oct. 23 22
* [19]29 Dec. 28 22
1930 Jan. 31 22
* [1930 March? 11?] 22
* 1930 March 11 22
[19]30 May 20 23
* 1930 Dec. 19 68
* 1931 April 30 24
[19]31 July 20 24
* 1931 Aug. 8 24
* [19]32 Jan. 28 26
* [19]32 July 10 27
* 1933 Jan. 8 28
Wishart & Co.
1933 Oct. 18 29
1933 Oct. 31 29
* 1933 Nov. 3 29
1934 Dec. 26 33
* [1935 Sept. 25?] 35
1935 Oct. 13 35
[19]35 Nov. 26 35
* 1935 Nov. 27 35
1935 Dec. 19 36
[19]36 Jan. 9 36
Witcop, Milly. ***See*** **Rocker, Milly Witcop**
Woerheude, Victor
1934 April 4 30
Wolf, Charles
* [19]38 June 16 43
Wolfe, Lilian
1938 41
[19]38 July 19 44
[19]38 July 28 44
1938 Aug. 3 44
[19]38 Oct. 4 44
* [19]38 Dec. 12 44
[19]38 Dec. 14 44
* [19]38 Dec. 16 45
[19]39 Jan. 22 45
[19]39 Feb. 19 45
1939 Feb. 19 45
[19]39 March 15 45
[19]39 March 15 45
1939 March 16 46
1939 April 6 46
1939 April 6 46
Wolfe, Tom Keell
[19]37 Feb. 8 39
1937 Feb. 18 39
* [19]38 March 24 42
Wolffheimer
* 1932 March 15 26
Women in Soviet Prisons, List of
[1926 April 24] 15
[1926 April 24] 15
[1926 April 24] 15
Women's Home Companion
1924 April 23 13
Wood, C. E. S.
* 1924 Dec. 3 14
* 1932 Feb. 9 26
1932 June 15 27
* 1932 July 25 27
1932 Nov. 2 27
1932 Nov. 2 27
1932 Nov. 2 68
1935 Feb. 11 33
Wood, G.
* 1925 Jan. 14 14

Wood, S.
* 1938 March 8 42
Wood, William
* [1938? Jan.? 1?] 41
Woodhouse, Frederick
1938 April 14 42
1938 April 20 43
* 1938 April 21 43
1938 May 3 43
[19]39 March 5 45
Workmen's Circle
* [1935 May 2] 34
Wovschin, William A.
1928 Jan. 12 19
Wright, David Allen
* [19]31 Oct. 28 68
* [19]33 April 24 28
Wursthof, I.
[19]33 July 5 28
1933 July 5 28
* [19]33 Sept. 15 28
* 1933 Sept. 15 28
* 1933 Sept. 15 28
[19]33 Sept. 23 28
[19]33 Oct. 18 29
[19]33 Oct. 18 29
Yaffe, H.
* 1933 May 5 28
* 1934 March 18 30
1934 April 9 30
* 1934 April 12 30
* 1935 Sept. 23 35
1935 Nov. 21 35
[19]37 July 13 40
* 1938 May 10 69
* 1938 May 10 69
193[8] May 23 43
[1938 Aug. 16] 44
* 1938 Sept. 7 44
1938 Nov. 17 44
* 1938 Dec. 8 44
1939 Jan. 23 45
* 1939 Feb. 6 45
1939 Feb. 24 45
Yaffe, W. M.
[19]35 Aug. 14 35
1938 Aug. 16 44
Yale University Press
1934 Oct. 27 32
Yelensky, Boris
* 1934 March 2 30
[19]34 March 6 30
1934 May 16 31
* 1934 June 17 31
1934 June 21 31
1934 Sept. 12 32
* 1934 Oct. 22 32
1934 Oct. 31 32
* 1937 March 20 39
1937 April 1 40
* 1937 April 17 40
[19]37 May 6 40
[19]37 May 6 40
[19]39 Feb. 7 45
[19]40 Jan. 22 46
1940 Jan. 23 46
1940 May 16 46
Yewdale, Merton S.
* 1932 Nov. 15 27
Young, Catherine
* 1931 Dec. 21 25
1932 Jan. 11 26
Young, Howard Irving
* 1927 Nov. 29 19
* [1927 Nov. 29] 19
1927 Dec. 8 19
* 1932 Oct. 22 27
[19]32 Oct. 25 27
1932 Nov. 2 27
Young, Ralph
* [1934] Jan. 29 29
[1934 Jan. 30?] 29
Zabriskie, Edward H.
* 1934 April 29 30
1934 May 16 31
1934 May 16 31
Zahler, Max
* 1927 Feb. 28 17
* 1934 June 4 31
1934 June 11 31
[19]34 Oct. 5 32
* 1934 Oct. 6 32
1934 Oct. 13 32
* 1934 Oct. 16 32
[19]34 Oct. 16 32

Zahler, Max (cont'd.)
[19]34 Oct. 16 32
1934 Oct. 27 32
[19]35 May 27 34
[19]35 June 24 34
* 1938 July 15 43
* 1938 July 16 44
1938 July 29 44
Zahler, Max and Gertrude
[19]35 May 11 34
Zangwill, Israel
1924 Nov. 29 14
* 1924 Dec. 4 14
* 1924 Dec. 4 14
1924 Dec. 9 14
1924 Dec. 9 14
* 1924 Dec. 11 14
* 1924 Dec. 11 14
Zaslaw, M.
19[38] Aug. 8 44
* [1938] Dec. 2 69
Zhook, Doris
1926 Dec. 24 16
[19]27 Jan. 17 17
[19]28 Dec. 29 20
1929 July 3 21
1930 May 2-3 23
[19]33 Feb. 17 28
[19]33 Aug. 13 28
1934 May 29 31
1934 Aug. 21 32
1936 April 7 37
[19]36 July 17 38
* 1936 July 21 38
[19]36 Aug. 8 38
[19]36 Aug. 8 68
* 1936 Aug. 14 38
[19]36 Aug. 18 38
[19]36 Sept. 2 38
* 1936 Sept. 11 38
[19]37 June 24 40
[1938 April?] 42
[19]38 April 2 42
* 1938 April 6 42
[19]38 July 1 43
[19]39 March 20 46
Zinoviev, Gregorii
1921 March 5 12
Zubrin, Abraham
[19]36 March 10 36
[1936 March 10] 36
* 1936 April 15 37
[19]36 April 29 37
[19]36 Aug. 12 38
Zukerman, Williams
* 1938 July 19 44
[19]38 July 22 44
* [19]38 July 27 44
* [1938] Dec. 1 44
* 1939 June 27 46
* 1939 June 27 46

The Emma Goldman Papers
Goldman Writings Series
Index to Drafts, Publications, and Speeches

Title . . . . . **Reel**

Drafts

[Address Book]. 67
[Address Book]. 67
[Again, We Are Celebrating the First of May]— [1939 May?]. 53
Albalate de Cinca (A Collectivised Village)— [1937 March?]. 53
America by Comparison— 1925 Jan. 50
America by Comparison— [1925]. 50
America by Comparison— [1925]. 50
The American Labor Movement— [fragment]. 55
Anarchism and What It Really Stands For— [1928?]. 51
Anarchist Symposium by Tolstoy— [fragment]. 54
Anarcho Syndicalism— [1928? fragment]. 51
Anarcho Syndicalism— [1928? fragment]. 51
"Angels' Wings": Art and Democracy (Wagner, Millet, and Whitman)— [fragment]. . . . 54
Are We Really Advancing?— [1912 June?]. 47
[Art Exists to Present a New Vision of Life]— [1929?]. 54
Art and Revolution— [1929?]. 54
Art Teaching— [fragment]. 54
August Strindberg— [1935? fragment]. 54
[August Strindberg and His Writings]— [fragment]. 54
Behind the Scenes in the Ruhr Occupation— 1923 April 3. 49
The Blood-Freezing Callousness in the World— [1937 July?]. 53
Buenaventura Durruti, In Memori[a]m— [1936 Nov.?]. 53
Camillo Berneri. 53
[The Campaign for Republican Spain]. 55
A Capitalist Newspaper Sees the Light— [1937 Dec.?]. 53
The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti. 55
[The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti…]— [1927? fragment]. 51
The Case of Sacco and Vanzetti. "At About Three O'Clock in the Afternoon…"—
[fragment]. 55
Cause and Possible Cure of Jealousy— [1912?]. 54
The Change in American Youth— [1926 Nov.]. 51
The Child and Its Enemies— [1926? fragment]. 55

The Child: His Nature and His Needs— [1934]. 52
[The Child: His Nature and His Needs]— [1934? fragment]. 55
Chinese Revolution— [fragment]. 55
The Collapse of German Culture— [fragment]. 55
Communism: Bolshevist and Anarchist, a Comparison— 1935 Oct. 53
Communism: Bolshevist and Anarchist, a Comparison— [1935? fragment]. 53
Communism: Bolshevist and Anarchist, a Comparison— [1935? fragment]. 67
[Companionate Marriage]— [1928?]. 51
[The Continental Feminist Movement]— [192–?]. 49
[Corrections for "Living My Life"]. 54
The Counter-Revolutionary Work of the Cheka in Spain— 1937 Oct. 9. 53
Crime and Punishment— [1936? fragment]. 53
[Crime and Punishment]— [1936? fragment]. 55
[Crimes and Criminals]— [fragment]. 55
Dear Freie Arbeiter Stimme— 1935 March 6. 67
Declaraciones de Emma Goldman [Emma Goldman declares. In Spanish]— 1936 Sept. 23. 53
Declares Two Men Died for Dreaming of Freedom— 1934 Aug. 24. 52
Deportation, Its Meaning and Menace— 1919 Dec. 20. 48
Dictatorship, Bolshevist and Fascist— [1934]. 55
[Dictatorship, Bolshevist and Fascist]— [1934? fragment]. 55
The Disenchanted Radical: Synopsis [Suggestions from Alexander Berkman]. 54
Dr. M. Wiser of Germany: An Innovator in the Treatment of the Eye— 1923 Nov. 49
[The Drama Staged in Los Angeles Court...]— 1929 Nov. 25. 52
Dupes of Politics. 55
[Economic Factors Alone Do Not Explain Rise of Totalitarianism]— [fragment]. 55
Educational Experiments in Germany— [1932]. 52
Ein Brief zu Georg Brandes [On Georg Brandes. In German]— [fragment]. 54
[Epitaph for Alexander Berkman]— [1936, Aug.?]. 53
"Fahnen" at the "Volksbuhne," Berlin. A Dramatic Novel in 19 Scenes by Alfons Paquet— 1924 June. 49
The Failure of Christianity— [1913? April?]. 48
Fallacies [Regarding] Political Action— [fragment]. 55
Fascism and Dictatorship— [1936? fragment]. 55
Foremost Russian Dramatists: Their Life and Work— 1926. 50
Foremost Russian Dramatists: Their Life and Work— 1926. 50
Foremost Russian Dramatists: Their Life and Work— [1926, fragment]. 51
[Foremost Russian Dramatists: Their Life and Work]—[1926, fragment]. 51
[George Bernard Shaw: A Biographical Sketch]— [fragment]. 54
German Expressionists— [fragment]. 54

German Expressionists— [fragment]. 54
Good and Evil Points in the Makeup of America— [1925? fragment]. 50
Has Feminism Lived Up to Its Promise— [193–?]. 52
[Henrik Ibsen: A Biographical Sketch]. 54
Heroic Women of the Russian Revolution— [1925?]. 50
Heroic Women of the Russian Revolution— [1925?]. 50
Heroic Women of the Russian Revolution— [1925?]. 50
Heroic Women of the Russian Revolution— [1925? fragment]. 49
Herschel Feibel Grynspan and His Tormentors— [1938?]. 53
Historic Development of Anarchism— [1933?]. 52
Hitler— [fragment]. 55
Hitler and His Cohorts—Their World Menace— [1934]. 55
[How Prisons Contribute to the Development of Criminality]. 55
The Hypocrisy of Charity. 55
[Ibsen's Poetic Vision in "When We Dead Awaken"]— [fragment]. 54
[In Defense of Anarchy]— 1908 March 6. 47
An Introduction: A Sketch of Alexander Berkman— 1922 March. 49
Isadora Duncan— [fragment]. 54
John Most— [1925 Jan.?]. 50
John Most— [1925 Jan.? fragment]. 50
[Der katalonische Wirtschaftsrat... In German. The economic organization of Catalonia...]— [193–?]. 52
Kunst und Revolution [Art and revolution. In German]— [1929?]. 54
L[eon] Trotsky— [1938]. 53
Leon Trotsky Protests Too Much— [1938 Nov.?]. 53
[Leon Trotsky protests too much. In Spanish] León Trotski protesta demasiado— [1938?]. . 53
[Lesson of the Bolshevik Revolution]. 55
"Let Canada Be a Warning"— 1939 Nov. 25. 53
[Letter on the Misinformation on the Actual Place of the C.N.T.-F.A.I. in the Anti-Fascist Struggle]— [1937 April? 14? fragment]. 53
Letter to the Editor. [*The Commune*? The Persecutions in Russia]— 1924 July. 49
Letter to the Editor. *Daily Herald*— 1925 Nov. 15. 50
Letter to the Editor. *Daily Herald*— 1925 Nov. 24. 50
Letter to the Editor. *Democrat* [Johnstown, Pa.]— 1931 Sept. 52
Letter to the Editor. *Manchester Guardian*— 1937 June. 53
Letter to the Editor. *Manchester Guardian*— 1939 Jan. 26. 53
Letter to the Editor. *St. Louis Post Dispatch*— 1937 June. 53
Letter to the Editor. *Toronto Star*— 1937 Dec. 27. 53
[The Life and Works of George Bernard Shaw]— [fragment]. 54
[The Little Theater Movement]— [fragment]. 54

[Living My Life]— [fragment]. 54
[Living My Life]— [fragment]. 54
[Living My Life. Outline]— [1929?]. 52
Living My Life. Unpublished Part. 67
Louise Michel, a Refutation— 1923. 49
Lozovsky Lets the Cat Out of the Bag— 1924 March. 49
Lozovsky Lets the Cat Out of the Bag— 1924 March. 49
The Lure of the Spanish People— [1939?]. 53
Mary Wollstonecraft, Her Tragic Life, and Her Passionate Struggle for Freedom— [1911?]. 54
May and December— [1936? May?]. 53
[Methods of Birth Control]— [1935? fragment]. 53
The Mistakes of God. 55
Modern Death— [1934 Nov.?]. 55
Modern Tendencies in Education— [fragment]. 55
Modern Tendencies in Education— [1927? fragment]. 51
[The Modern Theory of the General Strike]. 55
Mussolini— [fragment]. 55
Mussolini an[d] the State. 55
My Attitude to Marriage— [1926 Nov.]. 51
My Disillusionment in Russia— [1923, fragment]. 49
My Return to America— [1926 Nov.]. 51
My Second Visit to Spain— [1938?]. 53
[The Necessary Reform of Prisons]— [fragment]. 55
[Necessary explanations about my position on the present revolution in Spain. In Spanish] Aclaraciones Necesarias a Mi Posición en el Presente Revolucionario de España— [1937 July 7]. 67
[Nicola Sacco]— [1927 Aug., fragment]. 51
[Notes for "The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation"?]— [fragment]. 54
[Notes on Pedagogy] [fragment]. 54
Notes on the Russian Theatre— [fragment]. 54
On "Birth Control" by Dorothy Dunbar Bromley— [fragment]. 54
[On Educational Methods]— [fragment]. 55
[On "Virtue for Women" by Isabel Leavenworth]. 54
[One Week after Donald's Departure...]— [1928 or 1929]. 51
[Organizing the Peasantry Is the Most Important and Most Difficult Task of Anarchist Revolutionary Syndicalism]. 55
"Our Communists"— [1925 June]. 50
Outline for Radio Talk— 1936 Sept. 23— [fragment]. 53
[The Outrage of San Diego]— [1912 May 16]. 47

The P.O.U.M. Trial in Barcelona— 1938 Nov. 53
[Parallel Between the Christian and the Bolshevik Myth]— [1924 Feb.]. 49
The Passing of the Family— [between 1927 and 1930]. 51
Patience and Postage Stamps— [1927]. 51
Patience and Postage Stamps— 1927 Jan. 51
Patience and Postage Stamps— [1927 Jan.]. 51
Patience and Poststamps Sometimes Have Their Reward— [1928? March?]. 51
[The Penal System]— [fragment]. 55
Peter A. Kropotkin— [1934 Feb.?]. 52
[Peter Kropotkin]— [1934]. 52
The Philosophy of Atheism— [1916]. 48
Preface [to "Camillo Berneri"]. 53
Preface [to My Further Disillusionment in Russia, 2nd. rev. ed.]— [1924]. 49
Preface [to My Further Disillusionment in Russia, 2nd. rev. ed.]— 1924 June. 49
[Present Crisis Not Accidental. Difference between Revolution and Ruling Party]— [1924? fragment]. 49
The Present Events in Russia— [1926 Nov., fragment]. 51
Principles of Revolutionary Syndicalism. 55
The Radical: A Prophet or a Failure? [Suggestions from Alexander Berkman]. 54
Reflections on the General Strike in England— 1926 July 9. 51
[A Review of Henrik Ibsen, "John Gabriel Borkman." Text partly in German]. 54
[A Review of Henrik Ibsen, "The Master Builder"]. 54
[A Review of Henrik Ibsen, "The Wild Duck"]— [fragment]. 54
[A Review of Henrik Ibsen's Play "Brand"]— [fragment]. 54
[A Review of Henrik Ibsen's Play "Hedda Gabler"]. 54
[A Review of Leo Tolstoy, "Fruits of Enlightenment"]. 54
[A Review of Lion Feuchtwanger, "Prisoners of War"]. 54
[A Review of Stanley Houghton, "Hindle Wakes"]. 54
[The Romantic Attitude to Revolution. Its Magic Power]. 55
Rudolf Rocker– 50th Birthday: A Tribute— 1923 March. 49
Rudolf Rocker– 50th Birthday: A Tribute— 1923 March. 49
Rudolf Rocker– His Sixtieth Birthday— [1933 April?]. 52
Rudolf Rocker: On the Occasion of His 50th Birthday— 1923 March, transcript. 49
Russia and Her Investigators— [1925]. 50
Russian Dramatists: Their Life and Work— 1926 [fragment]. 50
Russian Literature. 67
Sacco and Vanzetti— [1927? Aug.?]. 51
Samuel Gompers— 1925 Feb. 50
Save Arthur Bortolotti— [1939? Jan?]. 53
70th Birthday Commemorative Edition, 1939. 53

[Sex Education and Children]— [fragment]. 55
[Sexual Instinct and Creativity]— [fragment]. 54
[Sexuality, Motherhood, and Birth Control]— [1935? fragment]. 54
Short Biographic Sketch of Dr. H.E. Kaminski— [1937 Feb.?]. 53
Simion Koldofsky, the Friend— [1936? transcript]. 53
The Social Importance of the Modern School [1912?]. 55
Social[ism], Caught in the Political Trap— [1913?]. 55
Soviet Drama— 1934 [fragment]. 54
[The Soviet Government and the Autonomy of Minorities]— [fragment]. 55
[The Soviet Political Machine in Spain]— [1937 May? fragment]. 53
The Speculators in Starvation. 55
Stalin— [fragment]. 55
Stalin— [fragment]. 55
Stalin— [fragment]. 55
Statement by Emma Goldman at the Federal Hearing in re Deportation— [1919 Oct. 27]. . 48
The Staying Power of a Myth— [1936?]. 53
Table of Contents [for My Disillusionment in Russia]— [1923]. 49
[This Is the Story of Vanzetti's Criminal Record]— [1927 Aug.]. 51
[This Is the Story of Vanzetti's Criminal Record]— [1927? Aug., fragment]. 52
[The Trial of Sacco and Vanzetti]— [1927? Aug.?]. 51
Tolstoy's Plays. 54
Tom Mooney's Resurrection— [1939?]. 53
Traders in Death— [1934 Nov.?]. 55
The Tragedy of Germany and the Forces That Caused It— [fragment]. 55
The Tragedy of the Modern Woman— [1934? fragment]. 52
The Tragic Plight of the Political Exiles— [1934 Oct.?]. 52
A Tribute and App[re]ciation— 1926 Sept. 51
An Unexpected Dash through Spain— [1929 March?]. 52
Victims of Morality— [1933?]. 52
Visiting the Fronts— [1938? Dec.?]. 53
Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov Lenin—1924 Feb. 49
Voltairine de Cleyre— [1932]. 52
Walt Whitman. 54
Walt Whitman— [fragment]. 54
Was My Life Worth While?— [1934]. 52
[What Causes Revolution to Happen]— [fragment]. 55
Where I Stand— [1937 July?]. 53
Where I Stand— [1937 July?]. 53
Why I Am an Anarchist— [1927?]. 51
The Widow of Erich Muesham. A Second Disappearance— [1939] Feb. 2. 53

A Woman Without a Country— [1929]. 54
Youth in Revolt. 55

Publications

[Address at the Mass-Meeting of the Youth of the FAI, Barcelona, Oct. 18, 1936]. 53
Adventures in the Desert of American Liberty, Sept. 1909. 47
Adventures in the Desert of American Liberty, Nov. 1909. 47
Again the Birth Control Agitation, Nov. 1916. 48
[Against the persecution of anarchists in the Soviet Union. In Russian] Protest-vozvania Rusk Anarchistov, 1921. 49
Agitation en Voyage, June 1915. 48
Agitation en Voyage, July 1915. 48
Agitation en Voyage, Aug. 1915. 48
Alexander Berkman, May 1906. 47
[Alexander Berkman, a sketch by Emma Goldman. In German] Alexander Berkman, eine Skizze von Emma Goldman, 1923. 49
America by Comparison, 1932. 52
Amérique, Sept. 20, 1900. 47
Among Barbarians, Feb. 1907. 47
Amsterdam Conference Fund, Aug. 1907. 47
Anarchism: What It Really Stands For, 1911. 47
Anarchism: What it Really Stands For, 1916. 48
Anarchism and Other Essays [between 1910 and 1919, advertisement]. 47
[Anarchism and other essays. In Russian] Anarkhism, 1921. 49
[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. August 1907. In French] Congrès Anarchiste tenu à Amsterdam Août 1907, 1908. 47
[Anarchist organization and tactics. In Russian] Anarchicheskaia Rabota i Taktika, Oct.-Nov. 1934. 52
Anent My Lecture Tour, Feb. 1907. 47
Anent My Lecture Tour, March 1907. 47
Anent My Lecture Tour, April 1907. 47
Anent My Lecture Tour, Dec. 1907. 47
Anent My Lecture Tour, Jan. 1908. 47
Anent My Tour and Lectures in New York, Dec. 1914. 48
Anent the Amsterdam Conference, July 1907. 47
Appeal, 1910 [leaflet]. 47
Appeal for Help, 1940. 53

[Appeal against the persecution of the Russian anarchists. In Russian] A Pomaschi Muchimim Anarchistam V'Russi, 1923. 49
Appeal by Berkman, Emma Goldman and Others, 1925. 50
[Appeal of the foreign office for the creation of the Russian anarcho-syndicalist confederation. In French] Appel du bureau étranger pour la création de la Confédération Anarchiste Syndicaliste Russe [1922? circular]. 49
Apropos of My Lecture Tour, Oct. 1908. 47
Are Kotoku Protests Justified? March 1911. 47
[Art and Revolution. In Yiddish] Kunst un Revolutsie, 1929. 52
Artists-Revolutionists, Nov. 1907. 47
As to "Crammers of Furnaces," Dec. 1906. 47
The Assassination of McKinley, Sept. 1931. 52
The Barnum & Bailey Staging of the "Anarchist Plot," April 1915. 48
A Beautiful Ideal [1908?]. 47
Between Jails, Aug. 1917. 48
[The Bolshevik government in Russia. In Italian] Governo Bolscevista in Russia, Dec. 15, 1924. 49
Chicago, Attention! Oct. 1914. 48
The Child and Its Enemies, April 1906. 47
The Child and Its Enemies, Dec. 1914. 48
Comrades and Friends, Dec. 1912. 47
The Crime of the 11th of November, Nov. 1911. 47
The Crushing of the Russian Revolution, 1922. 49
[The crushing of the Russian revolution. In German] Die Ursachen des Niederganges der Russischen Revolution, 1922. 49
[The crushing of the Russian revolution, Part 2. In Italian] La dittatura del circolo interno, Jan. 15, 1925. 50
[The crushing of the Russian revolution, Part 3. In Italian] Governo Bolscevista in Russia. Feb. 15, 1925. 50
David Caplan, March 1916. 48
Dear Friend, Jan. 26, 1909 [leaflet]. 47
Dear Friend, Oct. 2, 1911 [leaflet]. 47
December Tenth, Nov. 1917. 48
Dedication, Oct. 1917. 48
Defying the Gods, July 1908. 47
Deportation, Its Meaning and Menace, 1919. 48
Despite Jehovah and the Police, Jan. 1917. 48
A Dirty Detective Stunt, Nov. 1915. 48
Donald Vose: The Accursed, Jan. 1916. 48
Down with the Anarchists! 1916. 48

[The drama: a powerful disseminator of radical thought. In Japanese] Kindaigekiron, Oct.-Nov. 1912. 47
The Drama: The Strongest Disseminator of Radical Thought [1909]. 47
Durruti Is Dead, Yet Living, 1936. 53
[Durruti is dead, yet living. In Chinese] DuLudi Bing Mei You Si, 1937. 53
[Durruti is dead, yet living. In Chinese] Durruti Zhi Si, April 25, 1937. 53
[Durruti is dead, yet living! In French] Durruti n'est pas mort! 1936. 53
The Easiest Way, May 1909. 47
[Testimony] Emma Goldman before the Bar, May 1916. 48
[Interview] Emma Goldman Conversa con el Compañero Gregorio Jover, Jefe del X Cuerpo de Ejercito [Emma Goldman's conversation with Comrade Gregorio Jover, head of the 10th division of the army [1937? transcript]. 53
Emma Goldman Dates, Nov. 1914. 48
[Interview] Emma Goldman—Fighter and Idealist, Aug. 1917. 48
Emma Goldman Made the Following Statement [Dec. 13? 1919, transcript]. 48
[Emma Goldman speaks to the youth. In Spanish] Emma Goldman Habla a la Juventud [1937?]. 53
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Talks in Barn [June 1909]. 47
Emma Goldman's Blue Days in Red Russia, Dec. 15, 1923. 49
Emma Goldman's Telegram, July 1914. 48
Emma Goldman's Trial on April 5th, April 1916. 48
En Route, April 1908. 47
En Route, May 1908. 47
En Route, June 1908. 47
En Route, Dec. 1908. 47
The End of the Odyssey, April 1909. 47
The End of the Odyssey, July 1910. 47
[The enemy within. In Chinese] Nei Di, Oct. 20, 1937. 53
[Summary of Lecture] Experience in Russia, 1924. 49
The Failure of Christianity, April 1913. 48
Farewell, Friends and Comrades! Jan. 1918. 48
[For the second anniversary of P.A. Kropotkin's death. In Russian] Vtoria Godovshina Smertu P.A. Kropotkin, 1923. 49
A Fragment of the Prison Experiences of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, [1919?]. 48
Francisco Ferrer, Nov. 1909. 47
Free Speech Defense Fund, Jan. 1907. 47
Free Speech Defense Fund, Feb. 1907. 47
Free Speech Fund Expenditures, Feb. 1907. 47
Freedom of Criticism and Opinion, Oct. 1917. 48

[The freedom of women. In Chinese] Ziyou de Nü Xing, 1927. 51
[From Russian prisons. In Russian] V'Tyormach Rossi, Feb. 19, 1922. 49
Gag Rule at the Hebrew Institute of Chicago, Feb. 1916. 48
George Pettibone, Aug. 1908. 47
The Great Hope, Jan. 1918. 48
The Holiday, June 1917. 48
In Defense of Free Speech, Oct. 1909. 47
In Justice to Leon Czolgosz, Oct. 1909. 47
[Interview] In the Shadow of Liberty, 1935. 53
The Indictment of Alexander Berkman in San Francisco, Aug. 1917. 48
[The individual social state. In Chinese] Ge Ren Zai She Hui Li de Di Wei, July 10, 1938. . 53
Intellectual Proletarians, Feb. 1914. 48
The International Anarchist Congress, Oct. 1907. 47
International Anarchist Manifesto on the War, May 1915. 48
International Workingmen's Association. Relief Fund for the Political Prisoners in Russia [1925? leaflet]. 50
Introduction [1925?]. 50
Johann Most, 1926. 51
The Joys of an Agitator, Nov. 1908. 47
The Joys of Touring, March 1908. 47
The Joys of Touring, Jan. 1909. 47
Labor Day, Sept. 1908. 47
The Latest Police Outrage, Sept. 1908. 47
The League for the Amnesty of Political Prisoners: Its Purpose and Programme, Feb. 1918. 48
Lecture Tour, Jan. 1907. 47
Legendizing the Martyrs of Revolution, May 1915. 48
[Leo Tolstoy's forces of darkness. In Chinese] Tolsty de Hei-an Zhi shi Li, July 31, 1937. . 53
[Leon Trotsky protests too much. In Spanish] León Trotski Protesta Demasiado, Aug. 1938 53
A Letter, June 1906. 47
[A letter from Emma Goldman. In Spanish] Una Carta de Emma Goldman, May 1936. . . 53
[Letters from Russia. In Spanish] Cartas desde Rusia. Estimado señor Harris [192–?]. . . 49
[Letters from Russia. In Spanish] Cartas desde Rusia. Estimada compañera Comyns [192–?]. 49
[Letters of Emma Goldman. In Russian] Pisma Emma Goldman, 1920. 49
Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant–Guard, Feb. 1910. 47
Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant–Guard, March 1910. 47
Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant–Guard, April 1910. 47
Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant–Guard, May 1910. 47
Light and Shadows in the Life of an Avant–Guard, June 1910. 47

Limitation of Offspring: Review of Dr. Wm. J. Robinson's Book, July 1915. 48
A Literary Nuisance, Aug. 1907. 47
Love and Marriage, March 1914. 48
Marriage and Love, 1911. 47
Marriage and Love, 1916. 48
[Marriage and Love. In Yiddish] Harat un Freie Liba [between 1911 and 1940]. 47
[Marriage and love. In Japanese] Kekkon to Renai [192–?]. 49
[Maxim Gorky—A night's lodging. In Chinese] Ye Dian, June 25, 1937. 53
Memorial Meeting, May 31, 1940. 53
Messages from Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, March 1918. 48
The Milwaukee Frame-Up, Jan. 1918. 48
[Minorities versus majorities. In Japanese] Shosù To Tasù, Oct. 1913 [advertisement]. . . 48
[Minorities versus majorities. In Japanese] Shosù To Tasù [192–?]. 49
Miracles Do Happen, Nov. 1917. 48
Miss Emma Goldman Holds that German Literature... [1935, advertisement]. 53
[Testimony] Miss Goldman's Trial, September 1917. 67
Mother Earth [1906, advertisement]. 47
Mother Earth, March 1906. 47
Mother Earth, March 1908. 47
Mother Earth Bulletin Vol. 1, no. 1, Oct. 1917. 48
Mother Earth Bulletin Vol. 1, no. 2, Nov. 1917. 48
Mother Earth Bulletin Vol. 1, no. 3, Dec. 1917. 48
Mother Earth Bulletin Vol. 1, no. 4, Jan. 1918. 48
Mother Earth Bulletin Vol. 1, no. 5, Feb. 1918. 48
Mother Earth Bulletin Vol. 1, no. 6, March 1918. 48
Mother Earth Bulletin Vol. 1, no. 7, April 1918. 48
Mother Earth Sustaining Fund, Jan. 1907. 47
Mother Earth Sustaining Fund, Feb. 1907. 47
Mother Earth Sustaining Fund, Jan. 1908. 47
Mother Earth Tenth Anniversary, March 1915. 48
My Arrest and Preliminary Hearing, March 1916. 48
[My disillusionment in Russia. In Chinese] Xin Eluosi Jiyou [Part] 1, Nov. 4, 1925. . . . 50
[My disillusionment in Russia. In Chinese] Xin Eluosi Jiyou [Part] 2, Nov. 5, 1925. . . . 50
[My disillusionment in Russia. In Chinese] Xin Eluosi Jiyou [Part] 3, Nov. 6, 1925. . . . 50
[My disillusionment in Russia. In Chinese] Xin Eluosi Jiyou [Part] 4, Nov. 7, 1925. . . . 50
[My disillusionment in Russia. In Chinese] Xin Eluosi Jiyou [Part] 5, Nov. 12, 1925. . . . 50
[My disillusionment in Russia. In Chinese] Xin Eluosi Jiyou [Part] 6, Nov. 13, 1925. . . . 50
[My disillusionment in Russia. In Chinese] Xin Eluosi Jiyou [Part] 1, Dec. 10, 1925. . . . 50
[My disillusionment in Russia. In Chinese] Xin Eluosi Jiyou [Part] 2, Dec. 10, 1925. . . . 50
A Necessary Appeal, Oct. 1916. 48

A New Declaration of Independence, 1909. 47
A New Declaration of Independence, July 1909. 47
The New Year, Jan. 1912. 47
The No Conscription League, June 1917. 48
Notice, March 1907. 47
Notice, April 1917. 48
Observations and Comments, March 1907. 47
Observations and Comments, April 1907. 47
Observations and Comments, May 1907. 47
Observations and Comments, June 1907. 47
Observations and Comments, July 1907. 47
Observations and Comments, Aug. 1907. 47
Observations and Comments, Sept. 1907. 47
Observations and Comments, Nov. 1907. 47
Observations and Comments, Dec. 1907. 47
Observations and Comments, Jan. 1908. 47
Observations and Comments, March 1908. 47
Observations and Comments, Dec. 1911. 47
October Twenty-Ninth, 1901, Oct. 1911. 47
On Behalf of Russian Anarchists, March 15, 1922. 49
On the Road, April 1907. 47
On the Road, May 1907. 47
On the Road, July 1907. 47
On the Trail, Jan. 1911. 47
On the Trail, Feb. 1911. 47
On the Trail, March 1911. 47
On the Trail, April 1911. 47
On the Trail, May 1911. 47
On the Trail, July 1911. 47
On the Trail, Aug. 1914. 48
On the Trail, Sept. 1914. 48
On the Way to Golgatha, Feb. 1918. 48
On Trial, Feb. 1909. 47
One More Plea for David Caplan, April 1916. 48
[Open letter about Louise Michel. In German] Offener Brief an den Herausgeber der Jahrbücher über Louise Michel, 1923. 49
Our Agitation in and about New York, May 1915. 48
Our Amsterdam Letter, Sept. 1907. 47
Our Fight, Aug. 1909. 47
Our Friends, the Enemy, June 1909. 47

Our Moral Censors, Nov. 1913. 48
Our Propaganda, Feb. 1908. 47
Our Sixth Birthday, March 1911. 47
The Outrage of San Diego, June 1912. 47
Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty [1908?]. 47
Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty [192–?]. 49
Peace on Earth and Good Will towards Men, Jan. 1915. 48
[The persecution of Maria Spiridonova. In Chinese] Maliyia Sipilidonuowa de Pohai Shijian, 1928. 51
Persecutions of Syndicalists and Anarchists in Russia [1922, government translation]. . . 49
Peter Kropotkin, Dec. 1912. 47
The Petty Discrimination of the Law, Dec. 1916. 48
The Philosophy of Atheism, Feb. 1916. 48
Philosophy of Atheism and the Failure of Christianity, 1916. 48
The Place of the Individual in Society [1940?]. 53
Police Brutality, Nov. 1906. 47
Police Education, Jan. 1907. 47
The Power of the Ideal, March 1912. 47
The Power of the Ideal, April 1912. 47
The Power of the Ideal, May 1912. 47
The Power of the Ideal, June 1912. 47
The Power of the Ideal, July 1912. 47
The Power of the Ideal, Aug. 1912. 47
[Preface], 1938. 53
Preparedness, the Road to Universal Slaughter, Dec. 1915. 48
Preparedness, the Road to Universal Slaughter [1917?]. 48
[Interview] The Presidency. Emma Goldman, Good Anarchist..., Jan. 22, 1934. 52
The Promoters of the War Mania, March 1917. 48
Propaganda Work, Dec. 1916. 48
The Psychology of Political Violence, 1911. 47
A Rejoinder, Dec. 1910. 47
Renewed Activity, Feb. 1915. 48
Reply, Dec. 1907. 47
A Review of Our New York Activities, April 1914. 48
Rochester Visit, Feb. 1918. 48
Ross Winn, Sept. 1912. 47
"La Ruche," Nov. 1907. 47
Russell Sage, Aug. 1906. 47
The Russian Revolution, Dec. 1917. 48
San Francisco's Sixth Victim, Oct. 1917. 48

Self-Defense for Labor, Jan. 1914. 48
A Sentimental Journey—Police Protection, April 1906. 47
The Social Aspects of Birth Control, April 1916. 48
[The social situation of woman. In Spanish] Situación Social de la Mujer [Dec.? 1936, fragment]. 53
[Excerpt from Lecture] Spain Betrayed by the Politicians. Workers of the World, Now Is the Time for Action! [1938? leaflet]. 53
The Spanish Uprising, Aug. 1909. 47
Special Note for St. Louis, Nov. 1914. 48
Special Offer, Sept. 1911. 47
Statement by Emma Goldman at the Federal Hearing in re deportation, Oct. 27, 1919 [leaflet?]. 48
Statement: Fund for Spanish Refugees, Jan. 18, 1940. 53
Stray Thoughts, Aug. 1916. 48
Stray Thoughts, Sept. 1916. 48
Syndicalism, 1913. 48
Syndicalism: Its Theory and Practice, Jan. 1913. 48
Syndicalism: Its Theory and Practice, Feb. 1913. 48
Syndicalism: The Modern Menace to Capitalism, 1913. 48
[Syndicalism: The modern menace to capitalism. In Italian] Sindacalismo, Lo Spettro del Capitalismo, 1930. 52
There Is No Communism in Russia [1934?]. 52
There Is No Communism in Russia, April 1935. 53
To All My Dear Ones, April 1918. 48
To Comrades and Friends on the North American Continent, June 27, 1939 [circular?]. . . 53
To My Friends [1925, inscription]. 50
To My Friends in Philadelphia, March 1916. 48
To My Friends, Old and New, June 1916. 48
To My Readers, Dec. 1906. 47
To Our Chicago Friends, Sept. 1914. 48
To Our Comrades, Sept. 1907. 47
To Our Comrades and Friends, Oct. 1914. 48
To Our Friends, May 1913. 48
To Our Friends, March 1914. 48
To Our Friends, July 1914. 48
To Our Friends, Feb. 1915. 48
To Our Friends, Oct. 1915. 48
To Our New York Friends, Dec. 1916. 48
To Our Readers, Sept. 1908. 47
To Our Readers, Nov. 1915. 48

To Our Readers, Dec. 1915. 48
To the Readers, Sept. 1906. 47
To the Readers of Mother Earth, Nov. 1906. 47
The Tragedy at Buffalo, Oct. 1906. 47
The Tragedy of Buffalo, 1914. 48
The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation, March 1906. 47
The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation [1910?]. 47
[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In French] La tragédie de l'émancipation féminine [192–?]. 49
[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In French] La tragédie de l'émancipation féminine, 1930. 52
[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In French] La tragédie de l'émancipation féminine [1931]. 52
[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In German] Die Tragödie der Frauenemanzipation, 1906. 47
[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In Japanese] Fujin Kaihó no Higeki, May 1914, advertisement. 48
[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In Japanese] Fujin Kaihó no Higeki, [192–?]. . . . 49
Trial and Speeches of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman in the United States District Court, in the City of New York, July 1917. 48
Trial Postponed for Two Weeks, Jan. 1916. 48
A Tribute, Oct. 1909. 47
A Tribute to Mikolasek, Murdered in San Diego, June 1912. 47
Trotsky Protests Too Much [1938?]. 53
Trotsky Protests Too Much [1940?]. 53
The Truth about the Boylsheviki [1917]. 48
Two Months and After, Jan. 1915. 48
Two Versions of the Mexican Situation, April 1915. 48
[Two years in Russia. 10 articles published in The World. In Spanish] Dos Años en Rusia. Diez articulos publicados en The World, 1923. 49
[Two years in Russia. In Spanish] Dos Años en Rusia, 1924. 49
The Ups and Downs in the Life of an Anarchist Agitator, June 1913. 48
The Ups and Downs of an Anarchist Propagandist, July 1913. 48
The Ups and Downs of an Anarchist Propagandist, Aug. 1913. 48
The Ups and Downs of an Anarchist Propagandist, Sept. 1913. 48
An Urgent Appeal to My Friends, April 1916. 48
Victims of Morality, March 1913. 48
Victims of Morality and The Failure of Christianity, 1913. 48
[Victims of morality and the philosophy of atheism. In Yiddish] Upfer fun Morale un die Filozophia fun Oteizm [between 1916 and 1940]. 48

Voltairine de Cleyre, 1932. 52
The Voyage of the *Buford*, July 1931. 52
Was My Life Worth Living? Dec. 1934. 52
What I Believe [1908]. 47
The White Slave Traffic [1909]. 47
The White Slave Traffic, Jan. 1910. 47
Woman Suffrage, June 1914. 48
The Woman Suffrage Chameleon, May 1917. 48
A Woman Without a Country, May 1909. 47

Speeches

[Address to the Delegates at the Extraordinary Congress in Paris of the I.W.B.A., Dec. 1937]. 53
[Address to the Delegates at the Extraordinary Congress in Paris of the I.W.B.A., Dec. 1937]. 53
[Excerpt from Lecture. Anarchism Is Not Necessarily Violence], Jan. 6, 1907. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture. The Bolsheviki], Jan. 16, 1918. 48
[Excerpt from Lecture] The Bolsheviki, Their True Nature and Aim, Jan. 8, 1918. 48
[Excerpt from Lecture] The Bolsheviki, Their True Nature and Aim, Jan. 11, 1918. 48
[Excerpt from Lecture] Maxim Gorki, Jan. 11, 1918. 48
[Excerpt from Lecture. Misconceptions about Anarchism], Dec. 24, 1907. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] The Revolutionary Spirit in Modern Drama, Dec. 14, 1907. . . . 47
[Excerpt from Lecture. Speech against Conscription and War, Forward Hall, New York] June 14, 1917. 48
[Excerpt from Lecture] Trade Unionism, Dec. 12, 1907. 47
[Speech against Conscription and War, Forward Hall, New York, June 14, 1917]. 48
[Speech, "We Don't Believe in Conscription," at the Harlem River Casino, New York, May 18, 1917, government transcript]. 48
[Speech, Against the Bolshevik Regime, London, Nov. 12, 1924, draft]. 49
[Speech, Against the Bolshevik Regime, London, Nov. 12, 1924]. 49
[Speech, "An Anarchist Looks At Life," at Foyle's Twenty-Ninth literary Luncheon, Grosvenor House, London, March 1, 1933]. 52
[Speech at a Radio Talk, Barcelona, Sept. 23, 1936]. 53
[Speech at the Kate Richards O'Hare Testimonial Dinner, Gonfarone's, New York, Nov. 17, 1919]. 48
[Speech before a Mass Meeting Attended by Ten Thousand People, "First Address to the Spanish Comrades," Barcelona, Sept. 19? 1936]. 53
[Speech before a Meeting on the Spanish Revolution, Electric Theater, Norwich; with notes by Alex Rudling, May 24, 1937]. 53

[Speech before the Franklin Club, "A Criticism of Ethics," Franklin Club, Cleveland], March 12, 1899, notes. 47
[Speech before the No Conscription League, Hunts Point Palace, New York, June 14, 1917]. 48
[Speech for the Radio, "Whom the Gods Wish to Destroy, They First Strike Mad," Barcelona, Sept. 30, 1936]. 53
[Speech on the Dramatic Situation in Germany and Austria, at the Academy of Music, Brooklyn, Feb. 15, 1934]. 52
[Summaries and Excerpts from Lectures] April 9, 1908. 47
[Summary of Lecture. After the Trial of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman] Aug. 25, 1907. 48
[Summary of Lecture. Against Conscription] Aug. 28, 1917. 48
[Summary of Lecture] America and the Russian Revolution, Jan. 18, 1918. 48
[Summary of Lecture] America and the Russian Government, Jan. 28, 1918. 48
[Summary of Lecture] Direct Action as the Logical Tactic of Anarchism, Nov. 19, 1907. . 47
[Summary of Lecture. On Behalf of Russia's Political Prisoners, at the South Place Institute, London, Jan. 29, 1925]. 50
[Summary of Lecture. On Behalf of Russia's Political Prisoners, at the South Place Institute, London, Jan. 29, 1925]. 50
[Summary of Lecture. The Trial and Persecution of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman] Aug. 25, 1917. 48
[Summary of Lecture] Victims of Moral[ity], June 4, 1917. 48
[Summary of Lecture] Women Martyrs of Russia, Jan. 25, 1918. 48

The Emma Goldman Papers
Goldman Writings Series
Index to Newspaper and Periodical Articles

Name of Publication . . . . . Reel

***Aarhusposten* [Aarhus].**

[Excerpt from Lecture] Frihedens land — forbudets land [Land of liberty—land of prohibition. In Danish], April 14, 1932. 52

***Acracia* [Lérida].**

[Interview] De una conversación con Emma Goldman [From a conversation with Emma Goldman. In Spanish], Sept. 24, 1936. 53

[Interview] E[m]ma Goldman en la casa de "Acracia" [Emma Goldman at the house of "Acracia." In Spanish], Oct. 17, 1936. 53

[A letter from Emma Goldman to the editor of "The Times." In Spanish], Una carta de Emma Goldman al director del "Times," Aug. 2, 1937. 53

[Interview] Emma Goldman, en Acracia [Emma Goldman in Acracia. In Spanish], Oct. 21, 1937. 53

***L'Adunata dei Refrattari* [New York].**

[Appeal of the Russian revolutionaries. In Italian] Apello dei rivoluzionari russi, April 15, 1922. 49

[For the liberation of the Russian anarchists. In Italian] Per la liberazione degli anarchici russi: ai lavoratori del mondo, Oct. 15, 1922. 49

[Against the impending crimes of the Russian and Polish governments. In Italian] Contro un misfatto preparato dal governo russo e polacco, Nov. 30, 1922. 49

[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In Italian] La tragedia dell'emancipazione femminile, Dec. 6, 1924. 49

[A woman without a country. In Italian] Senza patria [Part 1], June 8, 1935. 53

[A woman without a country. In Italian] Senza patria [Part 2], June 15, 1935. 53

[The opinion of comrades. In Italian] L'Opinione dei compagni, July 25, 1936. 53

[A letter from Emma Goldman on Alexander Berkman's death. In Italian] Una lettera di Emma Goldman sulla morte di Alexander Berkman, Aug. 1, 1936. 53

[A letter from Emma Goldman to the editor of "The Times." In Italian] Una lettera di Emma Goldman al direttore del "Times," July 10, 1937. 53

[Interview] Conversando con Emma Goldman [Talking with Emma Goldman. In Italian], Nov. 13, 1937. 53

[Impressions from Spain. In Italian] Impressioni di Spagna, Nov. 27, 1937. 53

[Political persecutions in Republican Spain. In Italian] Persecuzione politica nella Spagna repubblicana, Dec. 25, 1937. 53

[Interview] Emma Goldman e l'anarchismo spagnolo [Emma Goldman and Spanish anarchism. In Italian], Jan. 15, 1938. 53
[Trotsky protests too much. In Italian] Kronstadt, Trotsky e Trotskisti [Part 1], March 4, 1939. 53
[Trotsky protests too much. In Italian] Kronstadt, Trotsky e Trotskisti [Part 2], March 11, 1939. 53
[Trotsky protests too much. In Italian] Kronstadt, Trotsky e Trotskisti [Part 3], March 18, 1939. 53
[Tom Mooney's resurrection. In Italian] Chi ha liberato Mooney? April 1, 1939. 53
[Correspondence: treasury report on Spanish refugees' committee. In Italian] Corrispondenze Comunicazioni: Resoconto fondo pro' rifugiati di Spagna, Jan. 31, 1940. 53
[Financial account of the funds for the Spanish refugees. In Italian] Resoconto fondo pro' rifugiati di Spagna, Feb. 17, 1940. 53
[Emma Goldman and the Dies Committee. In Italian] Emma Goldman e la Commissione Dies, May 25, 1940. 53

***Aftonbladet* [Stockholm].**
[Interview] Anarkisten Goldmann anser att Stalin har förfuskat revolutionen [The anarchist Goldman feels that Stalin has botched the revolution. In Swedish], April 20, 1932. 52

***The Agitator* [Home, Wash.].**
The Mexican Revolution, April 15, 1911. 47

Akron Beacon Journal.
[Excerpt from Lecture] The Flop of a Fire-Eater, Feb. 14, 1934. 52

Die Aktion.
[Cult of personality and power. Dear Pfemfert! In German] Bonzenkult und Leistung. Lieber Pfemfert! Jan. 21, 1922. 49

Albany Evening News.
[Interview] Emma Goldman in Albany, Wars On, April 18, 1934. 52

Albany Times-Union.
[Interview] Emma Goldman to Lecture at Institute Tonight, April 18, 1934. 52

***Der Anarchist* [New York].**
Eingesandt, July 30, 1892. 47
[Attention! Comrades and Friends! In German] Aufruf! Genossen und Freunde! Aug. 13, 1892. 47

***Anarkhicheskii Vestnik* [Berlin].**
[Lozovsky lets the cat out of the bag. In Russian] Lozovskii pripodimayet zavecu, May 1924. 49

***Arbeiderbladet* [Oslo].**
[Interview] Emma Goldman i Oslo [Emma Goldman in Oslo. In Norwegian], April 16, 1932. 52
[Summary of Lecture] En anarkists erindringer [Memories of an anarchist. In Norwegian], April 17, 1932. 52

***Arbeiter Freund* [London].**
[To the anarchists and syndicalists of the whole world. In Yiddish] Zu der Anarchisten un Sindicalisten fun der Ganzer Velt! [July 1930?]. 52

***Arbetaren* [Stockholm].**
[Interview] Den ryska revolutionen belyses av ryska revolutionärer [The Russian revolution illuminated by Russian revolutionaries. In Swedish], Jan. 7, 1922. 49
[The Mooney and Billings drama. In Swedish] "Mooney och Billings-dramat," April 20, 1932 [advertisement]. 52
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman om "rättvisan" i dollarlandet [Emma Goldman on "justice" in the land of the dollar. In Swedish], April 21, 1932. 52
[The liberation of women. In Swedish] Kvinnans frigörelse, Feb. 7, 1938. 53

***Arbeter Fraynt Zamlbukh* [Paris].**
[Art and revolution. In Yiddish] Kunst un Revolutsie, 1929. 52

***Der Arme Konrad* [Berlin].**
[Letters from a tour in America. In German] Reisebriefe aus Amerika [Part 1], Feb. 5, 1898. 47
[Letters from a tour in America. In German] Reisebriefe aus Amerika [Part 2], March 5, 1898. 47
[Letters from a tour in America. In German] Reisebriefe aus Amerika. Part 3, March 12, 1898. 47
[Letters from a tour in America. In German] Reisebriefe aus Amerika. Part 4, March 26, 1898. 47
[Letters from a tour in America. In German] Reisebriefe aus Amerika [Part 5], April 2, 1898. 47

***Avanti* [Rome].**
[Interview] Gli scioperi colossali di America [Colossal strikes in America. In Italian], Jan. 20, 1920. 49

Baltimore Critic.
[Excerpt from Lecture] An Eloquent Woman, Oct. 25, 1890. 47

Beilage zu Neues Leben.
[America and England. In German] Amerika und England [1900?]. 67
[Anarchy and anarchists. In German] Die Anarchie and die Anarchisten, Nov. 9, 1901. . . 67

***Berlingske Tidene* [Copenhagen].**
Kendt kvindelig Revolutionær paa Besøg [Well-known revolutionary woman on a visit. In Danish, April 12? 1932, advertisement]. 52
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman om Amerika [Emma Goldman on America. In Danish, April 12, 1932]. 52

***The Blast* [San Francisco].**
Birthday Greetings! Jan. 15, 1916. 48
Take Notice, Friends! Feb. 19, 1916. 48
Down with the Anarchists! Aug. 15, 1916. 48
Birthday Greetings, Jan. 15, 1917. 48

***Boletín de Información* [Barcelona].**
"Which Flag, Madrid or Moscow," Dec. 1, 1936. 53
[Comrades of the F.A.I. and the C.N.T.! In Spanish] ¡Camaradas de la F.A.I. y de la C.N.T.! Oct. 19, 1936. 53
[Emma Goldman's address to the F.A.I. youth in Barcelona. In German] Ansprache Emma Goldmanns in der Massenversammlung der F.A.I.-Jugend von Barcelona, Nov. 2, 1936. 53
[Durruti is dead, yet living. In Spanish] "Durruti Ha Muerto," Nov. 27, 1936. 53
[Excerpt from Lecture] Aus einer Rede unserer Genossin Emma Goldman [From a speech of our comrade Emma Goldman. In German], Sept. 23, 1936. 53
Whom the Gods Wish to Destroy, They First Strike Mad, Oct. 6, 1936. 53
[Radio address of comrade Emma Goldman in Barcelona. In German] Radioansprache der Kameradin Emma Goldman in Barcelona, Oct. 10, 1936. 53

***Børsen* [Copenhagen].**
["Den personlige Friheds Værn…" The society for the defense of personal freedom… In Danish], April 10, 1932 [advertisement]. 52

Boston Globe.
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman, Anarchist, Sept. 6, 1897. 47
[Interview] Emma Goldman, the Anarchist, Sept. 9, 1897. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Advised Strenuous Measures, Sept. 13, 1897. 47

[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman's Address, Jan. 25, 1898. 47
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman Speaks in Boston, Feb. 20, 1934. 52

Boston Herald.
[Interview] "Red Emma" Here Unrepentant, Feb. 17, 1934. 52

Boston Post.
[Interview] Emma Goldman Says Peace Only Watchword, Feb. 17, 1934. 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] Unable to Find a Man to Preside, Feb. 20, 1934. 52

***Brand* [Stockholm].**
[Persecution of syndicalists and anarchists in Russia. In Swedish] Syndikalist-och anarkist-förföljelse i Ryssland, Jan. 7, 1922. 49
[From Russian prisons. In Swedish] I Ryska Fängelser, Jan. 21, 1922. 49
[Workers, save Maria Spiridonova! In Swedish] Arbetare, rädda Maria Spiridonova! April 29, 1922. 49
[Save Maria Spiridonova. In Swedish] Rädda Maria Spiridnova! May 20, 1922. 49
[The situation of children in Russia. In Swedish] Barnens ställning i Ryssland, May 20, 1922. 49
[The situation of children in Russia. In Swedish] Barnens ställning i Ryssland, May 27, 1922. 49
[The trade unions in Russia. In Swedish] Fackföreningarna i Ryssland, June 10, 1922. . . 49
[To the workers of the world. In Swedish] Till världens arbetare! Sept. 25, 1922. 49
[To the workers of the world. In Swedish] Till världens arbetare! Sept. 30, 1922. 49

***Bridgeport Herald* [Bridgeport, Conn.].**
[Interview] 15-Year Exile Believes U.S. Has Slipped, Feb. 11, 1934. 52

Bristol Express.
[Summary of Lecture] Russia's Heroines [1925?]. 50

Bristol Labour Weekly.
[Summary of Lecture] The Church in Spain, April 10, 1937. 53

Brooklyn Eagle.
[Testimony] Emma Goldman on the Stand, Oct. 6, 1893. 47
[Testimony] Anarchy and Ignorance, Oct. 7, 1893. 47
[Testimony] No Room for Emma Goldman, Oct. 16, 1893. 47
[Summary of Lecture] Apparently Tamed, Aug. 21, 1894. 47
[Interview] Some Civitas Members Wanted to Be "Thrilled." So Emma Goldman Was Asked to Address Them, Jan. 16, 1916. 48

Buffalo Times.
[Interview] Emma Goldman Still Sees Early Dream of Golden Rule Guiding Future of World, April 14, 1934. 52

***C.N.T.* [Barcelona].**
[Emma Goldman, distinguished militant of international anarchism… In Spanish] Emma Goldman, Distinguida Militante del Anarquismo Internacional, Ha Dirigido por Radio…, Oct. 12, 1934. 53
[Interview] Habla la compañera Emma Goldman [Comrade Emma Goldman declares. In Spanish], Sept. 22, 1937. 53
[Interview] Emma Goldman, la luchadora infatigable de las filas del proletario, dice… [Goldman, the tireless fighter of the proletariat, says… In Spanish], Sept. 20, 1938. . . 53

***C.N.T.* [Madrid].**
[Emma Goldman tells us… In Spanish] Emma Goldman Nos Dice…, Oct. 7, 1936. . . . 53

***C.N.T.-F.A.I.* [Barcelona].**
Emma Goldman's First Address to the Spanish Comrades at a Mass-Meeting Attended by Ten Thousand People, Sept. 25, 1936. 53
Address at the Mass-Meeting of the Youth of the F.A.I., Oct. 1936. 53
[To All My Dear Comrades and Friends…], Oct. 8, 1936. 53
[A letter from Emma Goldman. In Spanish] Una carta de Emma Goldman, Nov. 1, 1937. . 53

***Capital Times* [Madison, Wis.].**
Emma Goldman Found U.W. Interested in Social Work, Nov. 13, 1931. 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman Sees Fertile Field for Anarchy in U.S., March 27, 1934. . . . 52

***Castilla Libre* [Madrid].**
[Interview] Medio siglo de agitación revolucionaria—nos ha dicho Emma Goldman… [In the middle of revolutionary agitation—Emma Goldman tells us… In Spanish], Sept. 23, 1937. 67

Catalunya.
[Interview] Emma Goldman, vella militant anarquista Russa, diu… [Emma Goldman, long-time Russian anarchist activist, declares… In Catalan], Sept. 21, 1937. 53
[A letter from Emma Goldman: "Madrid is the wonder of centuries…" In Catalan] Una lletra d'Emma Goldman: "Madrid es el miracle dels segles…," Nov. 2, 1937. . . . 53

***Challenge* [New York].**
The Lure of the Spanish People, Jan. 7, 1939. 53

Chicago Daily Journal.
[Interview] Emma Goldman, High Priestess of Anarchy, Sneers Over Crime, March 3, 1908. 47
[Interview] Police Defied by Emma Goldman in Upholding "Reds," March 6, 1908. . . . 47
[Interview] Goldman to Rap Society, March 7, 1908. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Reds' Leader Flays Police, March 17, 1908. 47

Chicago Daily News.
[Interview] Emma Goldman Arrives, Denies She Is Prophet, March 22, 1934. 52
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman Sings Praises of U.S. Freedom, March 24, 1934. . 52

Chicago Herald-Examiner.
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Finds U.S. Good Place to Live! March 23, 1934. . 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] A Free Country, After [All?], March 29, 1934. 52

Chicago Inter Ocean.
"Red" Queen Is Dragged from Stage by Police, March 17, 1908. 67
[Interview] Emma Goldman Blames Police for Shippy Attack, March 4, 1908. 67
[Interview] "Reds" Plan Spread of Cult in Chicago, March 7, 1908. 67
[Interview] Emma Goldman Clashes with Police on Meeting, March 8, 1908. 47
[Interview] Anarchists to Gather Today at Waldheim, March 9, 1908. 67
[Interview] Goldman, 60 Police, Dr. Reitman, 1 Dog Figure In Meeting, March 16, 1908. . 67
[Interview] Goldman in Court Fight with Police, March 18, 1908. 67

Chicago Tribune.
[Summary of Lecture] "Reds" in a Calm, Nov. 12, 1897. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman, High Priestess of Anarchy, Whose Speeches Inspired Czolgosz to His Crime, Sept. 8, 1901. 47
[Interview] Emma Goldman in Law's Grasp, Sept 11, 1901. 47
[Interview] Emma Goldman's Own Story, Sept. 11, 1901. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Police Eyes on Anarchy, Nov. 17, 1902. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Close Doors to Anarchy, Nov. 24, 1902. 47
[Interview] Emma Goldman Blames Police, March 29, 1908. 47
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman Urges Workers to Down Soviets, April 25, 1924. . 49
[Excerpt from Lecture] Miss Goldman Calls U.S. Land of the Freest, March 23, 1934. . . 52

Chong-jing.
[The social significance of the dramas of Hauptman. In Chinese] Hauptman zhi Xiju de She Hui yi-yi, Dec. 25, 1933 [fragment]. 52

Christian Science Monitor.
[Excerpt from Lecture] Politics Dominate Address of Emma Goldman in New York, Feb. 12, 1934. 52

***Chronicle*? [Spokane].**
[Interview] Aid Young Actors, Aug. 22, 1913. 48

Cleveland Plain Dealer.
[Excerpt from Lecture] Defends Acts of Bomb Throwers, May 6, 1901. 47

Cleveland Press.
[Interview] Emma Is Still Anarchist She Says on Visit Here, March 16, 1934. 52

***Common Sense* [Los Angeles].**
[Summary of Lecture] Wants "No Government" Society, May 2, 1908. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Goldman–Bauer Debate, May 16, 1908. 47

***The Commune* [London].**
[Excerpt from Lecture] "Red" Emma, Dec. 1924 [fragment]. 49
The Decline of Emma: Ex-Anarchist's Capitalist Alliances Exposed, May 1925. 50

***Cronaca Sovversiva* [Barre, Vt.].**
[Emma Goldman to the "Cronaca Sovversiva." In Italian] Emma Goldman alla "Cronaca Sovversiva," June 6, 1903. 47
[For freedom. In Italian] Per la Liberta, Dec. 5, 1903. 47
[Anarchy. In Italian] Anarchia, Jan. 30, 1904. 47
Free Country! Nov. 10, 1906. 47
Ernest Crosby, March 16, 1907. 47
[What I believe. In Italian] Quello che io credo, Aug. 8, 1908. 47
[The outrage of San Diego. In Italian] Contro la Vandea! June 1, 1912. 47
[Notes of propaganda. In Italian] Note di Propaganda, Oct. 31, 1914. 48

***Cronaca Sovversiva* [Turin].**
[Declaration of Emma Goldman to the commissioner of immigration. In Italian] Dichiarazioni di Emma Goldman al Commissariato dell' Immigrazione, Jan. 17, 1920 [transcript]. 49

***Cultura Proletaria* [New York].**
[Comrades of the F.A.I. and the C.N.T.! In Spanish] Camaradas de la F.A.I. y de la C.N.T.! Nov. 21, 1936. 53
[Durruti is dead. In Spanish] Durruti Ha Muerto, Jan. 2, 1937. 53

[Emma Goldman in Madrid. In Spanish] Emma Goldman en Madrid (Nov. 6, 1937). . . . 53
[A letter from Emma Goldman. In Spanish] Una carta de Emma Goldman, Dec. 4, 1937. . 53

Dagens Nyheder **[Copenhagen].**
[Interview] Jesuiter [Jesuits. In Danish], Feb. 13, 1932. 52
[Fru Emma Goldman. Mrs. Emma Goldman. In Danish], April 11, 1932 [advertisement]. . 52

Dagens Nyheter **[Stockholm].**
[Summary of Lecture] Ljus I Mooney-affären [Light on the Mooney's affair. In Swedish], April 21, 1932 [fragment]. 52

Daily Express **[London].**
[Interview] "Red Emma" Comes to London, Nov. 10, 1924. 49
Has My Life Been Worth While? Jan. 30, 1933. 52

Daily Herald **[London].**
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman on Russia [Nov.? 13? 1924?]. 49

Daily Mail **[London].**
[Interview] Miss Goldman and Czolgosz, Sept. 11, 1901. 67

Daily Mercury **[Northampton].**
[Excerpt from Lecture] The Dictatorship in Russia [1925, fragment]. 50

Daily Mirror.
[Interview] Emma in N.Y. Sees Red [Feb. 3? 1934]. 52

Daily News **[Denver].**
[Interview] Sex Problem Talks Fill Hall to Doors, Says Emma Goldman, April 17, 1912. . 47

Daily News **[London].**
Our "Communists," June 25, 1925. 50

Daily News **[Washington, D.C.].**
[Excerpt from Lecture] Red Emma Goldman Tells Subdued Story of Life, Feb. 26, 1934. . 52

Daily Star **[Trenton, N.J.].**
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman Vigorously Flays State and Church, Oct. 27, 1913. 48

Democrat **[Johnstown, Pa.].**
Emma Goldman Replies, Sept. 30, 1931. 52

***The Demonstrator* [Home, Wash.].**
Brief News and Comment, Aug. 21, 1907. 47

Denver Post.
[Interview] Lynchings Needed in San Diego to Make Public Sane, June 28, 1912. 67
[Excerpt from Lecture] Pulpitless Preacher Creates Scene at Goldman Meeting, April 17, 1912. 47
Suffrage Dealt Blow by Women of Titanic, April 21, 1912. 47
Chantecler Most Talked of Play of Age, as Viewed by F.W.W. and Emma Goldman, April 23, 1912. 47
Nation Seethes in Social Unrest—Goldman, April 26, 1912. 47
Woman Center of Social Storm Which Is Sweeping Us Along, April 28, 1912. 47
Greed of Capital Basis of Social Unrest Today, April 30, 1912. 47

Detroit Evening Times.
[Interview] Workers Should Seize Industries, Emma Goldman Tells Detroit, March 18, 1934. 52

Detroit News.
[Interview] Utopian Dream Is Ever Hers, March 16, 1934. 52
[Interview] Anarchist Then—And Now, May 19, 1939. 53

Detroit Sentinel.
Miss Emma Goldman Replies to Questions Asked by Mr. F. B. Livezey, July 30, 1898. . . 47

[*Detroit Times*?].
[Interview] Emma Goldman, 70, Holds Fast to Anarchy, May 19, 1939. 53

***Deutscher Informationsdienst* [Barcelona?].**
Interview mit unserer Genossin Emma Goldman [Interview with our comrade Emma Goldman. In German], Oct. 18, 1938. 53

Edmonton Bulletin.
[Summary of Lecture] Bolshevism Has Failed in Soviet Russia, March 4, 1927. 51
[Interview] "Flaming" Youth Has Champion in Emma Goldman, Now in City, March 4, 1927. 51
[Excerpt from Lecture] Abolition of Text Books and Discipline in Schools Urged, March 5, 1927. 51

Edmonton Journal.
[Interview] Emma Goldman More Than Pleased with Reception in Canada, March 4, 1927. 51
[Excerpt from Lecture] Contented Woman Stumbling Block in Path of Progress Is Belief of Emma Goldman, March 14, 1927. 51
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman Found Conditions in Russia Were Very Deplorable, March 15, 1927. 51
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman Is Speaker at Kiwanis Club, March 15, 1927. 51

***Ekstrabladet* [Copenhagen].**
[Interview] Emma Goldman om Personlig Frihed: I Frankrig trives den bedst. Amerika har lagt den i Spændetrøjen [Emma Goldman on personal liberty. In Danish], April 11, 1932. 52
[Summary of Lecture] Anarkistinden [A woman anarchist. In Danish, April 11, 1932, fragment]. 52

L'Era Nuova.
[Interview] Emma Goldman Condannata [Emma Goldman condemned. In Italian], April 29, 1916. 67

***Eresia* [New York].**
[Why has the Russian revolution failed. In Italian] Perche' e' fallita la Rivoluzione Russa, Jan. 1929. 52

***Erkenntnis und Befreiung* [Bonn].**
[An appeal of anarchists and syndicalists from Russia. In German] Ein Anarchistischer und Syndikalistischer Hotschrei von Rußland, June 5, 1921. 49
[Two pioneers of international peace and freedom. In German] Zwei Pioniere der Friedens–und Freiheits–Internationale, Dec. 1, 1919. 48
[An appeal of anarchists and syndicalists from Russia. In German] Ein Anarchistischer und Syndikalistischer Hotschrei von Rußland, April 10, 1921. 49
[The Peter Kropotkin Memorial Committee. In German] Das Peter Kropotkin Memorial-Komitee, June 19-26, 1921. 49
[To the revolutionary proletariat of the world! In German] An das Revolutionäre Proletariat der Welt! April, 1922. 49
[To the proletariat of the world! In German] An das Weltproletariat! July 1922. 49
[The first of May in Petrograd. In German] Der erste Mai in Petrograd, May 1, 1925. . . . 50
[Russia and the British Labour delegates' report. In German] Das bolschewistische Rußland im Lichte der Wahrheit. Part 7, Oct. 1925. 50
[Russia and the British Labour delegates' report. In German] Das bolschewistische Rußland im Lichte der Wahrheit. Part 8, Oct. 1925. 50

[Russia and the British Labour delegates' report. In German] Das bolschewistische Rußland im Lichte der Wahrheit. Part 9, Nov. 1925. 50
[Greetings to Emma Goldman! In German] Emma Goldman zum Gruß! [June 27, 1929]. . 52

***L'Espagne Anti-Fasciste* [Paris].**
[Long-time anarchists speak to the Spanish people. In French] Les Anciens de l'Anarchie parlent au peuple espagnol, Oct. 28, 1936. 53

***L'Espagne Libre* [Paris].**
[A few hours with the Durruti column. In French] Quelques heures avec la colonne Durruti, Oct. 24, 1936. 53

***Evening News* [Detroit].**
[Interview] An Interrupted Interview..., March 14, 1899. 47

***Evening Standard* [London].**
[Excerpt from Lecture] "Red" Blessings a Myth, Jan. 30, 1925. 50

***Evening Sun* [Baltimore].**
[Interview] Emma Goldman Finds More Liberalism in U.S., March 3, 1934. 52

***Evening Telegram* [Toronto].**
[Excerpt from Lecture] Sneers at All Religion, Oct. 12, 1927 [transcript]. 51
[Excerpt from Lecture] Stalin Was Real Judas in Spain, Speaker Says, April 28, 1939. . . 53

Everett Morning Tribune.
[Interview] Emma Goldman Says Everett Ought to Be Annexed to Russia, Dec. 15, 1908. . 47

***The Firebrand* [Portland, Oreg.].**
[Friends of Alexander Berkman], July 21, 1895. 47
The Condition of the Workers of America, Nov. 17, 1895. 47
Eastern and European Propaganda, May 24, 1896. 47
[Summary of Lecture] Propaganda in the East, June 7, 1896. 47
The Berkman Fund Again, Aug. 23, 1896. 47
Marriage, July 18, 1897. 47

***Folkets Dagblad* [Stockholm].**
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman [In Swedish], April 21, 1932 [fragment]. 52

Forward **[New York].**
[Living My Life. In Yiddish] Di Lebens – Geshikhte fun Emma Goldman, May 30-Oct. 31, 1931 [serial]. 52

Fragua Social **[Valencia].**
[Interview] Las realizaciones económicas del proletariado, la alianza U.G.T.-C.N.T... [Economical realizations of the proletariat... In Spanish], Sept. 21, 1937. 53
[Interview] Emma Goldman en España [Emma Goldman on Spain. In Spanish], Sept. 22, 1938. 53

Der Frauen-Bund **[Berlin].**
[The first of May in Petrograd. In German] Der erste Mai in Petrograd, May 1924. 49

Free Press **[London, Ontario].**
[Excerpt from Lecture] Famous Anarchist Delivers Lecture, Feb. 20, 1908. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchist Looks on Darker Side, Feb. 21, 1908. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Russia in Hands of Ruthless Dictator, Says Emma Goldman, Jan. 8, 1927. 51
[Summary of Lecture] Says West Tried to Crush China, May 9, 1927. 51

Free Society **[Chicago].**
[Excerpt from Lecture] Free Speech Strangled, April 21, 1901. 47
[Recently Comrade Emma Goldman Lectured in Lynn...], May 12, 1901. 47
Gaetano Bresci, June 2, 1901. 47
[Summary of Lecture] Report from Chicago, June 9, 1901. 47
[Summary of Lecture] Report from Chicago, June 9, 1901. 67
A Card, Dec. 14, 1902. 47

Free Society **[San Francisco].**
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman in Philadelphia, March 13, 1898. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Free Speech Suppressed in Barre, VT, March 5, 1899. 47
To My Friends and Comrades in New York, May 7, 1899. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] From San Jose, July 23, 1899. 47
Emma Goldman in Oakland, Cal., July 23, 1899. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman in Stockton, Cal., July 30, 1899. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Farewell! Aug. 13, 1899. 47
The Propaganda and the Congress, April 8, 1900. 47
Observations and Suggestions, April 22, 1900. 47
Some More Observations, April 29, 1900. 47
A Letter from Emma Goldman, Aug. 12, 1900. 47
The Paris Congress, Oct. 21, 1900. 47

The Paris Congress, Oct. 28, 1900. 47
From the Paris Congress, Nov. 4, 1900. 47

Freedom **[London].**
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman in Dundee, March 2, 1900. 67
The Effect of War on the Workers, March-April, 1900. 47
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman's Lecture, Nov. 1907. 47
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman's Lecture, Nov. 1907. 67
The San Diego Outrages, July, 1912. 47
Bolsheviks Shooting Anarchists, Jan. 1922. 49
Persecution of Russian Anarchists: An Appeal to International Labour, Aug. 1922. 49
Patience and Postage Stamps, Jan. 1927. 51
Rudolf Rocker—His Sixtieth Birthday, April, 1933. 52

Der Freie Arbeiter **[Berlin].**
[Among barbarians. In German] Unter Barbaren, Nov. 5, 1907. 67
[In the United States of America. In German] Vereinigte Staaten, April 10, 1909. 47
[The revolutionary movement abroad. In German] Die Revolutionäre Bewegung des Auslandes, 1920. 49
[The Peter Kropotkin Memorial Committee. In German] Peter Kropotkin Memorial-Komitee, 1921. 49
[Bolshevik reaction against the anarchists in Russia. In German] Die bolschewistische Reaktion gegen die Anarchisten und Anarcho-Syndikalisten in Rußland, 1921. 49
[Against the impending crimes of the Russian and Polish governments. In German] Gegen das bevorstehende Verbrechen der russischen und polnischen Regierungen, 1922. . . . 49
[From Russian prisons. In German.] Aus russischen Gefängnissen, Jan. 12, 1922. 49
[For the persecuted Russian anarchists. In German] Für die Gemarterten Anarchisten Rußlands, [1923?]. 49
[To the proletariat of the world! In German] An das Weltproletariat! 1922. 49

Freie Arbeiter Stimme **[New York].**
[Summary of Lecture] Die demonstatzion fon arbeitzloze in New York [The demonstration of the unemployed in New York. In Yiddish], Sept. 1, 1893. 67
[Birth control from a social standpoint. In Yiddish] Geburts-Kontrol fon sotzialn shtandpunkt, Jan. 15, 1906. 67
[Types, ideas and decisions from the Anarchist congress. In Yiddish] Tipen, Ideen un Beschliese funden Anarchistishen Kongres, Oct. 12, 1907. 47
[Summary of lecture] Emma Goldman. [In Yiddish], July 6, 1928. 67
[An unexpected dash through Spain. In Yiddish] An undervartete raiza durch Shpania, Feb. 1929. 52
[Summary of lecture] Emma Goldman in Toronto. [In Yiddish], March 9, 1934. 67

[Summary of lecture] Emma Goldman cabalat ponim in Philadelphia. A groiser derfalg [Emma Goldman reception in Philadelphia. A big success. In Yiddish], March 16, 1934. 67
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman in Chicago. [In Yiddish], April 13, 1934. 67
[Emma Goldman on Alexander Berkman's last hours. In Yiddish] Emma Goldman vagen Sadsha Berkman's latzte Schtunden, July 24, 1936. 53
[Emma Goldman writes to us about Spain. In Yiddish] Emma Goldman schreibt undz vegen Shpania, Dec. 17, 1937. 53

Freiheit **[New York].**
"Mother Earth," Feb. 3, 1906. 47
[The tragedy at Buffalo. In German] Die Tragödie in Buffalo, Oct. 27, 1906. 47
[An appeal. In German] Ein Appell, Sept. 14, 1907. 47

Frente Libertario **[Madrid?].**
[A letter from Emma Goldman to the editor of "The Times." In Spanish] Una carta de Emma Goldman al director del "Times," Aug. 2, 1937. 53

Fresno Morning Republican.
[Interview] Emma Goldman Comes to Preach "Anarchism" to I.W.W.'s, May 14, 1911. . . 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Talks at the I.W.W. Hall, May 15, 1911. 47

Fyens Stiftstidende **[Odense].**
[Interview] Personlig Frihed—og hvad den er [Civil liberty—what it is. In Danish], April 12, 1932. 52

Fyns Social Demokrat **[Odense].**
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman om Amerika [Emma Goldman on America. In Danish], April 13, 1932. 52

Fyns Tidende **[Odense].**
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldmans Foredrag [Emma Goldman's lecture. In Danish], April 13, 1932. 52

Gale.
Back from Prison, Spirits Undaunted [Oct.? 1919]. 48

The Gazette **[St. Joseph, Mo.].**
How Poverty Breeds Crime, Dec. 20, 1931. 52

La Guerre Sociale **[Paris].**
[Interview] Conversation avec Emma Goldman et le D. Friedeberg [Conversation with Emma Goldman and Dr. Friedeberg. In French, 1908?]. 47

Harvard Crimson.
[Excerpt from Lecture] Powerful Centralized Government Is Not Needed..., Feb. 19, 1934. 52

The Herald.
[Interview] Bondage to Freedom, Jan. 22, 1920. 49

Herald of Revolt **[London].**
[Interview] Anarchism and Socialism Defined, April 1911. 47

Hsin Ching Nien **[Shanghai].**
[Marriage and love. In Chinese] Jiehun yü Lian-ai, July 1, 1917. 48
[The drama: a powerful disseminator of radical thought. In Chinese] Jindai Xiju Lun, Feb. 15, 1919. 48

The Ideal **[Bronx, N.Y.].**
[Interview] Impossible to Work with Communists, April, 1934. 52

The Industrial Worker **[Spokane].**
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman in Kansas, May 18, 1911. 47
[Interview] Emma Goldman and Ben Reitman Tell of San Diego Experience, June 6, 1912. 47

Jewish Standard **[Toronto].**
[Interview] A Rebel Speaks, June 29, 1934. 52

Journal Dispatch **[Columbus, Ohio].**
[Interview] Emma Goldman's Attempt to Promote Anarchistic Ideas..., Jan. 14, 1934. . . 52

Juventud Libre **[Madrid].**
[Interview] Emma Goldman y Agustín Souchy en la local de Juventudes Libertarias de Madrid [Goldman and Souchy visit the Madrid *Juventudes Libertarias*. In Spanish], Oct. 2, 1937. 53

Knickerbocker Press **[Albany, N.Y.].**
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Says We've Few Liberties Left, April 19, 1934. . 52

Il Libertario **[Spezia, Italy].**
[Interview] Nella repubblica del dollaro [In the republic of the dollar. In Italian], Jan. 1, 1920. 49
[Interview] Note Americane: Intervista con Emma Goldman [From America: Interview with Emma Goldman. In Italian], Sept. 1921. 49

***Liberty* [London].**
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman in London, Oct. 1895. 47
Between Ourselves, May 1896. 47

***Liberty* [New York].**
An Undelivered Speech, Jan. 1899. 47

***Libre-Studio* [Valencia].**
[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In Spanish] La tragedia de la emancipación femenina, Dec. 1, 1936. 53
[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In Spanish] La tragedia de la emancipación femenina, March 1, 1937. 53

***The Little Review* [Chicago].**
Letters from Prison, May 1916. 48

***London Advertiser* [London, Ontario].**
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman on Trades Unions. Declares Anarchy Is the Ideal State, Feb. 20, 1908. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Held Forth Again, Feb. 21, 1908. 47
[Summary of Lecture] Claims Mussolini Regime Cheap Imitation of Lenin, Jan. 8, 1927. . 51

Los Angeles Record.
[Interview] Emma Goldman Enthusiastic Agitator of Birth Control, June 1, 1916. 48

Los Angeles Times.
[Interview] Bolsheviki Threaten Red Emma, Jan. 19, 1920. 49
[Interview] Goldman in Red Russia, Jan. 20, 1920. 49
[Interview] Emma Goldman on Verge of Collapse, Homesick, Aug. 8, 1921. 49
[Interview] Emma Goldman Not Penitent, She Declares, Dec. 11, 1921. 49
[Summary of Lecture] Goldman in Talk Flays Soviet Rule, July 31, 1924. 49
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Lives and Learns, Nov. 22, 1924. 49
[Interview] The Wild-Eyed Emma, March 16, 1925. 50
[Interview] Miss Goldman Errs Twice on Arrival Home, Feb. 3, 1934. 52

***Lucifer the Lightbearer* [Chicago].**
Free Speech in Chicago, Dec. 11, 1902. 47
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman, Oct. 13, 1897. 47
Various Voices, Jan. 5, 1898. 47
[Summary of Lecture] Various Voices, March 2, 1898. 47

[Excerpt from Lecture] Restrainment Versus Government, Dec. 18, 1902. 47
Voltairine de Cle[y]re, Dec. 8, 1904. 47
Letters to the Editor in Prison, Sept. 27, 1906. 47
Lecture Tour, Feb. 14, 1907. 47

***Lunds Dagblad* [Lund].**
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman i härnad mot diktaturens maktspråk [Emma Goldman at war against the language of dictatorship. In Swedish], April 16, 1932. . . . 52

***Man!* [Los Angeles].**
Political Persecution in Republican Spain, Jan. 1938. 53

Manchester Guardian.
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman in London, Nov. 13, 1924. 49
The Shooting at Miami, Feb. 25, 1933. 52
The Widow of Erich Muhsam, June 30, 1936. 53
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman on Spain [Dec.? 1936?]. 53
Catalonia's Part in the War, April 28, 1937. 53

***Más Lejos* [Barcelona].**
[Interview] Las encuestas de "Más Lejos." Habla Emma Goldman [The interviews of "Más Lejos." Emma Goldman speaks. In Spanish], July 2, 1936. 53

***The Masses* [New York].**
[Testimony] Emma Goldman's Defense, June 1916. 48

***Michigan Daily* [Ann Arbor].**
[Summary of Lecture] Anarchist Leader Waves Red Flag, Feb. 20, 1910. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Students Jeer Anarchy, Feb. 22, 1910. 47

Milwaukee Daily News.
[Interview] Emma Goldman to Talk on the White Slave Traffic, Jan. 22, 1910. 47

Milwaukee Journal.
[Excerpt from Lecture. Has Faith, Not Religion], March 25, 1934. 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman Says Life Is Worthwhile—for Spain, Jan. 17, 1937. 53

Milwaukee Sentinel.
[Summary of Lecture] Under "New Deal" Circumstances..., March 25, 1934. 52

Minneapolis Journal.

[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchy and Snuff at Goldman Meeting, April 7, 1907. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] How "Anarchy's Queen" Would Train Children, April 8, 1907. . . 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Goldman Extols Drama, April 9, 1907. 47
Emma Goldman Tells How Bolshevism Killed Real Russ Revolution. Part 1 of 10, March 9, 1922. 49
Russ Revolution a Failure, Slain by Reds Themselves, Opinion of Emma Goldman. Part 2 of 10, March 10, 1922. 49
Peasants Turn against Communism When Food Is Seized by Bolsheviki. Part 3 of 10, March 12, 1922. 49
Torture System of Dark Ages Used by Bolsheviki to Compel "Confessions." Part 4 of 10, March 13, 1922 [fragment]. 49
How Fares Child in Russia? Fallen into Evil Days; Ill Fed and Ill Treated. Part 5 of 10, March 14, 1922. 49
Only One Happy Child's Laugh Heard in Whole of Russia by Emma Goldman. Part 6 of 10, March 15, 1922. 49
Her Body Dying by Torture, Maria Spiridonova's Spirit Still F[la]mes for Russia. Part 7 of 10, March 16, 1922. 49
Emma Goldman Writes of Interview She Had with Noted Slav Revolutionist. Part 8 of 10, March 17, 1922 [fragment]. 49
Rising Tide of Russian People's Energies Dammed by Bolshevik Autocracy. Part 9 of 10, March 18, 1922 [fragment]. 49
Emma Goldman Tells How Bolsheviki Whipped Trade Unions into Submission. Part 10 of 10, March 19, 1922. 49

Minneapolis Morning Tribune.

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Says Bolshevik Tyranny Exceeds That of Czars, Nov. 13, 1924. 49

Minneapolis Star.

Emma Goldman and Russia, Dec. 8, 1924. 49
[Emma Goldman] Turns Her Back on Bolsheviks, Oct. 24, 1925. 50

Montreal Gazette.

[Excerpt from Lecture] Russian Peasants Have Upper Hand, Says Emma Goldman [Nov.? 1926]. 51
[Interview. Famous Woman Anarchist Sees Fascist Menace Spreading to America], May 3, 1934. 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] Nazi Regime Held Bound to Collapse, May 15, 1934. 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] "Red Emma" Flays Proletariat Rule, May 22, 1934. 52
[Summary of Lecture] Dictator-Fascist Ideas Deplorable, Nov. 16, 1934. 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] Munitions Makers Bitterly Accused, Nov. 20, 1934. 52

[Interview] Arrest Laid To Nazis, Jan. 5, 1935. 53
[Summary of Lecture] Protest Is Motive of Russian Drama, Jan. 10, 1935. 53
[Summary of Lecture] Sees No Pessimism in Russian Dramas, Jan. 24, 1935. 53
[Summary of Lecture] State Drama to Die, Feb. 7, 1935. 53
[Summary of Lecture] Creative Spirit Lives, Feb. 15, 1935. 53
[Excerpt from Lecture] Fools Required to Cheer Dull World, Feb. 21, 1935. 53
[Summary of Lecture] O'Neill Greatest Writer in English, Feb. 28, 1935. 53
[Summary of Lecture] Drama Developing New Social Trend, March 6, 1935. 53

Montreal Herald.
[Summary of Lecture] "Red Emma" Denounces Hitler and Hindenburg, May 15, 1934. . . . 52
[Summary of Lecture] Goldman Reviews Moral Standards, Jan. 18, 1935. 53
[Interview] Progress Catching Up with Red Emma [March? 1935]. 53

Montreal Star.
[Interview] Emma Goldman Says There Is No Freedom in Bolshevik Russia, Oct. 20, 1926. 51
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Compares Debs with Lincoln, Oct. 21, 1926. . . 51
[Excerpt from Lecture] Former Red Paints Black Picture of Life under Soviet, Nov. 1, 1926. 51
[Excerpt from Lecture] Regime of Hitler Doomed to Fall, May 15, 1934. 52
[Summary of Lecture] Shaw Is Condemned by Emma Goldman, Nov. 13, 1934. 52
Tchekhov, Gorki and Andreev Subject of Talk Tomorrow Night [Jan. 29? 1935, advertisement]. 53

Montreal Telegram.
[Interview] Emma Goldman Scorns Idea of Aid from Police [Oct.? 30? 1926, fragment]. . 51

***Morning Post* [London].**
[Interview] Miss Goldman, Sept. 11, 1901. 67

***NEA Service* [New York].**
Emma's Love Views, Nov. 12, 1926. 51

The Nation.
The Tragedy of the Political Exiles, Oct. 10, 1934. 52
Emma Goldman and Hearst, May 8, 1935. 53

***Nervio* [Buenos Aires].**
[Rudolf Rocker: His sixtieth birthday. In Spanish] La tragedia del mundo libertario: Rudolf Rocker, June 1933. 52

[*New Haven Register*].
[Summary of Lecture] Small Crowd at Goldman Lecture Here [Feb. 18? 1934]. 52

New Leader [London].
Against Persecution [April? 1926]. 51

New York American.
Exiled Emma Goldman, the Woman without a Country, Assails Russia's Communism, Jan. 11, 1925. 50
[Interview] Emma Goldman Returns; Still an Anarchist, Feb. 2, 1934. 52
[Interview] Miss Goldman Here on Visit [Feb. 3, 1934?]. 52

New York Call.
Japanese Radicals Condemned to Die, Nov. 12, 1910. 47
[Interview] Emma Goldman Tells of Evil Conditions at Missouri Penitentiary, Oct. 9, 1919. 48

New York Daily News.
Remember This Picture? Dec. 20, 1928. 51

New York Evening Journal.
[Interview] Emma Goldman Comes Back in Red Coat, Feb. 2, 1934. 52
[Interview] "Even Redder" Emma, Feb. 2, 1934. 52

New York Evening Post.
[Interview] Emma Goldman Arrives—Amid Strikes, Of Course, Feb. 2, 1934. 52

New York Evening World.
Russian Red Rule Called Barbarous by Emma Goldman, Jan. 10, 1922. 49

New York Globe and Commerce.
[Interview] Labor's Seeress Predicts a Commune If M'Namaras Die [Oct.? 1911?]. . . . 47

New York Herald.
[Testimony] Emma Goldman Is Held for Her Talk on "Birth Control," Feb. 29, 1916. . . . 48
[Excerpt from Lecture] Birth Control Speeches Startle, March 2, 1916. 48
[Excerpt from Lecture] Girls Join Fight for Circulars on Birth Control, May 21, 1916 [fragment]. 48
[Interview] Wadhams Decision Elates Advocates of Birth Control, Oct. 15, 1916 [fragment]. 48

New York Herald Tribune.
[Review of] Living My Life, Oct. 25, [1931]. 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman to Be Admitted to U.S. 90 Days [Jan. 10, 1934]. 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman Hails Roosevelt for Aid to Poor, Jan. 11, 1934. 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman Asks Permit to Return to U.S., Jan. 28, 1934. 52
The Barcelona Uprising, June 22, 1937. 53

New York Herald-New York Tribune.
Bolshevist Tyrants Have Made Russia a Land of Slaves, Says Emma Goldman, Dec. 21, 1924. 49

New York Sun.
[Interview] Emma Goldman Lists 5,000 as against Draft, May 30, 1917. 48
[Interview] Emma Goldman Here Again, Feb. 2, 1934. 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman Wants to Stay, Feb. 8, 1934. 52

New York Times.
[Interview] A Talk with Emma Goldman, July 28, 1892. 47
Applaud Berkman, July 29, 1892. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Wild Anarchist Talk, Aug. 2, 1892. 47
[Testimony] Emma Goldman Testifies, Oct. 6, 1893. 47
[Testimony] Anarchy Her Only Faith, Oct. 7, 1893. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Howls for Emma Goldman, Aug. 20, 1894. 47
[Summary of Lecture] Joy at the Death of Canovas, Aug. 17, 1897. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Meeting of the Anarchists, Aug. 23, 1897. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Rented by Emma Goldman, Dec. 12, 1900. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Speaks, Dec. 10, 1901. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchists' Big Rally, Sept. 12, 1904. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Woman Anarchist Calls Our Flag a Sham, April 4, 1906. 47
[Interview] An Anarchist Honeymoon, May 26, 1906. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Arrested for Talking Violence, Jan. 7, 1907. . . . 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Berkman's Partner Abuses the Police, Sept. 14, 1908. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Says She Is Coming Back, Oct. 17, 1908. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Mild Goldman Talk While Police Listen, May 25, 1909. 47
[Interview] An Interview with Emma Goldman, May 30, 1909. 47
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman Speaks That Piece, July 3, 1909. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman, Raconteur, Oct. 23, 1909. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchist–Socialist Parade for Ferrer, Oct. 24, 1909. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] The Suffrage Quest a Wild Goose Chase, Dec. 13, 1909. 47

[Excerpt from Lecture] Doesn't Like New Theatre, Dec. 20, 1909. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Comstock Heckled at Labor Temple, Nov. 2, 1910. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Women Hear Miss Goldman, Jan. 13, 1916. 48
[Excerpt from Lecture] T.R. Wrong, Says Anarchist, Jan. 17, 1916. 48
[Summary of Lecture] Plan Birth Control Office, May 21, 1916. 48
Emma Goldman and A[lexander] Berkman Behind the Bars, June 16, 1917. 67
[Interview] Goldman Released, Condemns Jailers, Sept. 29, 1919. 48
[Interview] Emma Goldman to Fight, Sept. 29, 1919. 48
[Testimony] Deportation Defied by Emma Goldman, Oct. 28, 1919. 48
Goldman Wrote "Dear Fred Howe"; Had Friend Freed, Nov. 27, 1919. 48
[Interview] Soviet Ark Lands Its Reds in Finland, Jan. 18, 1920. 49
Emma Goldman "Homesick," May 8, 1920. 49
[Interview] Emma Goldman Sees Tyranny in Russia, June 18, 1920. 49
Emma Goldman on Bolshevism, Oct. 9, 1920. 49
[Excerpt from Letter] Emma Goldman Complains, April 17, 1921. 49
[Interview] Not Yet Repentant, Says Emma Goldman, Dec. 11, 1921. 49
[Excerpt from Lecture] Howl Down Emma Goldman, April 26, 1924. 49
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman in Her New Role, Nov. 13, 1924. 49
[Excerpt from Lecture] Tells of Soviet Terror..., Nov. 22, 1924. 49
[Interview] Emma Goldman Weary of Bolshevism, Dec. 7, 1924. 49
[Excerpt from Lecture] Tyrants Rule Russia, Says Miss Goldman, Jan. 30, 1925. 50
Emma Goldman Denounces Rule of Soviet, April 5, 1925. 50
[Summary of Lecture] Hits Labor Report on Reds, April 17, 1925. 50
[Interview] Emma Goldman in Canada, Oct. 21, 1926. 51
[Interview] Rochester Visited by Emma Goldman, Feb. 2, 1934. 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman to Talk Freely, Feb. 3, 1934. 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] Miss Goldman Asks Labor to Forestall War [Feb. 12? 1934]. . . . 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Extols Anarchist, Feb. 12, 1934. 52
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman Speaks, Feb. 14, 1934. 52
[Interview] Says "Money" Plans War, Feb. 27, 1934. 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman Returns to City [April 1? 1934]. 52
[Interview] Miss Goldman Knew Berkman Was "Tired," July 3, 1936. 53
[Interview] Miss Goldman Denies Seeing Berkman Shot, July 4, 1936. 53
[Interview] Emma Goldman Sees Dream Coming True, Nov. 23, 1936. 53
[Interview] "Superior Revolution," Nov. 29, 1936. 53
Naive Anarchists, July 4, 1937. 53

New York Times Sunday Magazine.
[Interview] So-called I.W.W. Raids Really Hatched by Schoolboys, March 29, 1914. . . . 48

New York Tribune.
[Testimony] Emma Goldman's Beliefs, Oct. 7, 1893. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Her Comrades Rebuke Emma Goldman, Aug. 23, 1897. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchists Made Furious, Dec. 12, 1900. 47
[Testimony] Anarchists in Court, Nov. 1, 1906. 67
[Interview] Emma Goldman Quits Fight to Remain in U.S., Dec. 12, 1919. 48
[Interview] Pioneer Anarchists Leave Crop of 60,000 Reds in U.S., Dec. 22, 1919. 48
[Interview] Emma Goldman Says Bolshevists Menace Civilization, Jan. 18, 1925. 50

New York World.
[Interview. Anarchy's Den], July 28, 1892 [fragment]. 47
Who Will Thrash Mr. Most? July 29, 1892. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] They Talked a Great Deal, Aug. 2, 1892. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] The Demonstration of the Unemployed, Aug. 20, 1893. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Urging Men to Riot, Aug. 22, 1893. 47
[Interview] Nellie Bly Again: She Interviews Emma Goldman and Other Anarchists, Sept. 17, 1893. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] "May Anarchy Live," Oct. 5, 1893. 47
[Testimony] Here Is Oakey Hall, Oct. 6, 1893. 47
[Testimony] Only the Moral Law, Oct. 7, 1893. 47
[Testimony] The Law's Limit, Oct. 17, 1893. 47
[Interview] Emma on the Island, Oct. 19, 1893. 47
"My Year in Stripes," Aug. 18, 1894. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Hailed Emma Goldman, Aug. 20, 1894. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchy in Spain and in New York, Aug. 17, 1897. 47
New York Anarchist Leaders Denounce the Murder of Austria's Empress, Sept. 18, 1898. . 47
[Interview] Emma Goldman in Jail Charged with Conspiracy, Sept. 11, 1901. 47
[Interview] "Can't Keep Me Out," Cries Red Emma, Oct. 8, 1907. 47
"What I Believe," by Emma Goldman, July 19, 1908. 47
[Interview] Policemen Stop Emma Goldman; Clear the Hall, May 24, 1909. 47
[Interview] Palmer Is Scorned by Emma Goldman, Nov. 18, 1919. 48
[Interview] Emma Goldman Asserts She Will Fight Deportation, Dec. 1, 1919. 48
[Excerpt from Lecture] Berkman and Emma Goldman Leave Parting Message, Dec. 22, 1919. 48
[Interview] Women Don't Want Special Comforts, Jan. 19, 1920. 49
[Interview] Crowds Welcome Ark's Passengers into Soviet Union, Jan. 20, 1920. 49
Emma Goldman in Diary She Kept Aboard "Soviet Ark," Repeatedly Says She Still Loves America, March 7, 1920. 49
Emma Goldman Sighs for a "Tongue of Fire," July 1, 1920. 49
[Interview] Emma Goldman on Verge of Collapse, Aug. 8, 1921 [fragment]. 49

Emma Goldman to Tell of Torture, March 22, 1922 [advertisement]. 49
Emma Goldman Quits Russia Breaking Two Years' Silence, to Reveal Bolshevik Failure. Part 1 of 10, March 26, 1922. 49
Russian Revolution a Failure, Says Miss Goldman, and Slain by the Bolsheviki Themselves. Part 2 of 10, March 27, 1922. 49
Russia's Peasants, Their Food Seized by Bolsheviki, Turned against Rule of Communism. Part 3 of 10, March 28, 1922. 49
Red Terror of the Cheka, Spy, Policeman, Judge, Executioner, Described by Miss Goldman. Part 4 of 10, March 29, 1922. 49
How Fares the Child in Russia? It Has Fallen into Evil Days, and Miss Goldman Tells Why. Part 5 of 10, March 30, 1922. 49
Miss Goldman Heard but One Happy Child's Laugh in Russia; Starved to Feed "Dead Souls." Part 6 of 10, March 31, 1922. 49
Her Body Dying under Torture, Spirit of Maria Spiridonova Still Flames for Her Russia. Part 7 of 10, April 1, 1922. 49
Emma Goldman's Articles Decrying Soviets Reviewed, April 2, 1922. 49
A Reminiscence of Kropotkin... Part 8 of 10, April 2, 1922. 49
Bolsheviki Dammed Rising Tide of Russian People's Energies, Kropotkin Told Miss Goldman, Part 9 of 10, April 3, 1922. 49
Russian Trades Unions Whipped into Submission by Bolsheviki; Yet Miss Goldman Sees Hope. Part 10 of 10, April 4, 1922. 49
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Says She Can Come to U.S., Nov. 13, 1924. . . . 49
[Interview] Emma Goldman Now Is in Canada [Oct. 20? 1926]. 51
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman Talks, Nov. 1, 1926. 51
[Interview] Emma Goldman Turns to Drama and Literature, Jan. 2, 1927. 51
[Interview] Emma Goldman Quits Haven of Toronto, Goes to France [March 1? 1927]. . . 51
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman and Cleric Plead for Blasphemer, April 10, 1927. . 51
[Interview] Emma Goldman Longs, in Exile, to Come "Home," April 19, 1930. 52

New York World Telegram.

[Interview] Emma Goldman Returns to U.S.; Lauds Roosevelt Aid to Masses, Feb. 1, 1934. 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman Arrives; "Literature" Her U.S. Topic, Feb. 2, 1934. 52
[Interview] "Was I Bad? I'm Worse Now," Says Emma Goldman, Here, Feb. 23, 1934. . . 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman Smiles at Wirt, April 21, 1934. 52
[Interview] "Free Mooney," Emma Goldman, April 26, 1934. 52

New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung.

[Interview] Emma Wieder Frei [Emma free again. In German], May 5, 1916. 48

Newark Morning Ledger.
[Interview] When Dreams Become Nightmares [1921?]. 49

***Nosostros* [Valencia].**
[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In Spanish] La tragedia de la emancipación femenina, Oct. or Nov. 1937. 53
[Notes of Emma Goldman. In Spanish] Unas Cuartillas de Edmma [*sic*] Goldman, Nov. 20, 1937. 53

Oakland Inquirer.
[Excerpt from Lecture] An Anarchist Propagandist, July 15, 1899. 47
[Summary of Lecture] Woman Anarchist Fails to Even Interest, Aug. 1, 1916. 67

***Odense Avis* [Odense].**
[Interview] Hun lider ikke Tvang Og Banditter [She doesn't take to gangsters. In Danish], April 13, 1932. 52

***Open Forum*? [Los Angeles].**
A Lost Leader [Part 1], [April? 1930?]. 52
A Lost Leader [Part 2], [April? 1930?]. 52

***The Oregonian* [Portland].**
[Excerpt from Lecture] Roosevelt Is Not Friend of Labor, June 3, 1907. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Wood Denounces Y.M.C.A. Directors, May 25, 1908. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Too Large an Army Now, May 27, 1908. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Married State Attacked, Dec. 21, 1908. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] "Billy" Sunday Berated, Aug. 2, 1915, fragment. 48

Oslo Aftenavis.
[Interview] Russik Revolujonær Fordømmer Bolsjevikernesom Slavedrivere [Russian revolutionary condemns the Bolsheviks as slaves drivers. In Norwegian], April 16, 1932. 52

***Il Pensiero* [Rome].**
[Anarchy. In Italian] Anarchia, Sept. 16, 1907. 47
[The Anarchist congress of Amsterdam. In Italian] Resoconto generale del Congresso Anarchico di Amsterdam, Nov. 1, 1907. 47

***Pensiero e Volonta* [Rome].**
[Why the Russian revolution has not realized its hopes. In Italian] Perchè la rivoluzione russa non ha realizzato le sue speranze, June 1925. 50

Philadelphia Bulletin.
[Interview] Emma Goldman Still Sees Red, Feb. 9, 1934. 52

Philadelphia Public Ledger.
[Interview] Police May Turn Hose on Anarchists, Sept. 28, 1909. 47
[Testimony] Emma Goldman Talks Anarchy before Judges, Oct. 2, 1909. 47
[Interview] Miss Goldman Speaks Her Mind Quite Freely, Oct. 2, 1909. 47
The Anarchist's Letter, Oct. 3, 1909. 47
[Letter] Emma Goldman Expects to Speak, Oct. 3, 1909. 67
[Interview] Woman Anarchist Ready for a Test, Oct. 4, 1909. 47
[Interview] Emma Goldman's Plans, Oct. 5, 1909. 67
[Testimony] Emma Goldman's Case to Be Reheard, Oct. 7, 1909. 47
Emma Goldman and M'Kinley's Death, Oct. 8, 1909. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Goldman Meeting without Goldman, Oct. 9, 1909. 47
Miss Goldman's Views, Oct. 16, 1909. 47
[Interview] Anarchists Not Allowed to Meet, Oct. 17, 1909. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] N.Y. Socialists Protest, Oct. 18, 1909. 47
[Interview] Emma Goldman Says Government Is Not Necessary; Raps War, Jan. 10, 1916. 48

Pittsburg[h] Leader.
[Interview, Th]e Red Queen Is Here [Sept.? 1895, fragment]. 47
[Interview] Emma Goldman Here, Nov. 20, 1896. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] A Woman Anarchist, Nov. 22, 1896. 47
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman Again, Nov. 23, 1896. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Commune Celebrated, March 13, 1898. 47

Pittsburg[h] Post.
[Summary of Lecture] For Berkmann and Anarchism, Nov. 22, 1896. 47
[Summary of Lecture] Another Talk on Anarchism, Nov. 23, 1896. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Goldman's Cry against Society, Nov. 27, 1896. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] What Emma Goldman Thinks of Patriotism, Feb. 25, 1898. . . . 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Again, Feb. 26, 1898. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Again Emma Goldman, Feb. 28, 1898. 47

Pittsburgh Post Gazette.
[Interview] New Deal Not Fascist, Says Miss Goldman, April 11, 1934. 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] Miss Goldman Wins Applause at Talk Here [April 11, 1934]. . . . 52

Pittsburgh Press.
[Summary of Lecture] Police Are Idle as Emma Talks, April 12, 1934. 52

Pittsburgh Sun Telegraph.
[Interview] Emma Goldman Here for Talk, "Red" as Ever, April 11, 1934. 52

***Politiken* [Copenhagen].**
["Den Personlige Friheds Værn." The society for the defense of personal freedom. In Swedish, April 10? 1932, advertisement]. 52
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman Foredrag i Aftes [Emma Goldman's lecture last night. In Danish], April 15, 1932. 52

***La Presse* [Montreal].**
[Anarchy means peace for Emma Goldman. In French] Anarchie dit paix, pour Emma Goldman [1939, fragment]. 53

***La Protesta* [Buenos Aires].**
[Death and funeral of Peter Kropotkin. In Spanish] Muerte y Funeral de Pedro Kropotkin, Feb. 15, 1927. 51
[The Bolsheviks and the Russian revolution. In Spanish] Los Bolcheviquis y la Revolución Rusa. Parts 1 and 2, Aug. 7, 1922. 49
[The Bolsheviks and the Russian revolution. In Spanish] Los Bolcheviquis y la Revolución Rusa. Part 3, Aug. 14, 1922. 49
[A sketch of Alexander Berkman. In Spanish] Esbozo Biográfico de Alejandro Berkman, Sept. 11, 1922. 49
[Lozovski lets the cat out of the bag. In Spanish] Losovski levanta el telón, June 23, 1924. . 49
[Fahen, (Banners) at the Volksbühne in Berlin. In Spanish] Fahen, (Banderas) en el Volksbühne de Berlin. (Novela dramática en 19 cuadros), por Alfons Paquet, Sept. 8, 1924. 49
[Francisco Ferrer and the modern school. In Spanish] Francisco Ferrer y la Escuela Moderna, Oct. 12, 1925. 50
[The hypocrisy of puritanism. In Spanish] La Hipocresia del Puritanismo, Aug. 23, 1926. . 51
[The case of Maria Spiridonova. In Spanish] El caso María Spiridonova, Sept. 4, 1926. . . 51
[Marriage and love. In Spanish] Matrimonio y Amor, Sept. 6, 1926. 51
[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In Spanish] La tragedia de la emancipación de la mujer, Sept. 27, 1926. 51
[Woman suffrage. In Spanish] El sufragio femenino, Oct. 25, 1926. 51
[The traffic in women. In Spanish] La Prostitución. [Part 1], Nov. 1, 1926. 51
[The traffic in women. In Spanish] La Prostitución. [Part 2], Nov. 8, 1926. 51
[Minorities versus majorities. In Spanish] Mayorias y Minorias, Dec. 6, 1926. 51
[The modern drama: A powerful disseminator of radical thought. In Spanish] El drama moderno: Un poderoso propagador del pensamiento avanzado, Feb. 29, 1928. 51

[The modern drama: A powerful disseminator of radical thought. In Spanish] El drama moderno: Un poderoso propagador del pensiamento avanzado. Part 2, March 15, 1928. . 51
[The psychology of political violence. In Spanish] Psicología de la violencia política. Part 1, May 28, 1928. 51
[The psychology of political violence. In Spanish] Psicología de la violencia política. Part 2, June 15, 1928. 51
[The bankruptcy of Christianity. In Spanish] La Bancarrota del Cristianismo, Jan. 30, 1930. 52
[Interview] Palabras de la Goldman [Some words from Emma Goldman. In Spanish, Sept? 28, 1936]. 53
[Expressions of the revolutionary and anarchist potentialities. In Spanish] Expresiones de Capacidad Revolucionaria y Anarqu[ista?], Dec. 1, 1936. 53
[Emma Goldman is convinced that the Spanish revolution will resist... In Spanish] Emma Goldman está convencida que la revolutión espanola resistirá..., Dec., 1937. 53
[The persecution in Republican Spain has come to its worst days. In Spanish] La persecusión en la España republicana sigue como en sus peores días, March 1938. . . . 53

Providence Daily Journal.
[Excerpt from Lecture] More Anarchy, Sept. 6, 1897. 47

Providence Evening Bulletin.
[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchy, Sept. 4, 1897. 47
[Interview] Told to Get Out, Sept 8, 1897. 47
[Interview] Free Speech? Jan. 22, 1898. 47
[Summary of Lecture] In Hedley Hall, Jan. 24, 1898. 47

The Public **[Chicago].**
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman in Oregon, June 26, 1908. 47
Emma Goldman Leaves the Question of Violence Entirely Alone, July 24, 1908. 47

La Questione Sociale **[Paterson, N.J.].**
To the Strikers of Paterson, July 5, 1902. 47

Regeneración **[Los Angeles].**
Emma Goldman in Hearty Sympathy, April 22, 1911. 47
No Factional Issue, June 16, 1911. 47
Statement of Receipts and Expenses in Emma Goldman Social Pro Rangel-Cline, June 13, 1914. 48
Dear Friend, Aug. 26, 1916. 48

***Le Réveil Anarchiste* [Geneva].**
[Trotsky protests too much. In French] Réponse à Trotzki, Sept. 21, 1938, excerpt. . . . 53

***Revolt* [London].**
Tom Mooney's Resurrection [Part 1], Feb. 11, 1939. . . . 53
Tom Mooney's Resurrection [Part 2], Feb. 25, 1939. . . . 53

Die Revolution.
[The fate of Spiridonova. In German] Das Schicksal Spiridonowas, Jan. 1922. . . . 49

***Reynolds News* [London].**
[Interview] An Evening with Red Emma, Oct. 30, 1932. . . . 52

***Reynolds* [London].**
[Interview] Stormy Petrel of Two Continents, April 5, 1936. . . . 53

***Il Risveglio* [Geneva].**
[Revolutionary document. In Italian] Documenti Rivoluzionari, Jan. 17, 1920. . . . 49
[Anarchy. In Italian] Anarchia, April 2, 1921. . . . 49
[The consequences of dictatorship. In Italian] Frutti Dittatoriali, May 28, 1921. . . . 49

***Il Risveglio Anarchico* [Geneva].**
[Interview] Conversando con Emma Goldman [Talking with Emma Goldman. In Italian], Oct. 23, 1937. . . . 53

***The Road to Freedom* [New York].**
Appeal, Aug., 1925. . . . 50
A Lesson from Russia. Part 1, Oct. 1925. . . . 50
A Lesson from Russia. Part 2, Nov. 1925. . . . 50
A Lesson from Russia. Part 3, Dec. 1925. . . . 50
A Lesson from Russia. Part 4, Jan. 1926. . . . 51
The Reckoning, July 1926. . . . 51
Comrades and Friends: On the Festive Occasion of Alexander Berkman's 60th Anniversary..., Feb. 1931. . . . 52
International News: Greetings from Emma Goldman, Dec. 1924. . . . 49
Samuel Gompers, March 1925. . . . 50
America by Comparison [Part 1], July 1926. . . . 51
America by Comparison [Part 2], July 15, 1926. . . . 51
Reflections on the General Strike in England, Aug. 1926. . . . 51
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman Speaks Again! Dec. 1926. . . . 51
Patience and Postage, Jan. 1927. . . . 51

Patience and Postage, March 1927. 51
Patience and Postage, April 1927. 51
Our Propaganda, June 1927. 51
Peter Kropotkin, Feb. 1928. 51
Peter Kropotkin, Humanity's Friend, Feb. 1929. 52
An Unexpected Dash through Spain [Part 1], April, 1929. 52
An Unexpected Dash through Spain [Part 2], May 1929. 52
Sacco and Vanzetti, Aug. 1929. 52
What Anarchism Stands For [Part 1], June 1930. 52
What Anarchism Stands For [Part 2], July 1930. 52
Emma Goldman Defends Her Attack on Henry George, Nov. 1931. 52

Rochester Democrat and Chronicle.
[Interview] Emma Goldman, Tired, Sad, Tries to Avoid Controversial Topics..., Feb. 2, 1934. 52
[Interview] Famous Agitator Greets Kin Here..., [March 18? 1934]. 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] City Helped to Make Her an Anarchist, March 18, 1934. 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] Dictators Scorned by Anarchist, April 16, 1934. 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] Stalin Branded Betrayer by Emma Goldman, Sept. 21, 1939. . . . 53

Rochester Herald.
[Interview] Reporters Attacked by Anarchists, July 29, 1892. 47
[Summary of Lecture] The Red Flag Was Waved, Dec. 6, 1897. 47

Rochester Journal.
[Interview] Visits Kin as 15-year Exile Ends, Feb. 1, 1934. 52
[Interview] "Red Emma" Goldman Finds Her Theories Now Vogue, Feb. 2, 1934. 52

Rochester Sunday American.
[Excerpt from Lecture] "Your City Made Anarchist of Me," Emma Goldman Tells, March 18, 1934. 52

Rochester Times-Union.
Young United States Beckons Emma Goldman Deported Seven Years Ago, Nov. 2, 1926. . 51
Emma Goldman, Married, Has Not Changed Views, Nov. 13, 1926. 51
Feminism's Fight Not Vain, Emma Goldman's Conclusion, Nov. 16, 1926. 51
Emma Goldman Champions Cause of Youth of Today, Nov. 17, 1926. 51
Dictators Are Menaced by Thirst for Power, Declares Emma Goldman, Nov. 18, 1926. . . 51
[Interview] Emma Goldman Thanks U.S. for Her Deportation, July 21, 1931. 52
[Interview] Miss Goldman "Home" After 15-year Exile, Feb. 1, 1934. 52

[Interview] Emma Goldman Declares City Too Provincial to Be Made Her Residence, March 17, 1934. 52

Rochester Union and Advertiser.

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman: Rochester Anarchist Has Broken Out Once More, Aug. 21, 1897. 47

[Interview] Emma Goldman: Rochester's Own and Only Anarchist..., Dec. 3, 1897. . . . 47

***Rocky Mountain News* [Denver].**

[Excerpt from Lecture] Animal Instincts of Man, April 15, 1898. 47

[Excerpt from Lecture] Christian Idea Is False, April 16, 1898. 47

[Excerpt from Lecture] Socialist Idea of Marriage, Aug. 19, 1899. 47

***Ròdò Undò* [Tokyo].**

[Appeal for the anarchists and syndicalists in Russia. In Japanese], April 1922. 49

[The Bolshevik dictatorship. In Japanese] Bolushebiki no Bòsei, Sept. 1922-Feb. 1923. . . 49

[The fall of the soviet. In Japanese] Sobiet no Tsuiraku, Oct. 1922. 49

[Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov Lenin. In Japanese] Iwan Iri'ichi Reenin Ron, June 1924. . . . 49

[Lozovski lets the cat out of the bag. In Japanese] Rozofusukii Doro o haku, July 1924. . . 49

[Anarchism and its organization. In Japanese] Museifu Shugi to Soshiki, Dec. 26, 1921. . . 49

Alexander Berkman [In Japanese], 1927. 51

***S.A.C.:s Meddelanden* [Stockholm].**

[To the delegates of the I.A.A. extraordinary congress. In Swedish] Till delegaterna på I.A.A.:s extraordinarie kongress, 1938. 53

***S.I.A. Bulletin* [London].**

Swiss Government Seizes Funds Destined for S.I.A., March-April, 1938. 53

S.I.A.: Its Tremendous Achievements, Dec. 1938. 53

St. Louis Globe.

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Says in Speech Here She Is Still Anarchist, April 6, 1934. 52

St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

[Excerpt from Lecture] Anarchy Her Theme, Oct. 17, 1897. 47

[Interview] Police Prevent the Anarchist Meeting at the Grant Statue, Oct. 20, 1897. . . . 47

[Interview] What Is There in Anarchy for Woman? Oct. 24, 1897. 47

[Interview] Emma Goldman Rebukes Unions; Scores Church, Feb. 28, 1908. 47

[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Meek as a Lamb in Her Harangue, Feb. 29, 1908. 47

[Interview] Emma Goldman Says Anarchism Will Mean Absolute Equality and Freedom for Women with No Dual Code, Nov. 1, 1908. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Devil Called a Benefactor by Emma Goldman, Nov. 2, 1908. . . . 47
[Interview] Emma Goldman in St. Louis to Attack Clergy, Feb. 1, 1910. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman's Talk As Heard by Miss Martyn, Feb. 3, 1910. . 47
[Interview] Drama Is Aid to Anarchy Emma Goldman Asserts..., Feb. 6, 1910. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Elite Peek at "Red" Emma, She Peeks at Them, Feb. 6, 1910. . . . 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Gracious! We're All Immoral, in Emma's Opinion, March 2, 1911. 47

St. Louis Star-Times.
[Interview] Emma Goldman Here, Still Has Bit of Old Fire, April 3, 1934. 52

St. Louis Times.
[Interview] Would Banish Emma Goldman, Feb. 28, 1908. 47

San Antonio Daily Express.
[Interview] Emma Goldman Says Dawning Era Will Crush President, March 15, 1909. . . 47

San Francisco Call.
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman, Anarchist, April 27, 1898. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Strike Viewed through Emma Goldman's Glasses, May 6, 1907. . 47
[Summary of Lecture] Miss Emma Goldman Says Religions Are Curse to Humanity, May 17, 1907. 47
[Summary of Lecture] Mills and Goldman Debate the Question, March 1, 1909. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Threats Made by Woman "Red," May 12, 1912. 47

San Francisco Examiner.
"I Still Love America," Writes Emma Goldman. Describes Conditions in Land of Soviets, Nov. 28, 1920. 49
What Emma Goldman Saw in Russia, Dec. 2, 1923. 49
Siberia and Starvation, April 7, 1935. 53

San Francisco News.
Ways of the World: Two Versions of a Scene..., Nov. 11, 1931. 52

Seattle Post-Intelligencer.
[Interview] Noted Female Anarchist, May 28, 1899. 67
[Excerpt from Lecture] She Defines Anarchy, May 29, 1899. 67
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Lauds the Hobo, Aug. 12, 1913. 48

Seitó [Tokyo].
[The tragedy of woman's emancipation. In Japanese] Fujin Kaihó no Higeki, Sept. 1913. . 48
[Minorities versus majorities. In Japanese] Shosù To Tasù, Nov. 1913. 48

Shi-she Zi-you Lu.
[Patriotism: A menace to liberty. In Chinese] Xue Shuo: Ai Guo Zhuyi, July 1917. 48
[Anarchism: What it really stands for. In Chinese] Xue Shuo: Wu Zhengfu Zhuyi, July 1917. 48
[Organization. In Chinese] Zu Zhi Lun, May 1918. 48

Social Demokraten [Stockholm].
[Interview] Mrs. Goldman gisslar U.S.A. och förbudet [Mrs. Goldman lashes out at the U.S. and the ban. In Swedish], April 20, 1932. 52

Social Demokraten.
[Den Personlige Friheds Værn... The society for the defense of personal freedom... In Danish, April 10? 1932, advertisement]. 52

The Socialist [Melbourne].
Emma Goldman: The Woman and Her Teaching, January 15, 1909. 67

Solidaridad Obrera [Barcelona].
[Excerpt from Lecture] El Grandioso Mitin del Sábado en El Olympia [The grand rally of Saturday at the Olympia], Sept. 22, 1936. 53
[Excerpt from Lecture] Nuestra Camarada Emma Goldman... [Our comrade Emma Goldman. In Spanish], Sept. 30, 1936. 53
[The criminal myopia of neutrality. In Spanish] La Criminal Miopa de la Neutralidad, Oct. 2, 1936. 53
[Comrades! Anarchist youth of Barcelona and Catalonia. In Spanish] ¡Camaradas! Juventudes Anarquistas de Barcelona y Cataluña, Oct. 20, 1936 [fragment]. 53
[Excerpt from Lecture] Un gran mitin de afirmación revolucionaria [A meeting of revolutionary strength. In Spanish], Oct. 20, 1936. 67
[Interview] El movimiento obrero Inglés, encabezado por las Trade Unions... [The English workers' movement, led by the trade unions... In Spanish], Sept. 22, 1937. 53
[Interview] Emma Go[l]dman, a su regreso de Madrid [Emma Goldman on her return from Madrid. In Spanish], Sept. 30, 1937. 53
[Madrid, wonder of centuries. In Spanish] Madrid, milagro de los siglos, Nov. 5, 1937. . . 53
[Interview] Emma Goldman habla sobre las luchas de los obreros españoles [Emma Goldman speaks of the Spanish workers' struggle. In Spanish], Dec. 25, 1937. 53

[Interview] Emma Goldman habla de la confusa y grave situación creada en Europa [Emma Goldman speaks of the confused and grave European situation. In Spanish], Sept. 16, 1938. 53

Solidarity [New York].
A Letter from Emma Goldman, March 15, 1898. 47
A Short Account of My Late Tour, June 15, 1898. 47

Solidarity [Newcastle].
1840 to 1912, June 1, 1912. 47

Southend Times.
[Excerpt from Lecture] "The Revolt of Youth," Jan. 22, 1936. 53

Die Soziale Revolution [Barcelona].
[The social situation of woman. In German] Die soziale Stellung der Frau, May 1937. . . 53

Der Sozialist [Berlin]
[The masses. In German] Die masse, Aug. 1, 1911. 67
[Against a one-sided class propaganda. In German] Gegen einseitige Klassen–Propaganda, March 1, 1911. 47

Der Sozialist [Bern].
[The masses. In German] Die Masse, Aug. 1, 1911. 47

Spain and the World [London].
[Interview] Emma Goldman's Impressions: The Spanish Woman Not Sufficiently Emancipated, Jan. 8, 1937. 53
[Excerpt from Lecture] C.N.T.-F.A.I.'s Part in the Spanish Revolution, Jan. 22, 1937. . . . 53
Emma Goldman Appeals, Feb. 5, 1937. 53
A Long-Cherished Dream, March 5, 1937. 53
The First of May in London, May 19, 1937. 53
Emma Goldman Appeals to American Comrades to Support "Spain and the World," May 19, 1937. 53
Attitude of the London Press, May 19, 1937. 53
The Soviet Political Machine, June 4, 1937. 53
Emma Goldman and the "Daily Worker," June 11, 1937. 53
A Correction, June 11, 1937. 53
Callousness or Indifference? July 2, 1937. 53
Where I Stand, July 2, 1937. 53
Emma Goldman in Spain: "Madrid Is the Wonder of Centuries," Oct. 13, 1937. 53

[Interview] Emma Goldman Speaks of the Spanish Workers Struggle, Nov. 24, 1937. . . . 53
Durruti, Nov. 24, 1937. . . . 53
A Visit to the Durruti-Ascaso Orphans Colony, Dec. 10, 1937. . . . 53
Political Persecution in Republican Spain, Dec. 10, 1937. . . . 53
The Staying Power of a Myth, Jan. 5, 1938. . . . 53
[Excerpt from Lecture] The Betrayal of the Spanish Workers, Jan. 14, 1938. . . . 53
Emma Goldman and the Alliance Proposals, March 4, 1938. . . . 53
Emma Goldman Appeals for Support of S.I.A., March 18, 1938. . . . 53
The Black Spectre of War, May 1938. . . . 53
W. Starrett, July 15, 1938. . . . 53
Palestine and Socialist Policy, Aug. 26, 1938. . . . 53
A Correction, Dec. 3, 1938. . . . 53
Revolutionary Economy in Spain: Collectivised Milk Industry, Dec. 23, 1938. . . . 53
Letter to "Spain and the World," June 11, 1937. . . . 53
Revolutionary Economy: The Community of Hospitalet, May 1, 1938. . . . 53

Spanish Revolution [New York].
Emma Goldman in Spain Appeals for World Aid, Oct. 19, 1936. . . . 53
Emma Goldman on the United Front in Spain, Jan. 8, 1937. . . . 53
[Excerpt from Lecture] English Socialists on the Role of Spanish Anarchists, Feb. 8, 1937. 53
Emma Goldman Reports on Spain, Dec. 6, 1937 [fragment]. . . . 53
Political Persecutions in Spain Must Stop, Dec. 20, 1937. . . . 53
["Among the Features That Impressed Me Most..."], Dec. 12, 1937 [excerpt]. . . . 53
Emma Goldman on Spain [Part 1], March 21, 1938. . . . 53
Emma Goldman Reports on Spain [Part 2], May 1, 1938. . . . 53

The Spectator [Hamilton, Ontario].
[Interview] Emma Goldman Pays Visit to Hamilton, May 10, 1927. . . . 51

The Spur [London].
Our War Letter Box, Nov. 1914. . . . 48
New York Letter, Dec. 1915. . . . 48
Dear Friend, March 1917. . . . 48
Anarchism: What It Really Stands For [Part 1], Oct. 1917. . . . 48
Anarchism: What It Really Stands For [Part 2], Nov. 1917. . . . 48
Anarchism [What It Really Stands For. Part 3], Dec. 1917. . . . 48
Letter from an American Prison, June 1918. . . . 48
The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation [Part 1], Dec. 1919. . . . 48
The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation, Jan. - Feb. 1920 [fragment]. . . . 49
On Release from Prison, March 1920. . . . 49

What I Believe, May 1920. 49

***Stamford Advocate* [Stamford, Conn.].**
Young America Beckons Emma Goldman, Declares Idealist, in Article Written by Herself, Nov. 1926. 51
[Interview] Emma Goldman Former Queen of Agitation, Found to Be Tamed..., Nov. 12, 1926. 51

Stockholms Daghlad.
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman gästspelar [Emma Goldman's visit. In Swedish], April 21, 1932. 52

Stockton Daily Record.
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman: The Woman Anarchist Talks to Stocktonians Two Evenings, July 24, 1899. 47

***Sturmvogel* [New York].**
[Letters from a tour. In German] Reise-Briefe. Part 3, Jan. 15, 1898. 47

***Summer Session Californian* [Berkeley].**
[Excerpt from Lecture] "To Teach, Pump Out," July 28, 1916. 48

***Sun* [Williamsport, Pa.].**
[Interview] Emma Goldman Loves the U.S. but Has No Hope for Return, 1929. 52

***Sunday Chronicle* [London].**
[Interview] Most Dangerous Woman—A Nice Old Lady, Nov. 24, 1935. 53

***Sunday News* [New York].**
[Interview] Hitler? A Pest! Duce, Ditto! Says Emma Goldman! April 22, 1934. 52

***Der Syndikalist* [Berlin].**
[Bolshevik reaction against anarchists in Russia. In German] Die bolschewistische Reaktion gegen die Anarchisten und Anarcho-Syndikalisten in Rußland, 1921. 49
[On the Anarchist and Anarcho-Syndicalist press in all countries. In German] An die anarchistische und anarcho-syndikalistische Presse aller Länder, 1921. 49
[The Peter Kropotkin Memorial Committee. In German] Peter Kropotkin Memorial-Komitee, ca. April 1921. 49
[The crushing of the Russian revolution. In German] Ursachen des Niederganges der russischen Revolution [Part 1], 1922. 49
[The crushing of the Russian revolution. In German] Ursachen des Niederganges der russischen Revolution [Part 2], 1922. 49

[The crushing of the Russian revolution. In German] Ursachen des Niederganges der russischen Revolution [Part 3], 1922. 49
[The situation of children in Russia. In German] Die Lage des Kindes in Rußland [Part 1], 1922. 49
[The situation of children in Russia. In German] Die Lage des Kindes in Rußland [Part 2], 1922. 49
[Reminiscences of Kropotkin. In German] Erinnerungen an Kropotkin [Part 1], 1922. . . 49
[Reminiscences of Kropotkin. In German] Erinnerungen an Kropotkin [Part 2], 1922. . . 49
[The trade unions in Russia. In German] Die Gewerkschaften in Russland, 1922. 49
[Urgent appeal for help from Russian prisons. In German] Ein Not- und Hilfeschrei aus Russischen Gefängnissen, 1922. 49
[Appeal to the proletariat of the world. In German] Aufruf an das Weltproletariat, 1922. . . 49
[Letter from Moscow. In German] Brief aus Moskau, 1922. 49
[For the persecuted Russian anarchists. In German] Für die gemarterten Anarchisten Rußlands, 1923. 49
[Summary of Lecture. War to the war. In German] Krieg dem Kriege! 1924. 49
["Fahnen" at the Volskbühne in Berlin. In German] "Fahnen" in der Berliner Volksbühne, 1924. 49
[Lozovski lets the cat out of the bag. In German] Losowski lüftet den Vorhang, 1924. . . . 49
Wladimir Iljitsch Uljanow Lenin, 1924. 49
[Russia and the British Labour delegates' report. In German] Der Bericht der englischen Trades Union Delegation (Nov.-Dez. 1924) über Sowjet-Rußland. [Part 1], June 20, 1925. 50
[Russia and the British Labour delegates' report. In German] Der Bericht über die Rußlandreise der Trades-Union-Delegierten. Part 2, between June 20 & Dec. 31, 1925. . 50
[Russia and the British Labour delegates' report. In German] Der Bericht über die Rußlandreise der Trades-Union-Delegierten. Part 3, between June 20 & Dec. 31, 1925. . 50
[Some comrades from abroad on Bakunin. In German] Einige ausländische Kameraden über Bakunin, 1926. 51
[On the persecutions in Soviet Russia. In German] Ueber die Verfolgungen in Sowjet-Rußland, 1926. 51
[Sacco and Vanzetti. They are not dead: their legacy lives. In German] Sacco und Vanzetti. Sie sind nicht tot–ihr Vermächtnis lebt, March 9, 1929. 52

***Der Tag* [New York].**

[My Disillusionment in Russia. In Yiddish] Meine Tzvei Yar in Sovyet Russland, Nov. 4, 1923 [advertisement]. 49
[My Disillusionment in Russia. In Yiddish] Meine Tzvei Yar in Sovyet Russland, Nov. 5, 1923 [advertisement]. 49
[My Disillusionment in Russia. In Yiddish] Meine Tzvei Yar in Sovyet Russland, Nov. 6, 1923 [advertisement]. 49

[My Disillusionment in Russia. In Yiddish] Meine Tzvei Yar in Sovyet Russland: Die Iberlebungn fun der Barimter Amerikaner Revoluzyonerke unter der Bulshevistisher Diktator, Nov. 7, 1923-May 7, 1924 [serial]. 49
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman tzurick in New York noch 14 Yawhr in Galut... [Emma Goldman returns to New York after 14 years of exile... In Yiddish], Feb. 3, 1934. 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman macht a sach? Fun ehr leben un iz tzufuden mit ihm [Emma Goldman is satisfied with her life. In Yiddish], Dec. 1, 1934. 52

Telegram and Gazette **[Worcester, Mass.].**
[Interview] Emma Goldman Says She Will Fight to Finish, War with Chief Matthews and His Men, Sept. 6, 1909. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Nineteen Cops Hear Lecture on Anarchy, Sept. 9, 1909. 47
[Excerpt from Lecture] Talks on Pedagogy, Sept. 10, 1909. 47

Tiden Tegn **[Oslo].**
[Interview] Berømt anarkist på Norgebesøk [Famous anarchist on a visit in Norway. In Norwegian], April 18, 1932. 52

Tierra y Libertad **[Barcelona].**
[Excerpt from Lecture] Es la primera vez en la Historia... [It is the first time in history... In Spanish], Oct. 22, 1936. 53
[The struggle and the heroic death of our comrades of Chicago. In Spanish] La lucha y muerte heroicas de nuestros camaradas de Chicago, Dec. 5, 1936. 53
[Interview] Nuestra Compañera: Emma Goldman [Our companion: Emma Goldman. In Spanish], Oct. 30, 1937. 53

Time and Tide **[London].**
Women of the Russian Revolution, May 8, 1925. 50
The Tragedy of the Russian Intelligentsia, July 31, 1925. 50

The Times **[London].**
[Summary of Lecture] "Horrors of Soviet Russia." Miss Emma Goldman's Visit to England, Nov. 13, 1924. 49
[Summary of Lecture] The Bolshevist Failure, Jan. 31, 1925. 50
[Summary of Lecture] Trade Union Report on Russia, April 17, 1925. 50
[Summary of Lecture] British Drama League Plea for Relaxation, Nov. 2, 1925. 50

The Torch **[London].**
[Letter] Emma Goldman, Sept. 18, 1895. 67
Alexander Berkmann, Sept. 1895. 47

Toronto Daily Star.
[Excerpt from Lecture] Papers Are Chided for Sensationalism, Nov. 2, 1926. 51
[Interview] Emma Goldman, in Canada, Puts O.K. on Flapper, Nov. 6, 1926. 51
[Excerpt from Lecture] Brilliant Disquisition on Ibsen by Emma Goldman, Nov. 30, 1926. 51
[Interview] Emma Goldman Roars Soft as Sucking Dove: Anarchist In Toronto [Dec.? 1926]. 51
[Excerpt from Lecture] Economic Strength the Hope of Labor, Dec. 1926. 51
[Excerpt from Lecture] Present Day Schools Turn Out Automatons, Dec. 4, 1926. 51
[Excerpt from Lecture] Fascism an Imitation of Russ Dictatorship, Dec. 6, 1926. 51
[Excerpt from Lecture] Russian Drama Speaks for the Inarticulate, Dec. 15, 1926. 51
[Interview] Not Bombs, But Flowers Fill the Apartment of Emma Goldman in Toronto, Dec. 15, 1926. 51
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Is Surprised at Lack of Interest, Dec. 17, 1926. 51
[Excerpt from Lecture] Abolition of Serfdom Started by Ostrovsky, Dec. 22, 1926. 51
[Interview] Emma's Tongue Holds Its Edge, Feb. 4, 1927. 51
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Advocates Companionate Marriage [Feb. 9? 1927]. 51
[Summary of Lecture] Psychology of Gorki Far from Impressive [March? 1927?]. 51
[Interview] Miss Goldman Berates City for Cowardice, March 21, 1927. 51
[Excerpt from Lecture] Says Stain of Blood Lies on Missionary, April 4, 1927. 51
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman on Hitlerism, Jan. 17, 1934. 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] Finds Hitler and Cohorts World's Greatest Menace, Jan. 23, 1934. . 52
[Interview] Declares Toronto Fosters Communism by Repression, Jan. 24, 1934. 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] Decrees, Codes Fail, Former Exile Says, May 29, 1934. 52
[Summary of Lecture] Scores Religion for Crushing Sex, March 18, 1935. 53
Anarchists Captured Teruel, Dec. 27, 1937. 53
[Interview] Emma Goldman, Anarchist, Crazy about Cathedrals, April 22, 1939. 53

Toronto Mail and Empire.
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman Lauds Writings of Ibsen, Dec. 1, 1926. 51
[Summary of Lecture] Miss Emma Goldman Speaks for Chinese [April 4, 1927]. 51
[Summary of Lecture] Monday Nighter at Large, May 7, 1927. 51
[Summary of Lecture] Bomb Explosions Work of U.S. Police, Aug. 19, 1927. 51

Toronto Star Weekly.
[Interview] If You Like Jazz You're Classed as Anarchist, Dec. 18, 1926. 51
[Interview] Toronto's Anarchist Guest, Dec. 31, 1926. 51

Toronto Telegram.
[Interview] Prohibition a Failure, Dec. 1, 1926. 51

[Excerpt from Lecture] Terms Hitler and Aides an "Ill-Smelling Bouquet," Jan. 23, 1934. . 52

[*The Tribune*?].
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman, Anarchist, Denounces Soviet Russia at English Dinner [Nov. 13, 1924?]. 67

***Umanita' Nova* [Rome].**
[A letter from Emma Goldman. In Italian] Una Lettera di Emma Goldman, July 25, 1920. . 49
[How bolshevism killed the Russian revolution. In Italian] Come il bolscevismo uccise la Rivoluzione Russa, June 17, 1922. 49
[The Bolsheviks and the Russian revolution. In Italian] I Bolscevichi e la Rivoluzione Russa [Part 1], June 20, 1922. 49
[Impenitent cheaters. In Italian] Turlupinatori Impenitenti, June 22, 1922. 49
[The bolsheviks and the Russian revolution. In Italian] I Bolscevichi e la Rivoluzione Russa. Part 2, June 22, 1922. 49
[The bolsheviks and the Russian revolution. In Italian] I Bolscevichi e la Rivoluzione Russa. Part 3, June 25, 1922. 49
[The Red terror in Russia. In Italian] Il terrore rosso in Russia. Part 1, July 6, 1922. . . . 49
[The Red terror in Russia. In Italian] Il terrore rosso in Russia. Part 2, July 7, 1922. . . . 49
[The Bolshevik state and the education of children. In Italian] Lo Stato bolscevico e l'educazione dell'infanzia [Part 1], July 9, 1922. 49
[The Bolshevik state and the education of children. In Italian] Lo Stato bolscevico e l'educazione dei bambini. Part 2, July 12, 1922. 49

***Umbral* [Madrid].**
[Interview] Emma Goldman, veterana del anarquismo, nos visita [Emma Goldman, veteran of anarchism, visits us. In Spanish], Oct. 9, 1937. 53
[Interview] Emma Goldman, Vigía de España, en Londres [Emma Goldman, vigil for Spain, in London. In Spanish], Sept. 24, 1938. 53
[Interview] Emma Goldman conversa con el compañero Gregorio Jover [Emma Goldman speaks with comrade Gregorio Jover. In Spanish], Nov. 5, 1938. 53

[Unknown Publication].
[Excerpt from Lecture] Babillarde Américaine [American blabbermouth. In French, n.d.]. . 67
[Interview. "Forerunner of Revolution," Dec. 5, 1919? fragment]. 48
[The teachings of the Russian revolution. In Italian] Gli insegnamenti della Rivoluzione Russa [192-?]. 49
[Emma Goldman and her anarchism. In German] Emma Goldman und ihr Anarchismus, May 20, 1922. 49
Emma Goldman Sees the Truth [1923?]. 49
[Interview] U.S. Election Dims Emma Goldman's Hope of Returning [Nov. 16? 1924]. . . 49

The Political Prisoner in Russia [1925?]. 50
What I Saw in Russia [1925]. 50
[Interview] Emma Goldman Assails Russia, Oct. 21, 1926. 51
[Excerpt from Lecture] Says Bomb Outrages in U.S. Will Be Traced to Police, Dec.? 1926?. 67
America Seen from Europe [1927?]. 51
[Excerpt from Lecture] Bizarre Russ Author Was Backer of Czar [Jan.? 24? 1927]. . . . 51
[Excerpt from Lecture] Dramatic Incident Marks Goldman Meet [Jan. 31, 1927?]. 51
[Summary of Lecture] Labels Count Tolstoy Last Great Christian [March 1927?]. 51
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Advocates Birth Control Clinic for Edmonton [March? 1927]. 51
Emma Goldman's Lectures on Drama and Social Topics [Oct.? 1927, advertisement]. . . 51
[Interview] Emma Goldman Living Quietly on Mediterranean, Happy in Exile, She Writes an Autobiography [1931]. 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] En Anarkists Dom over Diktaturet [An anarchist's judgment of dictatorship. In Danish], Feb. 14, 1932. 52
Fru Emma Goldman i "Den Personlige Friheds Værn" [Mrs. Emma Goldman on "The protection of personal freedom." In Danish], April 12, 1932 [advertisement]. . . . 52
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman [In Danish], April 12, 1932. 52
En mækelig Kvinde [An unusual woman. In Danish, April 13, 1932? advertisement]. . . . 52
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman-Aftenen [The Emma Goldman evening. In Danish], April 13, 1932. 52
En Anarkists Erindringer [Memories of an anarchist. In Danish], April 14, 1932, advertisement. 52
[Summary of Lecture] Hvor Friheden er dræbt og Korruptionen hersker [Where freedom is killed and corruption rules. In Danish, April 14, 1932]. 52
[Summary of Lecture] Mennesket gaar til Grunde i Teknik! [Man is ruined by technology. In Danish, April 14, 1932]. 52
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman i Aarhus [Emma Goldman in Aarhus. In Danish], April 14, 1932. 52
[Summary of Lecture] Amerikansk Justis [American justice. In Norwegian, April 18, 1932?]. 52
[Interview] Finds Her Joy in Struggling [1933?]. 52
[Interview] "Red Emma" Foresees a Dictatorship, Jan. 4, 1933. 52
[Interview] Woman Anarchist Who Is a Super–Cook [Feb.? 4? 1933]. 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman on Revolutions, Feb. 25, 1933. 52
[Interview] I Wonder What's Become Of –, May 7, 1933. 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] All Government Bad Says Emma Goldman [1934]. 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman Anarchist Still [1934]. 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman Here for Talk [1934, fragment]. 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman Now in Toronto, Jan. 9, 1934. 52

[Interview] U.S. Will Admit Emma Goldman, Jan. 10, 1934. 52
[Interview] Miss Goldman Is Still Fiery Emma of Old, Jan. 14, 1934. 52
[Summary of Lecture] Miss Goldman Sees Hitler as a Menace, Jan. 16, 1934. 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] "Red Emma" Likes Liberty Canada Gives, Jan. 23, 1934. 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] World on Its Knees Says Emma Goldman, Jan. 23, 1934. 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman Will Tour U.S., Jan. 25, 1934. 52
[Interview] The Human Touch [Feb. 1934?]. 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman Still Sees Red [Feb. 1934]. 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman Returns to United States With Her Anarchistic Views [Feb. 1? 1934]. 52
[Interview. ...Anarchist Still, Feb. 1, 1934]. 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman Back to Visit Kin Here [Feb. 2, 1934?]. 52
[Interview] Miss Goldman, Visiting Home, "Still Anarchist," Feb. 2, 1934. 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman, Mellow Anarchist Here on Visit, Perplexes Newsmen, Feb. 4, 1934. 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] Miss Goldman Condemns Soviet as a Dictatorship [Feb. 13? 1934]. 52
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman Tells How Prince Made Her a Red [Feb. 13? 1934]. 52
[Summary of Lecture] Anarchisten darfen nit unhoiben Revoluzias, zagt Emma Goldman. Bei eir uncumen [Anarchists don't need to start revolutions, says Emma Goldman on her arrival. In Yiddish], Feb. 27, 1934. 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman Cites Worldviews [March 1934]. 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman Arrives Here and Is "Just As Red As Ever," March 3, 1934 [fragment]. 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman Here, Sees War [March 17? 1934]. 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman Lectures Here, March 19, 1934. 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] Hitler Suppression Ideas Scored by Emma Goldman, March 20, 1934. 52
[Interview] Times Change—City's Calm as Emma Goldman Arrives, March 20, 1934. . . 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Sees Fascism Gripping World, March 21, 1934. . 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman Fears for Jews [April? 1934]. 52
[Interview] NRA—"Pink Tea!" Says Emma Goldman, April 3, 1934 [fragment]. 52
[Summary of Lecture] Welcome Home Tour of Emma Goldman [April 6, 1934]. 52
[Interview] Emma Goldman to Die Fighting for Anarchism, April 11, 1934. 52
[Excerpt from Lecture. Emma Goldman's Farewell in Rochester, April 16? 1934, fragment]. 52
[Summary of Lecture] Declares Two Men Died for Dreaming of Freedom [Aug. 1934]. . . 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] Strike against War Emma Goldman Begs, Oct. 1934. 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] "G.B.S." and Works Doing Much Harm [Nov. 13? 1934]. 52

[Summary of Lecture] History of Drama in Russia Up to Present Discussed in Lecture [1935]. 53
German Literature to Be Discussed by Emma Goldman This Evening [Jan. 1935, advertisement]. 53
Ostrovsky, Turgenev and Tolstoy Will Be Discussed [Jan. 1935, advertisement]. 53
[Summary of Lecture] Shams Flayed by Strindberg's Art [March 14, 1935?]. 53
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman in Farewell to City, May 3, 1935. 53
[Interview] Red Emma Forecasts New Russian Revolt, Sept. 19, 1935. 53
[Excerpt from Lecture] "Workers Stabbed," Says Emma Goldman, Sept. 21, 1939. 53

***Vanguard* [London].**
A Letter from Emma Goldman, June-July, 1936. 53
Anarchists and Elections, June-July, 1936. 53

***Vanguard* [New York].**
Sanctions and the Working Class, Jan.-Feb., 1936. 53
Alexander Berkman's Last Days, Aug.-Sept. 1936. 53
The Soviet Executions, Oct.-Nov. 1936. 53
Emma Goldman Greets Vanguard Group, April 1938. 53
Trotsky Protests Too Much, July 1938. 53
Emma Goldman in Spain, Nov. 1938. 53
P.O.U.M. Frame-Up Fails, Feb. 1939. 53

[*Varsity*?].
[Interview] Hygeia Hall Scene of Lecture from Anarchist [Jan. 10, 1934]. 52

Washington Herald.
[Interview] "Red Emma" Comes to Town, Ranting with Old Fervor, Feb. 24, 1934. . . . 52
[Excerpt from Lecture] Old "Red" Emma Becomes Careful, but Hits Fascism, Feb. 26, 1934. 52

Washington Post.
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman Sorry Russia Is No Longer "Revolutionary," Feb. 26, 1934. 52

Washington Star.
Radical Writings of Emma Goldman Are Made Public, Dec. 22, 1919. 48
[Interview] Emma Goldman Plans to Carry Red Gospel to U.S. for 90 Days, Jan. 11, 1934. 52

***Washington* [*Times*?].**
[Interview] Emma Goldman Visits Capital to Lecture, Feb. 4, 1934. 52

***Weekly People* [Toronto].**
Emma Goldman on the Rack, April 9, 1927. 51

Western Mail and South Wales News.
[Interview] "Red Emma" Coming, Feb. 11, 1933. 52

***Western News* [Plymouth].**
[Summary of Lecture] Soviet Theatre, Dec. 9, 1935. 53

Westminster Gazette.
[Excerpt from Lecture] Woman Anarchist in New Role [Nov. 13? 1924]. 49
Russian Trade Unionism, April 7, 1925. 50

Windsor Star.
[Interview] They Called Her Dangerous. "Red Emma" Goldman Stumps for Anarchy, May 19, 1939. 53
[Excerpt from Lecture] Terms Reds "Betrayers," May 20, 1939. 53

Winnipeg Press.
[Interview] Noted Anarchist Tells Why She Follows Trail She Blazed Years Ago, Jan. 28, 1927. 51

Winnipeg Telegram.
[Excerpt from Lecture] Emma Goldman Sees End of All Governments, Feb. 2, 1927. . . . 51

Winnipeg Tribune.
[Interview] Anarchy Expounded by Woman Leader, April 10, 1907. 47
[Summary of Lecture] Emma Goldman Defends Great Russian Writer, Feb. 9, 1935. . . . 53

***Wisconsin State Journal* [Madison, Wis.].**
Goldman's Own Narrative of Her Visit and Reception in Madison, April 1, 1910. 47
[Interview] Emma Goldman Mellowed by Time, But Anarchism Is Still Her Religion, March 27, 1934. 52

Zeitung.
[Summary of Lecture] Frauengestalten der russischen Revolution [Heroic women of the Russian revolution. In German, 1932?]. 52

Government Documents Index by Name:
Key to Abbreviations

Adj Gen	Adjutant General
Atty Gen	Attorney General
A Atty Gen	Acting Attorney General
Asst Atty Gen	Assistant Attorney General
AC	Acting Chief
AP	Atlanta Penitentiary
APL	American Protective League
BOImm	Bureau of Immigration
BOInv	Bureau of Investigation
DA	District Attorney
NYDA	New York District Attorney
SFDA	San Francisco District Attorney
Dir	Director
DOC	Department of Commerce
DOJ	Department of Justice
DOL	Department of Labor
DOS	Department of State
DS	Division Superintendent
FBI	Federal Bureau of Investigation
Gov	Governor
INS	Immigration & Naturalization Service
MoPB	Missouri State Prison Board
MID	Military Intelligence Division
MSP	Missouri State Prison
ND	Navy Department
ONI	Office of Naval Intelligence
Pres	President
PCC	Postal Censorhip Committee
PD	Police Department
ChPD	Chicago Police Department
DePD	Detroit Police Department
NHPD	New Haven Police Department
NYPD	New York Police Department
WaPD	Washington DC Police Department
POD	Post Office Department
PP	Préfecture de Police, France
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
Rep	Representative
SCt	Supreme Court
Sec Ser	Secret Service
Sect	Secretary
Sen	Senator
Sol	Solicitor
Sol Gen	Solicitor General
Supt	Superintendent
TD	Treasury Department
WD	War Department

The Emma Goldman Papers
Government Documents Series
Index by Name

Correspondent
Date . . . . . *Reel*

Abbot, Edith, et al.
* 1934 April 5 66
* 1934 April 5 66
* [1934 April 5] 66
* [1934 April 5] 66

Abbott, Leonard D.
* 1918 June 14 61
* 1918 Dec. 27 62
* 1919 March 18 62
* 1919 July 26 62

Abbott, Leonard; Alexander Berkman; Emma Goldman; et al.
* 1917 June 4 57

Abbott, Wainwright (DOS)
* 1922 April 4 66
* [1922 April? 4?] 66

Abercrombie, John W. (DOL)
* 1919 Sept. 5 63
* 1919 Sept. 5 63
* 1919 Sept. 5 63
* 1919 Sept. 5 63
* 1919 Sept. 5 63
* 1919 Sept. 10 63
1919 Sept. 11 63
* 1919 Sept. 26 63
* [19]19 Nov. 29 64
* 1919 Dec. 1 64
* 1919 Dec. 1 64
* 1919 Dec. 1 64
* 1919 Dec. 1 64
* 1919 Dec. 1 64
* 1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
* [1919 Dec. 2] 64
* [19]19 Dec. 2 64
* 1919 Dec. 2 64
* 1919 Dec. 2 64
* 1919 Dec. 2 64
* 1919 Dec. 2 64

Correspondent
Date . . . . . *Reel*

* 1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 3 64
* 1919 Dec. 4 64
* 1919 Dec. 4 64
* [1919 Dec. 4] 64
1919 Dec. 6 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
1919 Dec. 15 64
* 1920 Feb. 21 65
* 1920 Feb. 21 65
1920 Feb. 24 65
* 1920 June 4 65
* 1920 June 12 65

Abramonsky, Manya
* 1918 J[une] 17 61

Ackerman, Carl W.
* [1919 Dec. 22] 64

Ackerman, Clara
* 1919 Dec. 3 64

Acting Secretary of State
1930 March 9 67

Acting Solicitor (POD)
* 1916 July 7 56

Adee, Alvey A. (DOS)
* 1920 Jan. 13 65
* 1920 Feb. 9 65
* 1920 Feb. 19 65
* 1920 Feb. 24 65
* 1920 March 8 65
* 1920 March 12 65
* 1920 March 17 65
* 1920 April 9 65

Adjutant General (WD)
1908 June 30 56
1917 Oct. 25 59
1934 Feb. 9 66
1934 March 10 66
1934 March 16 66
Adjutant General's Office (WD)
* 1908 June 10 56
* 1908 June 30 56
* 1908 July 7 56
* 1908 July 21 56
* 1909 Jan. 16 56
* 1909 April 14 56
Agent (BOInv)
* [1917 June?] 57
* [19]17 [June] 7 57
* [19]17 Dec. 21 60
* 1918 April 25 61
* [btw. 1920 and 1940] 65
* 1921 Dec. 15 65
* 1921 Dec. 15 65
* 1921 Dec. 24 65
* 1922 Feb. 17 65
* 1922 March 15 65
* 1922 March 22 65
* 1923 Feb. 26 66
* 1924 Sept. 6 66
* 1924 Nov. 13 66
* [1925?] 66
* 1932 Feb. 26 66
* 1932 Feb. 26 66
* 1934 April 11 66
Agent (FBI)
* [193-?] 66
* [193-?] 66
* [193-?] 66
* [193-?] 66
* [193-?] 66
* [193-?] 66
* [193-?] 66
* [193-?] 66
* [193-?] 66
* [193-?] 66
* [193-?] 66
* [193-?] 66
* [193-?] 66
* [193-?] 66
* [193-?] 66
* 1936 Oct. 28 66
* 1937 Sept. 30 66
* [19]39 Sept. 15 66
1939 Sept. 29 66
Agent (MID)
* [1917 Dec. 8?] 60
* 1919 March 1 62
* [1920?] 65
* 1920 Feb. 24-26 65
* 1920 June 26 65
* 1920 Oct. 4 65
Agent 0-99 (MID)
* 1917 Dec. 27-28 60
* 1918 Feb. 4 61
Agent 101 (MID)
* 1917 Oct. 22 59
* 1917 Nov. 9 59
* [19]17 Nov. 10 59
Agent 102 (MID)
* [19]17 Nov. 6 59
* 1917 Nov. 7 59
* 1917 Nov. 18-23 59
* 1917 Nov. 23 59
* [19]17 Dec. 13 60
* 1918 Jan. 6 60
Agent 1071 (BOInv)
* [19]21 Oct. 25 65
Agent 1074 (BOInv)
* 1921 Aug. 30 65
Agent 1076 (BOInv)
* 192[1] Jan. 1[2?] 65
* [19]21 Sept. 24 65
Agent 125 (RCMP)
* 1927 March 8 66
Agent 142 (RCMP)
* 1926 Oct. 21 66
* 1927 Feb. 3 66
Agent 251 (BOInv)
* 1918 June 11 61
* 1918 June 11 61
Agent 30 (RCMP)
* 1926 Dec. 14 66
* 1927 Sept. 2 66
* 1927 Sept. 28 66
* 1927 Dec. 13 66
* 1928 Feb. 8 66

Agent 302 (RCMP)
* 1939 Dec. 6 66
* 1932 Dec. 12 66
Agent 304 (RCMP)
* 1939 Dec. 6 66
* 1939 Dec. 12 66
* 1939 Dec. 15 66
Agent 452 (MID)
* 1919 Dec. 9 64
Agent 7082 (MID)
* [1919] June 17-30 62
* [1919] June 17-30 62
Agent 836 (BOInv)
* [19]19 Jan. 7 62
* [19]19 Oct. 14 63
* 1920 March 30 65
Agent 854 (BOInv)
* 1922 April 3 66
Agent A 105 (MID)
* 1918 Nov. 7 62
Agent B.B. (BOInv)
* [19]19 Oct. 7 63
* [19]19 Oct. 7 63
* [19]19 Oct. 14 63
* [19]19 Oct. 14 63
* [19]19 Oct. 14 63
* [19]19 Oct. 14 63
* [19]19 Oct. 14 63
* 1919 Oct. 27 63
* 1919 Nov. 5 64
* 1919 Nov. 6 64
* 1919 Nov. 21 64
Agent C (ONI)
* [1917 Nov. 13?] 59
* 1917 Nov. 15 59
Agent No. 14 (MID)
* 1920 Jan. 20 65
Agent No. 7 (MID)
* 1919 Sept. 5 63
* 1919 Oct. 24 63
* 1919 Oct. 25 63
* 1919 Nov. 12 64
* 1919 Nov. 17-23 64
* [1919 Dec. 9?] 64
Agent P 134 (BOInv)
* [19]22 April 19 66
Agent S 500 (BOInv)
* [19]19 Sept. 22 63
* [19]19 Sept. 22 63
Agent U-25 (BOInv)
* 1918 Aug. 11 61
Agent, German Police
* 1907 Nov. 11 56
Agent, Sûreté Générale
* 1900 Aug. 13 56
Agents 101 and 102 (MID)
* [19]17 Nov. 15 59
* [19]17 Dec. [2?] 60
* 1917 Dec. 9 60
* 1918 Jan. 2 60
* 1918 Jan. 11 60
* 1918 Jan. 18 60
* [1918 Feb.] 61
* [1918 Feb.] 61
* 1918 Feb. 6 61
Ahern, D. W.
1917 May 22 57
Ahern, Patrick J.
1920 Feb. 26 65
Ainsworth, Fred C. (Adj Gen)
* 1908 June 11 56
1908 June 15 56
1908 June 30 56
Alden, Henry P. (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]19 Feb. 6 62
Alien American, An
* [1931 Oct.?] 66
Allen, Clay (US Atty)
* [19]17 July 17 57
[1917 July 18] 57
Allen, Frank Theodore
* 1918 March 21 61
Allen, Royal N. (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]19 Dec. 1 64
Allen, William E. (AC BOInv)
1919 Jan. 9 62
* 1919 Jan. 14 62
1919 Jan. 16 62
1919 April 14 62
* 1919 April 15 62
1919 May 13 62
American Consul (DOS)
* 1920 Aug. 9 65

American Protective League
* 1917 Sept. 29 59
* 1917 Oct. 13 59
* 1917 Dec. 4 60
Ames, C.B. (DOJ)
1920 March 23 65
Anarchist Groups of America
* [1917 Aug.] 57
* [1917 Aug.?] 57
Anderson, Edward (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]19 Oct. 2 63
* [19]19 Oct. 2 63
* [19]19 Oct. 2 63
* [19]19 Oct. 3 63
* [19]19 Oct. 6 63
* 1919 Oct. 17 63
* 1919 Dec. 8 64
* 1919 Dec. 9 64
* 1919 Dec. 11 64
Anderson, Sherwood
* 1933 Nov. 22 66
André, E.
* 1900 April 12 67
* 1900 May 10 67
* 1900 May 18 67
* 1900 May 22 67
Apelman, J. S. (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]19 June 26 62
* [19]19 July [14?] 62
* [19]19 July 1[4?] 62
* 1921 Nov. 21 65
* [19]22 Jan. 28 65
Archivio di Stato
* [19--?] 56
* 1907 Dec. 18 56
Arlinen, Mamat
* 1920 April 14 65
* 1920 April 14 65
* 1920 April 14 65
Armour, Norman (DOS)
[1924 April? 1?] 66
1924 April 4 66
* [1924] April 12 66
* 1924 April 16 66
* 1924 April 16 66
* 1924 April 16 66
1924 May 3 66
Aryan Grotto Temple
1919 Nov. 18 64
Ash, J. R. (POD)
[1918] April 15 61
* [19]18 April 16 61
Ashdown, J. H. (Mayor, Winnipeg)
* 1908 April 9 56
Assistant Attorney General
* 1920 Sept. 20 65
Assistant United States Attorney (DOJ)
1918 April 18 61
Assistant to Minister of Justice
* 1908 May 4 56
B., F.
* [1911 April 22] 56
Bachman, W. S. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 Oct. 7 63
Bacon, Robert (DOS)
* 1907 Nov. 30 56
1907 Dec. 2 56
1908 March 27 56
* 1908 March 31 56
1908 April 2 56
1908 April 8 56
* [1908 April 14?] 56
1908 April 24 56
Bacot, Thomas W.
* 1901 Sept. 10 56
Baginski, Max
* 1918 Dec. 27 62
* 1919 July 30 62
* 1919 Sept. [10?] 63
Bagley, Arthur T. (Agent, BOInv)
1918 March 4 61
* 1918 March 11 61
1918 March 14 61
1918 March 2[3?] 61
1918 March 25 61
1918 March 26 61
* 1918 April 5 61
* 1919 Oct. 25 63
Bailey, James G. (DOS)
1921 Dec. 23 65
Bailey, William Earl (Agent, BOInv)
* 1918 March 5 61
Baker, Harvey A. (US Atty)
* 1918 Jan. 15 60
1918 Jan. 16 60

Baker, Joseph A. (BOInv)
* 1919 Sept. 19 63
* 1919 Oct. 29 63
Baker, Newton D. (Sect of War)
[1919] Nov. [2?] 64
Baker, Percy (BOImm)
1919 Dec. 13 64
Bakery & Confectionery Workers Union
* 1920 Feb. 7 65
Balabanoff, Angelica
* [1920 Feb.?] 65
1920 Feb. 28 65
Baldwin, Roger
* [1933 Nov.? 2?] 66
* 1933 Dec. 19 66
* 1933 Dec. 23 66
* 1933 Dec. 28 66
1934 Jan. 18 66
* 1934 Feb. 23 66
* 1934 April 3 66
* 1934 April 11 66
1934 April 12 66
* 1934 May 14 66
* 1934 Sept. 10 66
1934 Sept. 14 66
* 1934 Sept. 22 66
* 1934 Oct. 4 66
* 1934 Oct. 16 66
1934 Oct. 22 66
* [19]34 Oct. 26 66
* 1937 Sept. 16 66
* [19]37 Oct. 21 66
Baley, Lewis J. (BOInv)
[1917 July 30?] 57
1918 March 2 61
* 1918 March 3 61
1919 Sept. 16 63
* 1920 Oct. 5 65
1921 Jan. 15 65
1921 Feb. 1 65
* 1922 March 11 65
Balfour, A. J.
1917 June 30 57
1918 Feb. 28 61
Ballantine, Stella
* [1918] March 1 61
* 1918 March 8 61
* 1918 March 9 61
* 1918 March 9 61
* 1918 March 14 61
* 1918 March 14 61
1918 March 30 61
* [1918] May 6 61
* 1918 May 18 61
* 1918 June 4 61
* 1918 June 29 61
* 1918 Aug. 15 61
* [1918] Sept. 24 62
* 1918 Dec. 16 62
* 1918 D[ec.] 31 62
* [1919] Jan. 25 62
1919 J[an.] 26 62
1919 Jan. 26 62
* 1919 Feb. 14 62
* [1919] May 21 62
* [1919 July?] 62
* [1919] July 9 62
* 1919 July 10 62
* [1919] Aug. 31 63
[1919 Sept.?] 63
1920 Jan. 28 65
1920 Jan. 29 65
* 1921 Nov. 16 65
1921 Dec. 31 65
1934 April 12 66
* 1934 April 13 66
1938 Jan. 27 66
1938 Feb. 5 66
Bamberger, E. J. (APL)
* 1918 Jan. 8 60
* 1918 Jan. 8 60
* 1918 Jan. 11 60
* 1918 Jan. 11 60
* 1918 Jan. 11 60
* 1918 Jan. 18 60
Bancroft, Charles A. (Agent, BOInv)
1921 Nov. 10 65
* 1921 Nov. 21 65
* 1921 Dec. 24 65
* 1922 Jan. 10 65
1922 Jan. 18 65
Barclay, Colville
* 1918 Feb. 28 61
* 1922 Jan. 18 65
* 1922 Feb. 15 65
* 1922 April 28 66

Barkey, Arthur L. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 July 31 62
* 1919 Nov. 22 64
* 1919 Nov. 22 64
1919 Nov. 22 64
* 1919 Nov. 24 64
* 1919 Nov. 24 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
* 1919 Nov. 26 64
* 1919 Nov. 26 64
* 1919 Nov. 26 64
* 1919 Nov. 26 64
* 1919 Nov. 28 64
* 1919 Nov. 28 64
1919 Nov. 28 64
* 1919 Dec. 3 64
1920 Jan. 24 65
* 1920 Jan. 26 65
* 1920 Jan. 26 65
1920 Jan. 27 65
* 1920 Jan. 28 65
* 1920 Jan. 28 67
1920 Jan. 29 65

Barnes, Harry Elmer
* 1934 Jan. 12 66

Barnes, James
* 1918 Sept. 9 62

Barnes, R. L. (MID)
* 1917 Oct. 16 59
* 1918 July 27 61
1918 Aug. 15 61
* 1918 Aug. 19 61
1918 Sept. 9 62
* 1918 Sept. 20 62

Barnett, C. P. (MID)
1917 Oct. 10 59

Barnitz, George D. (NYPD/ONI)
* 1917 June 1[0?] 57
1918 July 16 61
1918 July 17 61

Barrett, Gertrude
* 1918 April 4 61

Barrow, Lucius R. (POD)
1917 Nov. 19 59
* 1917 Nov. 20 59

Barry, P. J. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 July 2 57

Barry, Robert E. (POD)
* 1918 March 20 61

Bass, Lyman M. (US Atty)
* 1908 Sept. 24 56
* 1908 Oct. 16 56
* 1909 Jan. 19 56

Baughman, T. F. (DOJ)
* 1920 March 13 65

Beal, Boylston A. (DOS)
1921 Dec. 23 65
* 1922 Jan. 20 65
* [1922? Jan.? 20?] 65
* 1922 March 17 65
1922 March 22 65
* 1922 March 23 65
1922 May 4 66
* 1923 April 17 66
* 1924 April 4 66
1924 April 16 66
* 1924 May 3 66

Beck, James M. (A Atty Gen)
1901 Sept. 8 56

Beck, Kitty
* 1918 May 1 61
* [19]19 Aug. 30 63

Becker, I.
* 1917 June 24 57
* 1917 June 24 57

Becker, Rose
* 1917 June 24 57
* 1917 June 24 57
* 1918 March 29 61

Belcher, Edward A.
* 1917 Oct. 11 59

Bell, Thomas H.
* 1918 Aug. 24 61

Benham, William R. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 June 21 57
* 1917 June 23 57
1918 July 29 61

Bennett
* 1908 Feb. 28 56
* 1908 Feb. 28 56

Beringer, Pierre N.
* 1917 June 13 57

Berkman, Alexander ("Sasha")
* [1908] Dec. 20 56
1910 Jan. 21 56

Berkman, Alexander ("Sasha" – cont'd.)
* 1910 Jan. 24 56
* 1910 Jan. 25 56
1910 Jan. 25 56
* 1910 Jan. 26 56
* 1910 Jan. 29 56
* [1910] Jan. 29 56
1910 Jan. 29 56
1910 Feb. 2 56
1915 Oct. 20 56
[1915 Oct. 20] 56
[1915 Oct. 25] 56
1915 Oct. 25 56
* 1917 May 25 57
1917 July 14 57
1917 July 18 57
1918 Feb. 27 61
[1918 March?] 61
[1918 March?] 61
1918 March 1 61
[1918] March 1 61
1918 March 2 61
1918 March 2 61
1918 March 2 61
1918 March 3 61
1918 March 4 61
1918 March 4 61
1918 March 5 61
1918 March 5 61
1918 March 6 61
1918 March 6 61
1918 March 7 61
1918 March 7 61
1918 March 8 61
1918 March 9 61
* 1918 March 10 61
1918 March 10 61
1918 March 10 61
1918 March 11 61
1918 March 11 61
1918 March 11 61
1918 March 12 61
1918 March 13 61
1918 March 13 61
1918 March 14 61
1918 March 14 61
* 1918 March [15?] 61
1918 March 15 61
1918 March 15 61
1918 March 15 61
* 1918 March 16 61
1918 March 16 61
1918 March 16 61
1918 March 18 61
1918 March 18 61
1918 March 19 61
1918 March 20 61
1918 March 21 61
1918 March 21 61
1918 March 22 61
1918 March 22 61
* [1918 March 24] 61
1918 [March] 25 61
1918 March 26 61
1918 March [26] 61
1918 March 26 61
1918 March 26 61
1918 March 27 61
1918 March 28 61
1918 March 29 61
1918 March 30 61
* 1918 March 31 61
1918 March 31 61
[1918 April?] 61
1918 April 2 61
1918 April 2 61
1918 April 3 61
1918 April 3 61
1918 April 4 61
1918 April 4 61
1918 April 7 61
1918 April 9 61
1918 April 10 61
1918 April 10 61
1918 April 11 61
1918 April 11 61
1918 April 11 61
1918 April 13 61
* 1918 April 14 61
1918 April 14 61
1918 April 16 61
1918 April 16 61
1918 April 17 61
1918 April 18 61
[1918] April 20 61
1918 April 20 61
1918 April 20 61

Berkman, Alexander ("Sasha" – cont'd.)
1918 April 21 61
1918 April 22 61
1918 April 24 61
1918 April 24 61
1918 April 27 61
* 1918 April 28 61
1918 April 29 61
[1918 May?] 61
[1918 May?] 61
[1918 May?] 61
1918 M[ay?] 61
1918 May 1 61
1918 May 1 61
1918 May 2 61
1918 May 3 61
1918 M[ay? 4?] 61
[1918] May 6 61
1918 May 7 61
1918 May 8 61
1918 May 12 61
* 1918 May 13 61
1918 May 15 61
1918 May 17 61
1918 May 1[8?] 61
1918 May 18 61
1918 May 18 61
1918 May 18 61
1918 May 18 61
1918 May 22 61
1918 May [22?] 61
* 1918 May 2[7] 61
1918 May 27 61
1918 May 31 61
1918 June 56
* [1918 June 3?] 61
1918 June 3 61
1918 June 4 61
1918 June 5 61
* 1918 June 9 61
1918 June 12 61
1918 June 12 61
1918 June 14 61
* 1918 June 16 61
1918 June 16 61
1918 June 16 61
1918 J[une] 17 61
1918 June 19 61
1918 June [2]1 61
1918 June 22 61
1918 June 22 61
* [19]18 June 23 61
1918 June 24 61
1918 June 25 61
* 1918 June 30 61
[1918 July?] 61
1918 July 2 61
* 1918 July 4 61
1918 July 4 61
1918 July 4 61
1918 July 4 61
1918 July 6 61
* 1918 July 7 61
1918 [July] 7 61
1918 July 10 61
* 1918 July 21 61
1918 Ju[ly] 22 61
[1918] July 27 61
* 1918 July 28 61
1918 July 30 61
1918 Aug. 3 61
* 1918 Aug. 4 61
1918 Aug. 8 61
1918 Aug. 11 61
1918 Aug. 13 61
1918 Aug. 15 61
1918 Aug. 16 61
[19]18 Aug. 16 61
* 1918 Aug. 18 61
[19]18 A[ug.] 18 61
1918 Aug. 19 61
1918 Aug. 22 61
1918 Aug. 23 61
1918 Aug. 24 61
* [1918 Aug. 25] 61
[1918] Aug. 27 61
[1918 Aug.? 30?] 61
* [19]18 Sept. 1 62
[1918 Sept.?] 62
[1918 Sept.?] 62
1918 [Sept.] 1 62
1918 Sept. 3 62
1918 Sept. 6 62
* 1918 Sept. 8 62
1918 Sept. 8 62
1918 [Sept. 9?] 62
[19]18 Sept. 13 62

Berkman, Alexander ("Sasha" – cont'd.)
[1918 Sept. 13?] 62
* 1918 Sept. 15? 62
1918 Sept. 18 62
1918 Sept. 20 62
* [1]918 Sept. 22 62
1918 Sept. 23 62
[1918] Sept. 24 62
1918 Sept. [26?] 62
1918 Sept. 27 62
* [19]18 Sept. [29?] 62
1918 Sept. 30 62
[1918 Oct.?] 62
1918 Oct. 5 62
1918 O[ct.] 7 62
1918 Oct. 18 62
* 1918 Oct. [20?] 62
1918 Oct. 21 62
1918 Oct. 23 62
1918 Oct. 25 62
* 1918 Oct. 27 62
[1918] Oct. 31 62
* 1918 Nov. [3] 62
1918 Nov. 3 62
1918 Nov. 5 62
1918 Nov. [7?] 62
1918 Nov. [9?] 62
* 1918 N[ov.] 10 62
* 1918 N[ov.] 10 62
1918 Nov. 11 62
1918 Nov. 15 62
1918 Nov. 16 62
* 1918 Nov. 17 62
1918 Nov. 22 62
* [19]18 Nov. 24 62
* 1918 Nov. 27 62
1918 Nov. 29 62
* 1918 Dec. 1 62
1918 Dec. 4 62
* 1918 Dec. 8 62
1918 Dec. 9 62
1918 Dec. 12 62
1918 Dec. 14 62
* 1918 Dec. 15 62
1918 Dec. 15 62
1918 Dec. 16 62
1918 Dec. 18 62
* [1918 Dec. 22] 62
1918 Dec. 23 62
1918 Dec. 24 62
* 1918 [Dec. 25] 62
1918 Dec. 27 62
1918 Dec. 27 62
1918 Dec. 27 62
* 1918 Dec. 29 62
1918 D[ec.] 31 62
1919 Jan. 2 62
1919 Jan. 3 62
* 1919 Jan. 5 62
[1919 Jan. 5?] 62
1919 Jan. 7 62
1919 Jan. 9 62
1919 Jan. 13 62
1919 Jan. 14 62
1919 Jan. 18 62
* 1919 Jan. 19 62
1919 Jan. 24 62
1919 Jan. 25 62
[1919] Jan. 25 62
* 1919 Jan. 26 62
1919 Jan. 30 62
1919 Feb. 1 62
1919 Feb. 1 62
* 1919 Feb. 2 62
1919 Feb. 3 62
1919 Feb. 5 62
1919 Feb. 13 62
1919 Feb. 14 62
* 1919 Feb. 16 62
1919 Feb. 16 62
1919 Feb. 18 62
1919 Feb. 22 62
1919 Feb. 25 62
1919 Feb. 28 62
[19]19 Feb. 28 62
1919 March 18 62
1919 March 18 62
1919 April 5 62
1919 April 6 62
[1919 May?] 62
[1919] May 21 62
1919 May 22 62
1919 May 29 62
[1919 June?] 62
* 1919 June 3 62
1919 [June 5?] 62

Berkman, Alexander ("Sasha" – cont'd.)
1919 June 13 62
* 1919 June 15 62
1919 June 16 62
[19]19 June 16 62
1919 June 18 62
[19]19 June 20 62
1919 June 21 62
1919 June 25 62
1919 June 26 62
1919 June 28 62
1919 June 30 62
[1919 July?] 62
* 1919 July 4 62
1919 July 7 62
[1919] July 9 62
1919 July 10 62
1919 July 10 62
* 1919 July 13 62
1919 July 15 62
1919 July 16 62
1919 July 17 62
1919 July 18 62
1919 July 22 62
1919 July 24 62
1919 July 26 62
1919 July 27 62
1919 July 29 62
1919 July 30 62
1919 July 31 62
[1919 Aug.?] 63
19[19] Aug. 5 63
1919 Aug. 5 63
[19]19 Aug. 5 63
1919 Aug. 9 63
1919 Aug. 11 63
1919 Aug. 12 63
* 1919 Aug. 18 63
[1919] Aug. 18 63
[19]19 Aug. 21 63
* 1919 Aug. 24 63
1919 Aug. 25 63
[19]19 Aug. 30 63
[1919] Aug. 31 63
* [1919] Sept. [7] 63
1919 Sept. [10?] 63
* [1919] Sept. 11 63
1919 Sept. 11 63
1919 Sept. 11 63
1919 Sept. 12 63
* [1919 Sept. 14?] 63
1919 Sept. 14 63
[19]19 Sept. 16 63
* 1919 Sept. 18 63
* 1919 Sept. 18 63
1919 Sept. 19 63
1919 Sept. 19 63
* 1919 Sept. 21 63
1919 Sept. 22 63
1919 Sept. 22 63
1919 Sept. 23 63
[19]19 Sept. 27 63
* 1919 Sept. 28 63
1919 Oct. 15 63
1919 Oct. 15 63
* 1919 Nov. 23 64
* 1919 Nov. 26 64
* 1919 Dec. 21 64
* 1920 Jan. 25 65
1920 June 30 65
1920 June 30 65
* [1921 Dec.] 65
* 1921 Dec. 22 65
* 1921 Dec. 22 65
Berkshire, F. W. (BOImm)
* 1920 Feb. 11 65
Bernstein, David
* 1919 Dec. 2 64
[1919 Dec. 2] 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
Bernstein, Eugene (MID)
* 1919 Nov. 30 64
Berryman
* [1919 Dec. 22?] 64
Bethall, Frank
* 1925 June 27 66
Bettman, Alfred (Asst Atty Gen)
* 1918 April 13 61
1919 April 17 62
Bettman, Alfred, and Francis H. Duehay (DOJ)
1919 April 23 62
Biddle, Nicholas (MID)
* 1917 Nov. 30 59
1917 Dec. 13 60

(* denotes "written by")

Biddle, Nicholas (MID – cont'd.)
* 1917 Dec. 20 60
* 1917 Dec. 31 60
1918 Jan. 16 60
* 1918 Jan. 23 60
* 1918 Feb. 15 61
1918 April 20 61
* 1918 June 11 61
* 1918 Oct. 7 62

Bielaski, A. Bruce (Chief, BOInv)
1917 April 30 57
1917 May 2 57
1917 May 2 57
* 1917 May 4 57
1917 May 25 57
1917 May 28 57
1917 May 29 57
* 1917 May 31 57
1917 May 31 57
1917 May 31 57
1917 May 31 57
* 1917 June 2 57
1917 June 2 57
1917 June 16 57
1917 June 17 57
1917 June 26 57
1917 June 26 57
* 1917 June 28 57
1917 July 1 57
* 1917 July 2 57
1917 July 2 57
1917 July 10 57
* 1917 July 14 57
1917 July 14 57
1917 July 17 57
* 1917 July 18 57
1917 July 27 57
* 1917 July 30 57
* 1917 July 30 57
* 1917 July 30 57
1917 Aug. 11 57
1917 Aug. 16 57
* 1917 Aug. 31 57
1917 Sept. 12 59
* 1917 Sept. 13 59
1917 Sept. 19 59
* 1917 Sept. 21 59
1917 Oct. 30 59
* 1917 Nov. 5 59
* 1917 Nov. 5 59
1917 Nov. 13 59
1917 Nov. 13 59
1917 Nov. 15 59
1917 Nov. 15 59
1917 Nov. 22 59
1917 Nov. 23 59
* 1917 Dec. 29 60
* 1917 Dec. 29 60
* 1917 Dec. 29 60
* 1917 Dec. 29 60
* 1917 Dec. 29 60
1918 Jan. 4 60
* 1918 Jan. 5 60
* 1918 Jan. 5 60
1918 Jan. 5 60
* 1918 Jan. 16 60
1918 Jan. 16 60
* 1918 Jan. 17 60
1918 Jan. 22 60
* 1918 Jan. 23 60
* 1918 Jan. 23 60
* 1918 Jan. 23 60
* 1918 Jan. 23 60
* 1918 Jan. 28 60
1918 Feb. 2 61
* 1918 Feb. 12 61
* 1918 Feb. 25 61
1918 Feb. 27 61
* 1918 March 2 61
1918 March 3 61
* 1918 March 4 61
1918 March 4 61
1918 March 4 61
1918 March 11 61
1918 March 13 61
1918 March 21 61
* 1918 March 2[3?] 61
* 1918 March 25 61
* 1918 March 26 61
1918 March 26 61
1918 April 11 61
1918 April 18 61
1918 May 11 61
* 1918 May 13 61
1918 May 21 61
1918 May 24 61

Bielaski, A. Bruce (Chief, BOInv – cont'd.)
1918 May 24 61
* 1918 May 25 61
[1918 June? 1?] 61
1918 June 11 61
* 1918 June 12 61
* 1918 June 13 61
* 1918 July 29 61
* 1918 Oct. 25 62
* 1918 Nov. 13 62
Billings, George B. (BOImm)
1907 Nov. 19 56
1907 Nov. 21 56
* 1907 Nov. 23 56
1907 Dec. 12 56
1907 Dec. 12 56
1907 Dec. 14 56
Blackmon, M. F. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 Oct. 1 63
* [19]19 Oct. 3 63
* 1919 Oct. 4 63
* 1919 Oct. 8 63
1919 Oct. 15 63
1919 Oct. 15 63
1919 Oct. 16 63
* 1919 Oct. 20 63
1919 Oct. 22 63
* 1919 Oct. 2[3?] 63
* 1919 Oct. 23 63
* 1919 Oct. 23 63
1919 Nov. 12 64
* 1919 Nov. 15 64
1919 Nov. 21 64
1919 Nov. 22 64
* 1919 Nov. 25 64
* 1919 Nov. 25 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
* 1919 Dec. 2 64
* 1927 March 28 66
Blackwell, Alice Stone
* 1919 Sept. 17 63
* 1919 Sept. 23 63
Bland, S. O. (Rep)
* 1919 Oct. 4 63
1919 Oct. 13 63
Blanford, E. M. (Agent, BOInv)
1917 Aug. 23 57
1918 Jan. 23 60
1919 Sept. 30 63
* 1919 Oct. 1 63
* 1919 Oct. 11 63
* 1919 Oct. 11 63
Blatchford, W. W. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1918 Jan. 7 60
Bohn
1917 April 23 57
Bolan, Michael P. (Agent, Sec Ser)
* 1901 Sept. 11 56
Bolling (Agent, BOInv)
* 1927 Oct. 1 66
* 1927 Nov. 23 66
Bonaparte, Charles J. (Atty Gen)
* 1908 March 20 56
* 1908 March 20 56
* 1908 March 24 56
* 1908 March 24 56
1908 March 27 56
* 1908 March 28 56
1908 March 31 56
* 1908 April 2 56
1908 April 10 56
1908 Aug. 4 56
* 1908 Aug. 7 56
* 1908 Dec. 2 56
1908 Dec. 7 56
* 1908 Dec. 14 56
1909 Jan. 2 56
* 1909 Jan. 7 56
1909 Jan. 16 56
* 1909 Jan. 22 56
1909 Feb. 2 56
* 1909 Feb. 8 56
1909 Feb. 11 56
* 1909 Feb. 16 56
1909 April 22 56
Borchardt, Marcus (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 June 25 57
* 1917 Oct. 15 59
Border Officials
1928 June 14 66
Bornibus
* 1895 Nov. 14 56
Borowoy, S.
* 1921 Nov. 7 65
* 1921 Nov. 7 65

Bowen, Robert A. (POD)
* 1918 April 10 61
* 1918 April 18 61
* 1918 July 10 61
Bradley, S. D. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 July 20 57
Brady, John H. (MID)
* 1918 Jan. 12 60
* 1918 Jan. 13 60
* 1918 Jan. 18 60
* [1918 Jan.? 22?] 60
Brady, John H., and W.F. Cahill (MID)
* 1918 Jan. 11 60
Bragdon, George (MID)
[1919 Oct.?] 63
Brandegee, Frank B. (Sen)
1920 Jan. 31 65
* 1920 Feb. 4 65
1920 Feb. 14 65
Brandeis, Louis D. (SCt Justice)
* 1917 July 19 57
* 1917 July 19 57
* 1917 July 19 57
* 1917 July 19 57
1917 July 20 57
1917 Aug. 8 57
1919 Dec. 9 64
* [1919 Dec. 10?] 64
Branting, Hjalmar
1922 Jan. 17 65
Brantley, Dwight (Agent, FBI)
* 1938 Nov. 28 66
Braun, August (NYPD)
* 1907 Jan. 7 56
Brennan, Edward J. (DS, BOInv)
* 1917 June 22 57
1917 July 30 57
* 1917 Aug. 16 57
1917 Dec. 29 60
* 1919 Sept. 18 63
1919 Sept. 18 63
1919 Sept. 30 63
* 1919 Oct. 1 63
* 1919 Oct. 1 63
1919 Oct. 10 63
* 1919 Oct. 11 63
* 1919 Oct. 11 63
* 1919 Oct. 11 63
1919 Oct. 11 63
1919 Oct. 15 63
1919 Oct. 16 63
* 1919 Oct. 17 63
1919 Oct. 17 63
1919 Oct. 22 63
* 1919 Oct. 29 63
1919 Nov. 12 64
1919 Nov. 12 64
1919 Nov. 17 64
1919 Nov. 17 64
* 1919 Nov. 19 64
1919 Nov. 22 64
* 1919 Nov. 25 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
* 1919 Nov. 28 64
* 1919 Nov. 28 64
1919 Nov. 29 64
* 1919 Dec. 1 64
* 1919 Dec. 1 64
* 1919 Dec. 1 64
* 1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
* 1919 Dec. 3 64
* 1919 Dec. 3 64
* 1919 Dec. 3 64
* 1919 Dec. 4 64
* 1919 Dec. 4 64
* 1919 Dec. 4 64
1920 Jan. 26 65
1922 Jan. 5 65
1922 Feb. 18 65
* 1922 Feb. 20 65
19[22] March [2?] 65
* 1922 March 27 65
* 1922 March 29 65
* 1923 Sept. 1 66
* 1923 Nov. 5 66
* 1923 Nov. 30 66
* 1924 April 26 66
* 1924 July 26 66
Brist (DOS)
[19]22 March 7 65
British Foreign Office
* [1908 March 9?] 56
* [1918 April 2] 61

British Foreign Office (cont'd.)
* [1922 Jan. 24] 65
* [1922 Feb. 21?] 65
* 1922 May 2 66
Britton, Roy F.
1919 Jan. 29 62
Brown
* [1920] March 23 65
Brown, Castle M. (Agent, MID)
* 1919 June 28 62
* 1919 Oct. 28 63
* 1919 Dec. 4 64
Brown, J. B. (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]22 Feb. 10 65
Brown, Wrisley (MID)
* 1919 June 17 62
* 1919 Sept. 24 63
* 1919 Oct. 1 63
* 1919 Oct. 1 63
* [1919 Nov. 5] 64
* 1919 Nov. 11 64
1919 Nov. 15 64
* 1919 Nov. 19 64
* 1919 Nov. 26 64
* 1919 Dec. 3 64
* 1919 Dec. 10 64
* 1920 Jan. 7 65
Bryce, James
1908 Feb. 28 56
Bryon (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 June 28 57
Buchanan, W. L. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 Oct. 6 63
* [19]21 Nov. 15 65
* [19]22 March 15 65
Buckler, William H. (DOS)
1907 Nov. 25 56
* 1907 Nov. 27 56
* 1907 Nov. 27 56
* 1907 Nov. 28 56
1907 Dec. 4 56
Bundy, William E. (US Atty)
* 1902 Jan. 6 56
Bureau of Immigration
* 1907 Nov. 17 56
* 1907 Nov. 20 56
* 1919 Oct. 27 and Nov. 12 . . 63
* [1919 Nov. 16?] 64
[19]19 Nov. 29 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
[19]19 Dec. 2 64
* 1919 Dec. 5 64
* [1919 Dec. 5] 64
* [1919 Dec. 5] 64
* [1919 Dec. 21 and 1920 Jan. 16] 64
* [1919 Dec. 21 and 1920 Jan. 16] 64
* 1920 Jan. 31 65
* [1920? Feb.?] 65
* [1920 Feb. 12?] 65
* 1920 March 31 65
[19]20 April 14 65
Bureau of Investigation
* [1917?] 57
1917 May 10 57
1917 June 5 57
* 1917 June 15 57
1917 June 30 57
* [1917 July 30?] 57
1917 Aug. 5 57
* [1917? Nov.?] 59
* [1918 Jan.?] 60
1918 Jan. 28 60
[1918 July?] 61
* [1919 Sept.?] 63
* [1919 Sept.?] 63
* [1919 Sept.?] 63
* [1919 Sept.?] 63
* 1919 Sept. 1[2?] 63
* 1919 Sept. 19 63
* 1919 Sept. 26 63
* [1919 Sept. 30] 63
* [1919 Oct.?] 63
* 1919 Nov. 8 64
* 1919 Dec. 13 64
* [1920?] 65
* [1920?] 65
* [1920 March 30] 65
* 1921 Dec. 12 65
* [19]22 Feb. 6 65
* 1922 Feb. 18 65
* [19]22 March 27 65
* 1923 Sept. 1 66
* 1923 Nov. 3 66
* 1923 Dec. 8 66
* [1924?] 66
* 1924 April 26 66

Bureau of Investigation (cont'd.)
[193-?] 66
[193-?] 66
[1931 Oct.?] 66
* 1934 Feb. 66
* [19]34 Feb. 20 66
1935 May 28 66
Burger, M. F. (Agent, BOInv)
* [1919] Oct. 23 63
Burke, Frank (Chief, BOInv)
1919 July [25?] 62
1919 July 31 62
* 1919 Aug. 27 63
1919 Sept. 2 63
* 1919 Sept. 15 63
* 1919 Sept. 16 63
* 1919 Sept. 16 63
* 1919 Sept. 18 63
* 1919 Sept. 18 63
1919 Sept. 18 63
1919 Sept. 19 63
1919 Sept. 20 63
1919 Sept. 20 63
1919 Sept. 20 63
1919 Sept. 22 63
1919 Sept. 22 63
1919 Sept. 29 63
* 1919 Sept. 30 63
* 1919 Sept. 30 63
1919 Sept. 30 63
1919 Sept. 30 63
1919 Oct. 1 63
1919 Oct. 1 63
1919 Oct. 1 63
1919 Oct. 1 63
1919 Oct. 1 63
1919 Oct. 1 63
* 1919 Oct. 2 63
1919 Oct. 2 63
1919 Oct. 2 63
* 1919 Oct. 3 63
* 1919 Oct. 6 63
* 1919 Oct. 7 63
1919 Oct. 8 63
* 1919 Oct. 9 63
* 1919 Oct. 10 63
1919 Oct. 10 63
* 1919 Oct. 11 63
* 1919 Oct. 11 63
1919 Oct. 11 63
1919 Oct. 11 63
1919 Oct. 11 63
1919 Oct. 11 63
1919 Oct. 11 63
1919 Oct. 13 63
* 1919 Oct. 15 63
* 1919 Oct. 15 63
* 1919 Oct. 15 63
* 1919 Oct. 15 63
1919 Oct. 15 63
* 1919 Oct. 16 63
* 1919 Oct. 16 63
* 1919 Oct. 17 63
* 1919 Oct. 17 63
1919 Oct. 17 63
1919 Oct. 17 63
* 1919 Oct. 22 63
* 1919 Oct. 22 63
* 1919 Oct. 22 63
* 1919 Oct. 23 63
1919 Oct. 23 63
1919 Oct. 23 63
1919 Oct. 27 63
1919 Oct. 29 63
1919 Oct. 29 63
* 1919 Nov. 1 64
* 1919 Nov. 2 64
1919 Nov. 7 64
* 1919 Nov. 12 64
* 1919 Nov. 12 64
1919 Nov. 13 64
* 1919 Nov. 17 64
* 1919 Nov. 17 64
1919 Nov. 19 64
* 1919 Nov. 20 64
* 1919 Nov. 20 64
* 1919 Nov. 20 64
* 1919 Nov. 21 64
* 1919 Nov. 22 64
* 1919 Nov. 22 64
* 1919 Nov. 22 64
1919 Nov. 22 64
1919 Nov. 22 64
1919 Nov. 24 64
1919 Nov. 24 64
* 1919 Nov. 25 64
* 1919 Nov. 25 64
* 1919 Nov. 25 64

Burke, Frank (Chief, BOInv – cont'd.)
1919 Nov. 25 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
1919 Nov. 26 64
1919 Nov. 26 64
1919 Nov. 26 64
1919 Nov. 26 64
1919 Nov. 28 64
1919 Nov. 28 64
* 1919 Nov. 29 64
* 1919 Dec. 1 64
* 1919 Dec. 1 64
* 1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
* 1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 3 64
1919 Dec. 3 64
1919 Dec. 3 64
1919 Dec. 3 64
[1919] Dec. [3] 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
* 1919 Dec. 9 64
[19]19 Dec. 17 64
1919 Dec. 18 64
* 1920 Jan. 22 65
* 1920 Jan. 23 65
1920 Jan. 23 65
* 1920 Jan. 24 65
1920 Jan. 24 65
* 1920 Jan. 26 65
1920 Jan. 26 65
1920 Jan. 26 65
* 1920 Jan. 27 65
1920 Jan. 28 65
1920 Jan. 28 67
* 1920 Jan. 29 65
* 1920 Jan. 30 65
1920 Feb. 4 65
1920 April 3 65
* 1920 June 22 65

Burleson, Albert S. (Postmaster Gen)
191[7] May 27 57
1917 June 7 57
1917 June 28 57
1917 Sept. 11 59

Burns, William J. (Dir, BOInv)
* 1921 Sept. 26 65
* 1921 Oct. 25 65
1921 Nov. 3 65
* 1921 Nov. 10 65
* 1921 Nov. 10 65
1921 Nov. 12 65
1921 Nov. 14 65
1921 Nov. 15 65
* 1921 Nov. 17 65
1921 Nov. 21 65
[19]21 Dec. 10 65
1921 Dec. 19 65
1921 Dec. 19 65
* 1921 Dec. 20 65
1921 Dec. 24 65
1921 Dec. 29 65
[19]22 Jan. 2 65
1922 Jan. [2] 65
* 1922 Jan. 5 65
1922 Jan. 10 65
* 1922 Jan. 13 65
* 1922 Jan. 14 65
* 1922 Jan. 17 65
* 1922 Jan. 18 65
1922 Jan. 28 65
1922 Jan. 28 65
* 1922 Feb. 4 65
* 1922 Feb. 9 65
1922 Feb. 9 65
1922 Feb. 11 65
1922 Feb. 13 65
1922 Feb. 13 65
1922 Feb. 13 65
* 1922 Feb. 18 65
1922 Feb. 20 65
1922 Feb. 23 65
1922 Feb. 23 65
1922 Feb. 27 65
* 1922 Feb. 28 65
* 1922 Feb. 28 65
1922 March 1 65
* 19[22] March [2?] 65

Burns, William J. (Dir, BOInv – cont'd.)
1922 March 2 65
1922 March 2 65
1922 March 2 65
1922 March 4 65
* 1922 March 8 65
* 1922 March 9 65
* 1922 March 9 65
1922 March 9 65
1922 March 9 65
1922 March 11 65
1922 March 14 65
1922 March 14 65
1922 March 14 65
1922 March 27 65
1922 March 29 65
* 1922 March 30 65
1922 April 11 66
1922 April 11 66
1922 April 11 66
1922 April 11 66
* 1922 April 12 66
* 1922 April 21 66
1922 May 1 66
1922 May 4 66
* 1922 May 6 66
1922 June 20 66
1922 July 13 66
1922 Aug. 10 66
1922 Aug. 10 66
1922 Aug. 31 66
1922 Aug. 31 66
1922 Sept. 22 66
1923 May 8 66
1923 May 8 66
1923 Sept. 1 66
1923 Nov. 5 66
1923 Nov. 5 66
1923 Nov. 30 66
1924 April 16 66
1924 April 16 66
1924 April 26 66
1924 July 26 66

Busey, George C. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1918 March 13 61

Buwalda, William
* 1909 Jan. 8 56
* 1909 April 6 56

Caddell, Edward J.
* 1919 Oct. 20 63

Cadiz, R. L. (RCMP)
* [19]39 Dec. 6 66
* [19]39 Dec. 6 66
* [1939 Dec. 12?] 66
* [19]39 Dec. 12 66
* [19]39 Dec. 15 66

Caffey, Francis G. (US Atty)
* 1917 [June 21?] 57
* 1917 July 11 57
1917 July 11 57
* 1917 July 12 57
* 1917 July 12 57
1917 July 16 57
* 1917 July 18 57
* [1917 July 18] 57
1917 July 18 57
* 1917 July 19 57
1917 July 19 57
1917 July 23 57
* 1917 Aug. 4 57
* [1917 Aug. 4?] 57
1917 Aug. 7 57
1917 Aug. 7 57
* 1917 Aug. 8 57
* 1917 Aug. 8 57
1917 Aug. 9 57
* 1917 Aug. 11 57
1917 Aug. 13 57
* 1917 Aug. 16 57
1917 Aug. 17 57
* 1917 Aug. 22 57
* 1917 Sept. 6 59
1917 Sept. 6 59
* 1917 Sept. 14 59
1917 Sept. 14 59
* 1917 Sept. 15 59
1917 Sept. 17 59
1917 Sept. 26 59
* 1917 Sept. 28 59
* 1917 Sept. 2[8?] 59
1917 Sept. 28 59
* 1917 Oct. 19 59
1917 Oct. 20 59
* 1917 Oct. 23 59
1917 Nov. 2 59
1917 Nov. 2 59
* 1917 Nov. 5 59
1917 Nov. 5 59

Caffey, Francis G. (US Atty – cont'd.)
* 1917 Nov. 14 59
1917 Nov. 19 59
* 1917 Nov. 22 59
* 1917 Dec. 6 60
* 1917 Dec. 14 60
1917 Dec. 18 60
* 1917 Dec. 21 60
1918 Jan. 14 60
* 1918 Jan. 18 60
* 1918 Jan. 19 60
1918 Jan. 22 60
1918 Jan. 30 60
* 1918 Feb. [2?] 61
* 1918 Feb. 2 61
* 1918 Feb. 4 61
1918 Feb. 4 61
* 1918 Feb. 7 61
* 1918 Feb. 7 61
1918 Feb. 8 61
1918 March 16 61
1918 March 18 61
* 1919 Sept. 6 63
1919 Sept. 12 63
* 1919 Sept. 18 63
1919 Oct. 23 63
* 1919 Oct. 27 63
1919 Dec. 4 64
* 1919 Dec. 5 64
1919 Dec. 5 64
* 1919 Dec. 6 64
1919 Dec. 6 64
1919 Dec. 6 64
* 1919 Dec. 8 64
* 1919 Dec. 8 64
* 1919 Dec. 9 64
* 1919 Dec. 11 64
* 1919 Dec. 11 64
1919 Dec. 11 64
* 1919 Dec. 12 64
* 1919 Dec. 12 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
1919 Dec. 13 64
1919 Dec. 13 64
* 1919 Dec. 15 64
1919 Dec. 16 64
1920 Jan. 2 65
* 1920 Jan. 5 65
* 1920 Jan. 6 65
* 1920 Jan. 13 65
Caine (DOJ)
1909 Jan. 6 56
Calcaterra, P.
* 1920 Jan. 20 65
Caminetti, Anthony (BOImm)
* 1917 July 20 57
1917 July 21 57
1917 July 21 57
* 1918 March 26 61
1918 Aug. 28 61
1919 April 25 62
* [1919] April 2[6?] 62
1919 Aug. 15 63
[1919 Aug. 15] 63
1919 Aug. 25 63
[1919] Aug. [26] 63
* 1919 Aug. 29 63
1919 Sept. 12 63
1919 Sept. 15 63
1919 Sept. 17 63
[1919 Sept. 18] 63
1919 Sept. 18 63
1919 Sept. 20 63
1919 Sept. 23 63
1919 Sept. 24 63
[1919 Sept. 24] 63
1919 Sept. 24 63
1919 Sept. 24 63
1919 Sept. 25 63
1919 Sept. 27 63
1919 Oct. 3 63
1919 Oct. 17 63
1919 Oct. 20 63
1919 Nov. 2 64
1919 Nov. 7 64
1919 Nov. 7 64
* 1919 Nov. 8 64
* 1919 Nov. 8 64
1919 Nov. 12 64
1919 Nov. 13 64
* 1919 Nov. 14 64
* 1919 Nov. 14 64
1919 Nov. 16 64
191[9] Nov. 17 64
1919 Nov. 17 64
* 1919 Nov. 18 64

Caminetti, Anthony (BOImm – cont'd.)
* 1919 Nov. 24 64
1919 Nov. 24 64
1919 Nov. 24 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
1919 Nov. 26 64
* 1919 Nov. 29 64
* 1919 Nov. 29 64
* 1919 Nov. 29 64
* 1919 Dec. 1 64
* 1919 Dec. 1 64
* 1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
* 1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
* 1919 Dec. 2 64
* [19]19 Dec. 2 64
* 1919 Dec. 2 64
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[19]19 Dec. 2 64
* 1919 Dec. 3 64
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* 1919 Dec. 4 64
* 1919 Dec. 4 64
* 1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
* 1919 Dec. 5 64
* 1919 Dec. 5 64
* [19]19 Dec. 6 64
* 1919 Dec. 6 64
* 1919 Dec. 6 64
* 1919 Dec. 6 64
* 1919 Dec. 6 64
1919 Dec. 6 64
1919 Dec. 8 64
1919 Dec. 8 64
1919 Dec. 8 64
1919 Dec. 8 64
1919 Dec. 11 64
1919 Dec. 16 64
1919 Dec. 18 64
* 1919 Dec. 19 64
1919 Dec. 19 64
* 1919 Dec. 23 65
1919 Dec. 23 65
1919 Dec. 24 65
1919 Dec. 26 65
[1920] Jan. 3 65
1920 Jan. 3 65
1920 Jan. 7 65
1920 Jan. 9 65
* 1920 Jan. 10 65
* 1920 Jan. 10 65
* 1920 Jan. 10 65
1920 Jan. 24 65
1920 Jan. 29 65
* 1920 Feb. 6 65
1920 Feb. 6 65
1920 Feb. 6 65
1920 Feb. 7 65
1920 Feb. 10 65
1920 Feb. 11 65
1920 Feb. 12 65
1920 Feb. 12 65
1920 Feb. 18 65
* 1920 March 2 65
1920 March 2 65
1920 March 11 65
1920 March 12 65
1920 March 23 65
1920 March 30 65
1920 March 30 65
1920 April 9 65
* 1920 April 14 65
1920 April 17 65
* 1920 April 19 65
* [19]20 May 29 65
1921 Jan. 13 65

Campbell, John B. (MID)
* 1919 June 25 62
* 1919 Dec. 2 64
* 1919 Dec. 4 64
* 1919 Dec. 4 64
* 1919 Dec. 8 64

Campbell, Richard K. (BOImm)
1908 March 18 56
1908 March 18 56
1908 April 4 56
1908 April 11 56
* 1908 June 18 56

Campbell, W. L. (MID)
1918 Jan. 11 60
1918 Jan. 12 60
1918 Jan. 13 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
* 1918 Jan. 21 60

Canadian Customs Division
1934 Feb. 13 66
* 1934 Feb. 16 66
Cantin, Eugene J.
* 1933 Dec. 30 66
Capes, Ben
* 1918 March 2 61
* 1918 March 4 61
* 1918 March 7 61
* 1918 [March] 25 61
* 1918 April 10 61
* 1918 May 18 61
* 1918 June 24 61
* 1918 July 4 61
* 1918 [Sept.] 1 62
* 1918 [Sept. 9?] 62
* 1918 Oct. 18 62
* 1918 Dec. 9 62
* [19]19 Feb. 28 62
* [19]19 June 16 62
* 1919 July 15 62
Capes, Ida
* 1918 March 6 61
Capo Sezione
* 1930 May 28 66
Carlile, W. B. (POD)
* 1917 June 21 57
* 1917 July 31 57
1917 Aug. 3 57
* 1917 Aug. 15 57
1917 Aug. 24 57
1917 Oct. 31 59
* 1918 Feb. 8 61
1918 Feb. 27 61
Carpenter, Fred (WD)
* 1908 June 15 56
Carr, Walter E. (BOImm)
* 1908 April 8 56
* 1908 April 8 56
* 1908 April 9 56
Carr, Wilbur J. (DOS)
* 1908 March 26 56
* 1908 March 31 56
1908 March 31 56
[1908 April 14?] 56
Carroll, Thomas
[1918 Feb.? 23?] 61
Carter, Allan J. (DOS)
1919 Dec. 13 64
* 1920 June 18 65
Carter, John A. (DOS)
* 1920 May 11 65
Carter, Thomas R. L. (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]19 Dec. 17 67
Castle, N. H. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 July 17 62
Chaffee (MID)
* 1921 Jan. 8 65
Chalfant, H. W. (Rep)
1919 March 5 62
Chamberlin, J. W. R. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 Oct. 18 63
* 1919 Oct. 18 63
Chambers, Palmer S. (Asst US Atty)
* 1908 March 18 56
* 1908 March 18 56
* 1908 March 19 56
1908 March 20 56
* 1908 April 4 56
* 1908 Aug. 4 56
1908 Aug. 7 56
* [1908 Sept. 24] 56
* 1908 Oct. 12 56
* 1908 Oct. 23 56
* 1909 Jan. 2 56
1909 Jan. 7 56
* 1909 Jan. 16 56
* 1909 Jan. 20 56
1909 Jan. 22 56
1909 Feb. 16 56
* 1909 April 22 56
Chase, Anna E.
* 1917 June 27 57
Chastain, Edward S. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 June 2 62
* 1919 Sept. 20 63
Chef du Service de l'Identité Judiciaire
* 1900 April 19 67
Chicago Tribune
[1920] March 23 65
Chicy, Richard
* 1917 July 21 57
1917 July 25 57
Chief Special Agent (DOS)
* 1922 May 3 66

(* denotes "written by")

Chief of the General Staff, Dutch Army
* [1922 Feb. 6?] 65
Churchill, Marlborough (Dir MID)
* 1918 June 11 61
1918 June 11 61
1918 June 12 61
1918 July 19 61
1918 July 27 61
1918 Aug. 19 61
* 1918 Sept. 9 62
* 1918 Sept. 12 62
1918 Sept. 20 62
1918 Oct. 7 62
19[19] Jan. 6 62
1919 April 17 62
1919 May 1 62
1919 June 11 62
1919 June 17 62
1919 June 25 62
1919 Sept. 19 63
* 1919 Sept. 20 63
* 1919 Sept. 20 63
1919 Oct. 27 63
1919 Oct. 28 63
1919 Oct. 29 63
1919 Oct. 31 63
1919 Nov. 1 64
1919 Nov. 4 64
* 1919 Nov. 20 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
1919 Nov. 29 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 8 64
1919 Dec. 11 64
1919 Dec. 15 64
* 1919 Dec. 16 64
* [1920? Jan.?] 65
* 1920 Jan. 20 65
1920 Jan. 21 65
1920 Jan. 22 65
* 1920 Feb. 18 65
* 1920 April 3 65
* 1920 April 3 65
1920 April 14 65
1920 April 16 65
1920 April 21 65
1920 April 27 65
1920 May 7 65
1920 Aug. 5 65
Clabaugh, Hinton G. (DS BOInv)
* 1917 April 30 57
* 1917 May 2 57
* 1917 May 2 57
* 1917 May 22 57
* 1917 May 22 57
* 1917 May 31 57
* 1917 June 6 57
1917 June 28 57
* 1917 July 2 57
* 1917 July 17 57
* 1917 July 18 57
* [19]17 July 24 57
* 1917 Aug. 14 57
* 1917 Aug. 15 57
1917 Aug. 16 57
* 1917 Aug. 28 57
1917 Oct. 26 59
* 1917 Dec. 15 60
1917 Dec. 29 60
* 191[8] Jan. 4 60
* 1918 Jan. 4 60
1918 Jan. 5 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
Clafter, Michael J. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1922 March 22 65
* 1922 April 21 66
Clark, John H. (BOImm)
1908 March 31 56
1908 March 31 56
1908 April 9 56
* 1908 April 14 56
* 1908 April 20 56
1908 April 23 56
Clark, Morris
* 191[7] May 27 57
1917 May 31 57
Clayton, John
* [1920 May? 11?] 65
* 1920 June 18 65
Clemens, Addie
* 1919 June 9 62
* 1919 Aug. 24 63

Clere, J.
1919 Nov. 1 64
Clerk, City Magistrates' Court (NY)
* 1906 Nov. 5 56
Clerk, Court of Special Sessions (NY)
1916 Dec. 30 56
Clyne, Charles F. (US Atty)
* 1918 June 4 61
1918 June 11 61
Cochran, William E. (POD)
1917 May 24 57
1917 Oct. 31 59
* 1917 Nov. 5 59
1918 April 30 61
1918 Sept. 13 62
1918 Oct. 4 62
* 1919 June 24 62
Coffey, John B. (Court Clerk)
* 1915 Aug. 10 56
* 1915 Sept. 10 56
Cohen, Samuel
* 1908 May 21 56
Cohn, Anne and Michael
* 1918 Dec. 23 62
Cohn, Michael A.
* [19]19 Sept. 16 63
Colby, Bainbridge (Sect of State)
1920 April 6 65
1920 May 11 65
1920 May 25 65
1920 Aug. 9 65
Cole, J. Herbert (Agent, BOInv)
1917 Aug. 28 57
1918 Jan. 16 60
* [19]18 Jan. 17 60
1918 May 13 61
Cole, J. W. A.
* 1918 May 1 61
Coleman, F.W.B. (DOS)
* 1932 April 18 66
Collector of the Port (NY)
1919 Dec. 13 64
Collier, William Miller (DOS)
* 1907 Dec. 17 56
* 1907 Dec. 19 56
1907 Dec. 19 56
Colvin, William M. (WD)
* 1920 April 27 65
Cominsky, Samuel
* 1909 Feb. 16 56
Commanding General, Western Department (WD)
1917 May 30 57
Commentator 479-125 (PCC)
* 1918 Aug. 31 61
* 1918 Aug. 31 61
Commentator 75 (PCC)
* 1918 Aug. 19 61
* 1918 Aug. 19 61
* 1918 Aug. 19 61
Commins, Louis H.
* 1919 July 6 62
Commins, Saxe
* [1919 Sept.?] 63
Commissaire de Police
* 1900 Nov. 1 67
* 1901 Sept. 9 67
* 1902 March 26 67
* 1929 Dec. 12 67
* 1929 Dec. [12?] 67
* 1930 Feb. 28 67
* 1930 March 1 67
* 1930 April 4 67
* 1934 Jan. 27 67
Commissioner of Immigration
1907 Sept. 24 56
1907 Nov. 13 56
1919 April 26 62
1919 Oct. 28 63
1920 May 26 65
1921 Jan. 18 65
1921 Dec. 21 65
Committee for Emma Goldman's Visit to the United States
* 1933 Dec. 19 66
* [1934 Feb.?] 66
* 1934 Feb. 66
Committee on Express Transportation
1918 June 11 61
Committee on Foreign Relations, US Senate
* 1920 April 14 65
Committee on Public Information
* [1917 Oct. 25?] 59
Commons, John R.
* 1934 March 27 66

Compagnie Generale Transatlantique
* 1920 Jan. 19 65
1920 Feb. 18 65
Compton, William R. (US Marshal)
* 1908 Oct. 7 56
* 1909 Jan. 22 56
* 1909 April 9 56
Comrade Workers
1920 Jan. 1 65
1920 Jan. 1 65
Comstock, Anthony (POD)
1910 Jan. 15 56
* 1910 Jan. 26 56
1910 Jan. 26 56
* 1910 Jan. 28 56
Connell (Agent, BOInv)
1919 Oct. 9 63
Conner, Fox (WD)
* 1934 March 16 66
Console Generale d' Italia
* 1903 May 8 56
* 1912 April 5 56
* 1929 June 21 66
* 1938 April 22 66
Content, Harold A. (Asst US Atty)
1917 June [8?] 57
1917 June 24 57
1917 June 24 57
1917 June 24 57
1917 June 24 57
* 1917 June 26 57
* 1917 July 9 58
1917 Aug. 14 57
* 1917 Aug. 16 57
Converse, C. L. (MID)
* 1919 Oct. 28 63
Cook, Cassius V.
* 1917 June 25 57
* 1918 Feb. 61
* 1918 Feb. 20 61
* 1918 March 15 61
* 1919 Nov. 21 64
Cook, Nancy
* 1938 Jan. 27 66
Cooley, Alford W. (Asst Atty Gen)
1908 March 19 56
Cooper Union
* [1919] Sept. 1 63
* [1919 Sept. 1] 63
Cope
* 1925 Nov. [8?] 66
Copeland, Lynn (MID)
* 1919 Dec. 10 64
Cortelyou, George B. (Sect to Pres)
* 1901 Dec. 26 56
Court of General Sessions of the Peace (NY)
* 1893 Oct. 4 56
* 1916 Nov. 20 56
Cowles, Henry D. (NHPD)
* 1909 May 15 56
1909 May 18 56
Cowles, W. H. (Chief, MID)
1922 Feb. 9 65
* 1922 Feb. 11 65
* 1922 Feb. 11 65
Coxe, Alexander B. (AD MID)
1920 Jan. 2 65
* 1920 April 20 65
* 1920 May 17 65
1920 June 2 65
* 1920 June 16 65
1920 Aug. 14 65
1920 Aug. 17 65
Crane, Richard (DOS)
1918 Jan. 25 60
1918 Jan. 31 60
Creel, George (CPI)
1917 June 28 57
* 1917 June 29 57
1917 Oct. 25 59
1917 Oct. 25 59
1917 Oct. 27 59
1918 Jan. 5 60
* 1918 Jan. 7 60
1918 Jan. 10 60
* 1918 Jan. 12 60
1918 Feb. 1 61
1918 Feb. 23 61
1918 March 13 61
Creighton, John T. (DOJ)
1919 Aug. 23 63
* 1919 Aug. 25 63
* 1919 Sept. 22 63

Creighton, John T. (DOJ – cont'd.)
1919 Oct. 13 63
* 1919 Oct. 20 63
Creighton, Vincent P. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 Oct. 17 63
* [19]19 Oct. 18 63
* 1919 Oct. 18 63
* 1919 Oct. 18 63
* 1919 Oct. 22 63
* 1919 Nov. 26 64
* [19]19 Dec. 3 64
Crocker, (Mrs.) E. Frank Smith
* 1901 Sept. 15 56
Crocker, Edward Savage (DOS)
* 1932 April 29 66
Crockett, Thomas B. (MID)
* 1919 April 17 62
1919 July 15 62
* 1919 Sept. 19 63
* 1919 Nov. 12 64
* 1919 Nov. 14 64
* 1919 Nov. 18 64
* 1919 Nov. 18 64
* 1919 Nov. 19 64
1919 Nov. 20 64
* 1919 Nov. 25 64
* 1919 Nov. 28 64
* 1919 Nov. 29 64
* 1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 9 64
* 1919 Dec. 13 64
* 1919 Dec. 15 64
Cronaca Sovversiva
* 191[8] Jan. 30 60
[19]18 Jan. 30 60
Crosby, Grant (TD)
* 1917 Aug. 18 57
Crouch, Mabel Carver
* [1933] 66
* 1933 Dec. 5 66
* 1933 Dec. 5 66
1933 Dec. 21 66
Croul, Frank (DePD)
1910 Jan. 4 56
Crumpacker, E. D. (Rep)
1901 Sept. 11 56
* 1901 Sept. 18 56
Cummerow, G. F. R. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 Nov. 25 64
* 1919 Nov. 29 64
Cummings, Homer (Atty Gen)
1936 Feb. 18 66
D'Halevy, S.
1920 March 16 65
D., H. L. (WD)
* 1918 Aug. 7 61
D., R. O. (BOImm)
* 1907 Dec. 11 56
D., Z. L.
* 1918 Feb. 27 61
Département du Var
* [1930] 66
* 1930 66
* 1930 66
* 1930 66
Dalby (POD)
* [1918] April 15 61
[19]18 April 16 61
Daniel, Todd (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 Dec. 17 60
1919 Nov. 20 64
* 1919 Dec. 18 64
Dann, T. (RCMP)
* [19]26 Oct. 22 66
* [19]27 Feb. 4 66
Darling, R. A. (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]22 March 24 65
* [19]22 June 5 66
* [19]22 June 5 66
* 1922 June 10 66
Daugherty, Harry M. (Atty Gen)
1921 April 23 65
[1921 Dec. 10?] 65
1922 Jan. 12 65
1922 March 25 65
Davies, Daniel D. (BOImm)
* 1907 Nov. 22 56
* 1909 Jan. 2 56
* 1909 Jan. 8 56
1909 Jan. 12 56
* 1909 Jan. 15 56
* 1909 Feb. 16 56
* 1909 May 3 56
Davis, E.
* 1919 Nov. 4 64

Davis, Edward (WD)
* 1920 April 15 65
* 1920 Aug. 5 65
Davis, George B. (WD)
* 1908 June 19 56
1908 June 24 56
* 1908 July 3 56
* 1908 July 15 56
Davis, James J. (Sect of Labor)
[1926? Nov.? 17?] 66
Davis, John W. (Sol Gen)
* 1917 Aug. 7 57
* 1917 Aug. 7 57
1917 Aug. 8 57
1917 Aug. 8 57
* 1917 Aug. 9 57
1917 Aug. 11 57
* 1917 Aug. 13 57
1917 Aug. 16 57
* 1917 Aug. 17 57
1917 Aug. 22 57
1917 Sept. 6 59
1917 Sept. 6 59
1917 Sept. 8 59
* 1917 Sept. 10 59
* 1917 Sept. 14 59
1917 Sept. 15 59
* 1917 Sept. 17 59
1917 Sept. 19 59
* 1917 Sept. 20 59
1917 Sept. 21 59
* 1917 Sept. 22 59
* 1917 Sept. 26 59
* 1917 Sept. 26 59
* 1917 Sept. [26] 59
1917 Sept. 27 59
1917 Sept. 27 59
1917 Sept. 27 59
* 1917 Sept. 28 59
1917 Sept. 28 59
1917 Sept. 28 59
1917 Sept. 2[8?] 59
* 1917 Sept. 29 59
* 1917 Sept. 29 59
* 1917 Oct. [2] 59
* 1917 Oct. [2] 59
* 1917 Oct. 10 59
* 1917 Oct. 10 59
1917 Oct. 13 59
* 1917 Oct. 15 59
1917 Nov. 19 59
* 1917 Nov. 22 59
1917 Nov. 23 59
* 1917 Nov. 28 59
1917 Nov. 28 59
1917 Nov. 28 59
1917 Nov. 28 59
* 1917 Nov. 30 59
* 1917 Nov. 30 59
* 1917 Nov. 30 59
* 1917 Dec. 4 60
1917 Dec. 4 60
1917 Dec. 6 60
* 1917 Dec. 10 60
1917 Dec. 14 60
* 1917 Dec. 18 60
* 1917 Dec. 26 60
1917 Dec. 29 60
1917 Dec. 29 60
* 1917 Dec. 31 60
1918 Jan. 5 60
* 1918 Jan. 8 60
[1918 Jan. 14?] 60
* 1918 Jan. 16 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
* 1918 Jan. 25 60
* 1918 Jan. 28 60
1918 Jan. 29 60
* 1918 Jan. 30 60
* 1918 Jan. 30 60
* 1918 Jan. 30 60
1918 Feb. 4 61
1918 Feb. 7 61
* 1918 Feb. 8 61
* 1918 March 4 61
1918 March 4 61
1918 March 7 61
* 1918 March 9 61
Davis, John W., and Harry Weinberger
* 1917 Aug. 17 57
* 1917 Sept. 10 59
Davis, M. J. (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]19 Sept. 24 63
* [19]19 Sept. 24 63

Day, Benjamin M. (PCC)
* 1919 April 1 62
Dayal, Har
* 1915 Oct. 20 56
* [1915 Oct. 20] 56
* [1915 Oct. 25] 56
* 1915 Oct. 25 56
De Herrera, Marquis
* 1907 Nov. 25 56
1907 Nov. 27 56
1907 Dec. 17 56
* 1907 Dec. 19 56
De Munel, Theodore
* [19]19 Dec. 7 64
1919 Dec. 11 64
Deane, Julia E.
* 1934 June 3 66
1934 June 7 66
Dennett, Mary Ware
* 1934 Feb. [15?] 66
Department of Justice
* [1908 March 19 to 1934 May 18] 56
* [1917 May 29 to Dec. 26] . . 57
1917 June 13 57
1917 June 15 57
1917 June 25 57
1917 Nov. 28 59
* [1917 Dec. 29 - 1919 April 23] 60
1918 March 18 61
1918 March 27 61
1918 April 6 61
* [1918 June 4 to 1933 April 18] 61
* 1919 Sept. 18 63
1919 Sept. 28 63
1919 Nov. 18 64
* [19]19 Dec. 15 64
* [1920 Jan.?] 65
* [1920 Jan.?] 65
* [1920 Jan.?] 65
* [1920? May?] 65
* 1920 Oct. 2 65
* 1921 April 2 65
* 1921 May 28 65
* 1921 July 23 65
* 1921 Aug. 6 65
* 1921 Sept. 17 65
1921 Nov. 9 65
* 1924 Nov. 15 66
* 1924 Dec. 15 66
* 1925 March 15 to April 15 . . 66
1933 Aug. 14 66
Department of Labor
1920 March 16 65
1930 March 27 66
* 1934 Jan. 9 66
Department of State
* [1920 March 12?] 65
* 1920 March 16 65
* [1921? Jan.?] 65
* 1922 July 26 66
* [1932 April 1-15] 66
* [1932 April 16?-29] 66
Department of the Navy
1916 Dec. 26 56
Detective Bureau, Washington, D.C.
* [1907? Dec.?] 56
DeWoody, Charles (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 June 2 57
1918 June 13 61
1918 Oct. 25 62
1918 Nov. 13 62
Dickason, D. H. (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]27 Oct. 17 66
Dickinson, Joseph M. (Sect of War)
1909 April 6 56
DiLillo, D. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1922 March 16 65
Dillon, John C.
* 1919 Oct. 20 63
Directeur Général des Recherches
1900 March 27 67
1900 April 19 67
1900 April 27 67
* 1900 [Dec.?] 24 67
1902 March 4 67
1902 March 7 67
Directeur du Cabinet
1900 [Dec.?] 24 67
Directeur, Sûreté Générale
* 1921 Dec. 24 67
Direction Générale des Recherches
* 1900 March 29 67
* 190[1 Sept.?] 67
* 1902 March 12 67
Dockery, A. M. (POD)
* 1916 June 5 56

Dockery, A. M. (POD – cont'd.)
1916 July 3 56
* 1916 July 6 56
1916 July 7 56
* 1917 June 30 57
1917 July 5 57
1917 July 12 57
1917 Sept. 11 59
* 1917 Sept. 12 59
* 1917 Sept. 25 59

Dodds, Nugent (Asst Atty Gen)
1931 Nov. 30 66
* 1931 Dec. 7 66

Dolan, John H. (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]22 March 6 65

Dolley, E. H. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1918 May 10 61

Domas, Louis J. (BOImm)
* 1907 Nov. 19 56
* 1907 Dec. 12 56
* 1907 Dec. 14 56

Dominion Bank
* 1940 Feb. 22 to June 17 . . . 66

Donnelly (POD)
[1918 July?] 61

Dowd, John A. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 Nov. 26 64
* 1919 Nov. 26 64
* 1919 Nov. 29 64

Doyle (DOS)
[19]26 Nov. 29 66

Duehay, Francis H. (Supt of Prisons)
* 1918 April 2 61
1918 April 9 61
* 1918 April 13 61
* 1918 April 13 61
1918 April 15 61
1918 Nov. 13 62
* 1918 Nov. 14 62
1919 Jan. 14 62
1919 March 4 62
* 1919 March 5 62
* 1919 May 9 62

Duncan, Joseph W. (WD)
* 1908 May 22 56

Dunn, James R. (BOImm)
* 1908 Feb. 28 56
* 1908 Feb. 28 56
1908 Feb. 28 56
1917 July 20 57
1919 Feb. 25 62
* 1919 Sept. 13 63
* 1919 Sept. 13 63
1919 Sept. 15 63
* 1919 Sept. 17 63
1919 Sept. 20 63
* 1919 Sept. 22 63
1919 Sept. 25 63
* 1919 Sept. 27 63

Dunn, John M. (MID)
1919 Jan. 10 62
1919 Jan. 16 62
* 1919 March 17 62
1919 April 1 62
* 1920 Sept. 28 65
1920 Oct. 6 65

Dunois, Amédée
* 1907 [Aug.] 56

ER., L.
* [19]01 Sept. 20 56

Earl, Charles (BOImm)
1907 Nov. 21 56
* 1907 Dec. 28 56
* 1908 March 21 56

Eddy, Spencer (ONI)
1917 Nov. 28 59
* 1917 Dec. 5 60
* 1917 Dec. 5 60
* 1918 Jan. 5 60
* 1918 Feb. 26 61
* 1918 March 1 61
1918 April 22 61

Edson, H. F. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1918 June 25 61

Edwards, John H. (POD)
1922 Feb. 13 65
* 1922 April 15 66

Elder, Thomas L.
* 1919 Dec. 7 64

Ellerstein, S.
* 1907 Jan. 11 56

Ely, Matt (POD)
* 1917 Sept. 10 59
1917 Sept. 11 59

Emma Goldman Lecture Committee
* 1927 Oct.-Dec. 66

(* denotes "written by")

Emmanuel, A. E. (Agent)
* [btw. 1901 and 1914] 56
Ericson, Melvin B. (MID)
* 1918 May 18 61
* 1918 May 25 61
Euréka (Agent, PP)
* 1895 Sept. 12 67
* 1899 Nov. 11 67
* 1899 Nov. 17 67
* 1899 Nov. 21 67
* 1899 Nov. 28 67
* 1900 Jan. 22 67
* 1900 Feb. 27 67
Evans, A. (MID)
* 1917 June 2 57
* 1917 Nov. 10 59
1918 Jan. 14 60
1918 Jan. 14 60
1918 Jan. 26 60
1918 March 16 61
Examiner (PCC)
* [1918 June? 12?] 61
Examiner 1114 (PCC)
* 1918 April 11 61
Examiner 129 (PCC)
* 1918 April 24 61
Examiner 151 (PCC)
* 1918 Feb. 28 61
Examiner 16 (PCC)
* 1918 March 6 61
Examiner 27 (PCC)
* 1918 March 22 61
Examiner 306 (PCC)
* 1918 March 1 61
* 1918 March 6 61
Examiner 311 (PCC)
* 1918 March 4 61
Executive Committee of the Soviets
* 1920 Jan. 1 65
* 1920 Jan. 1 65
F., H. A. (DOJ)
* [1919 July? 31?] 62
Faulhaber, Frank B. (Agent, BOInv)
* [1919 Sept. 30?] 63
* 1919 Sept. 30 63
* 1919 Sept. 30 63
* [19]19 Sept. 30 63
* 1919 Sept. 30 63
* [19]19 Oct. 27 63
* 1919 Oct. 27 63
Federal Bureau of Investigation
* [193-?] 66
* [193-?] 67
* 1936 Feb. 18 66
1938 March 14 66
* 1938 July 26 66
* 1938 Dec. 2 66
[1940 May? 14?] 66
* 1942 Oct. 16 66
Fergus, P. J. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 Dec. 6 64
Fickert, Charles M. (SFDA)
* [1918? June?] 56
Field, Sara Bard
* 1917 June 27 57
Finch, Rayme W. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1918 July 25 61
* 1918 July 25 61
* 1918 Aug. 30 61
* 1918 Oct. 22 62
* 1918 Oct. 25 62
* 1918 Nov. 1[5?] 62
* 1919 July 21 62
1919 Oct. 28 63
[1919 Oct. 29] 63
1919 Nov. 6 64
Findley, James G. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 Aug. 27 57
Finerty, William J.
* [1917 June 27 to July 9] . . . 58
1917 Aug. 2 57
* 1919 Oct. 1 63
* [1919 Oct. 1?] 63
* 1919 Oct. 1 63
* 1919 Dec. 8 64
Finot (PP)
* 1900 Oct. 31 56
Fisher, Dorothy Canfield
* 1933 Nov. 18 66
Fisher, Thomas M. (BOImm)
* 1918 Aug. 24 61
Fishman, Minna
* 1918 March 26 61
* [1918 May?] 61
Fitch, T. F. (POD)
* 1918 April 30 61

Fitts, William C. (Asst Atty Gen)
* 1917 May 29 57
1917 May 29 57
* 1917 June 26 57
* 1917 July 23 57
* 1917 July 25 57
1917 Sept. 13 59
1917 Oct. 3 59
1917 Oct. 3 59
* 1917 Oct. 4 59
* 1917 Oct. 13 59
1917 Oct. 13 59
1917 Oct. 13 59
* 1917 Oct. 15 59
1917 Oct. 19 59
1917 Oct. 24 59
1917 Oct. 24 59
* 1917 Oct. 31 59
1917 Oct. 31 59
* 1917 Nov. 2 59
1917 Nov. 2 59
1917 Nov. 2 59
* 1917 Nov. 3 59
* 1917 Nov. 3 59
1917 Nov. 5 59
* 1917 Nov. 15 59
* 1917 Nov. 19 59
1917 Dec. 22 60
* 1918 Jan. 16 60
* 1918 June 11 61
* 1918 June 11 61

Fitzgerald, M. Eleanor ("Fitzi")
* 1917 [July?] 57
* 1917 July 28 57
* [1918 March?] 61
* 1918 March 2 61
* 1918 March 2 61
* 1918 March 2 61
* 1918 March 3 61
* 1918 March 5 61
* 1918 March 5 61
[1918 March 5] 61
* 1918 March 8 61
* 1918 March 10 61
1918 March 10 61
* 1918 March 11 61
* 1918 March 11 61
* 1918 March 12 61
* 1918 March 14 61
* 1918 March 15 61
* 1918 March 16 61
1918 March 16 61
* 1918 March 18 61
* 1918 March 19 61
* 1918 March 20 61
* 1918 March 22 61
[1918 March 24] 61
* 1918 March 26 61
* 1918 March [26] 61
* 1918 March 26 61
* 1918 March 27 61
* 1918 March 28 61
* 1918 March 31 61
1918 March 31 61
* [1918 April?] 61
* 1918 April 2 61
* 1918 April 3 61
* 1918 April 4 61
* 1918 April 7 61
* 1918 April 9 61
* 1918 April 11 61
* 1918 April 14 61
1918 April 14 61
* 1918 April 17 61
* 1918 April 18 61
* [1918] April 20 61
* 1918 April 20 61
* 1918 April 22 61
* 1918 April 27 61
1918 April 28 61
* 1918 April 29 61
* 1918 M[ay?] 61
* 1918 May 2 61
* 1918 May 3 61
* 1918 M[ay? 4?] 61
* 1918 May 7 61
* 1918 May 8 61
1918 May 13 61
* 1918 May 15 61
* 1918 May 17 61
* 1918 May 1[8?] 61
* 1918 May 27 61
1918 May 2[7] 61
* 1918 May 31 61
* 1918 June 3 61
[1918 June 3?] 61
* 1918 June 5 61

Fitzgerald, M. Eleanor ("Fitzi" – cont'd.)

1918 June 9 61
* 1918 June 12 61
* 1918 June 16 61
1918 June 16 61
* 1918 June 18 61
* 1918 June 19 61
* 1918 June 22 61
[19]18 June 23 61
* 1918 June 25 61
1918 June 30 61
* [1918 July?] 61
* 1918 July 2 61
* 1918 July 4 61
1918 July 4 61
* 1918 July 6 61
* 1918 [July] 7 61
1918 July 7 61
* 1918 July 10 61
1918 July 21 61
* 1918 Ju[ly] 22 61
1918 July 28 61
* 1918 July 30 61
1918 Aug. 4 61
* 1918 Aug. 8 61
* 1918 Aug. 11 61
* 1918 Aug. 13 61
* 1918 Aug. 16 61
1918 Aug. 18 61
* 1918 Aug. 19 61
* 1918 Aug. 22 61
* 1918 Aug. 23 61
[1918 Aug. 25] 61
* [1918] Aug. 27 61
* [1918 Aug.? 30?] 61
* [1918 Sept.?] 62
* [1918 Sept.?] 62
[19]18 Sept. 1 62
* 1918 Sept. 3 62
* 1918 Sept. 6 62
* 1918 Sept. 8 62
1918 Sept. 8 62
1918 Sept. 15? 62
* 1918 Sept. 18 62
* 1918 Sept. 20 62
[1]918 Sept. 22 62
* 1918 Sept. 23 62
* 1918 Sept. [26?] 62
* 1918 Sept. 27 62
[19]18 Sept. [29?] 62
* 1918 Sept. 30 62
* [1918 Oct.?] 62
* 1918 O[ct.] 7 62
1918 Oct. [20?] 62
* 1918 Oct. 21 62
* 1918 Oct. 23 62
* 1918 Oct. 25 62
1918 Oct. 27 62
* [1918] Oct. 31 62
* 1918 Nov. 3 62
1918 Nov. [3] 62
* 1918 Nov. 5 62
* 1918 Nov. [7?] 62
* 1918 Nov. [9?] 62
1918 N[ov.] 10 62
1918 N[ov.] 10 62
* 1918 Nov. 11 62
* 1918 Nov. 15 62
1918 Nov. 17 62
[19]18 Nov. 24 62
1918 Nov. 27 62
* 1918 Nov. 29 62
1918 Dec. 1 62
* 1918 Dec. 4 62
1918 Dec. 8 62
* 1918 Dec. 14 62
1918 Dec. 15 62
* 1918 Dec. 18 62
* [1918 Dec. 21 62
[1918 Dec. 22] 62
1918 [Dec. 25] 62
* 1918 Dec. 27 62
1918 Dec. 29 62
* 1919 Jan. 2 62
1919 Jan. 5 62
* 1919 Jan. 7 62
* 1919 Jan. 9 62
* 1919 Jan. 13 62
* 1919 Jan. 18 62
1919 Jan. 19 62
* 1919 Jan. 24 62
* 1919 Jan. 25 62
* 1919 Jan. 30 62
* 1919 Feb. 1 62
* 1919 Feb. 1 62

Fitzgerald, M. Eleanor ("Fitzi" – cont'd.)
1919 Feb. 2 62
* 1919 Feb. 5 62
* 1919 Feb. 13 62
* 1919 Feb. 16 62
1919 Feb. 16 62
* 1919 Feb. 18 62
* 1919 Feb. 22 62
* 1919 Feb. 25 62
* 1919 Feb. 28 62
* 1919 March 18 62
* [1919 May?] 62
* 1919 May 22 62
* 1919 May 29 62
* [1919 June?] 62
1919 June 3 62
* 1919 [June 5?] 62
* 1919 June 13 62
1919 June 15 62
* 1919 June 16 62
* 1919 June 21 62
* 1919 June 25 62
* 1919 June 26 62
* 1919 June 30 62
1919 July 4 62
* 1919 July 7 62
* 1919 July 10 62
1919 July 13 62
* 1919 July 17 62
* 1919 July 18 62
* 1919 July 29 62
* 19[19] Aug. 5 63
* 1919 Aug. 9 63
* 1919 Aug. 12 63
* [1919] Aug. 18 63
* [19]19 Aug. 21 63
1919 Aug. 24 63
[1919] Sept. [7] 63
* 1919 Sept. 11 63
* 1919 Sept. 12 63
* 1919 Sept. 14 63
[1919 Sept. 14?] 63
* 1919 Sept. 19 63
1919 Sept. 21 63
* 1919 Sept. 22 63
* [19]19 Sept. 27 63
1919 Sept. 28 63
1920 Jan. 25 65
[1920 Jan. 28] 65
* 1920 June 30 65
* 1920 June 30 65
* 1921 July 26 65
* 1921 July 26 65

Fitzgerald, M.E., and D.L. Rudin
* 1918 March 6 61

Flannery, Thomas
* 1908 Dec. 7 56

Fletcher, G. F. (RCMP)
* [19]28 Feb. 10 66

Flood, Edward H.
* 1919 Jan. 10 62

Flournoy, J. T. (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]23 Jan. 29 66

Flynn, William J. (Agent, Sec Ser)
* 1901 Sept. 17 56
* 1901 Oct. 1 56
* 1901 Oct. 18 56

Folkmar, Daniel, and Nathaniel G. Schlamm (BOImm)
* 1907 Nov. 12 56
* [1907 Nov. 12] 56

Forster, W. A.
* 1908 Dec. 29 56

Forsyth, William H. (Agent, Sec Ser)
* 1901 Sept. 20 56

Foster, Thomas B. (Agent, Sec Ser)
* 1919 May 1 62
* 1919 Dec. 11 64

Foster, Walter C. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1921 Nov. 14 65

Foulke, William Dudley
* 1908 April 10 56

Fouquet
* 1900 [June?] 67
* 1900 Nov. 1 67
* [1900] Nov. 1 67

Foureur (PP)
* 1900 June 19 56
* 1900 July 31 67
* 1900 July 31 67
* 1900 Aug. 20 67
* 1900 Aug. 20 67
* 1900 Oct. 9 67
* 1900 Oct. 9 67
* 1900 Oct. 9 67

Foureur (PP – cont'd.)
* 1900 [Dec.?] 24 67
* 1901 Sept. 10 67
* 1907 Sept. 25 67
* 1907 Oct. 6 67

Francis (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 June 29 57

Fraser, J. S.
* 1926 Nov. 3 66
1926 Nov. 6 66
* 1926 Nov. 23 66

Frelinghuysen (Sen)
* [1919 Oct.] 63

Frey, Charles Daniel (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 Aug. 25 57
* 1917 Aug. 27 57
* 1917 Aug. 28 57

Frierson, William L. (Asst Atty Gen)
* 1919 March 26 62
* 1919 July 1 62
1919 July 8 62
* 1919 July 11 62
* 1919 Aug. 7 63

Friesell, H. E.
1917 May 25 57
* 191[7] May 27 57

Frothingham, Henry (MID)
* 1919 Dec. 11 64

Frumkin, Abraham
* [1918 March 5] 61

Funston, Frederick (WD)
* 1908 June 30 56

Fuqua, Stephen O. (MID)
* 1922 July 13 66
1922 July 28 66

Furbershaw, W. L. (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]17 Aug. 10 57
* 1917 Oct. 27 59

G., Edward Y. (POD)
* 1917 Sept. 15 59

Gale, Linn A. E.
* 1919 Oct. 15 63
* 1919 Oct. 15 63

Gallo, James
* 1918 Nov. 16 62
* 1919 April 5 62
* 1919 Sept. 19 63

Garcia, R. B.
* 1918 Aug. 3 61
* 1919 July 24 62

Garvan (DOJ)
1919 Oct. 20 63

Gassel, J. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 June 2 57

Gatens, William N. (Judge)
* 1915 Aug. 13 56

Gates, Amelia P., et al.
* [1917] July 6 57

Gauss, Henry C. (DOJ)
* 1909 Feb. 5 56

Gay, Margaret G.
* [1918 July?] 61

Gay (POD)
* 1917 April 18 57
1917 May 10 57

Geary, John W. (MID)
* 1919 Jan. 16 62

Gibson, Hugh S. (DOS)
1921 Dec. 23 65
* 1922 Jan. 12 65

Gilchrist, Jr., Alexander (Court Clerk)
* 19[19 Oct.] 1 63

Gilvin, Porter (Warden, MSP)
1918 Feb. 5 61
1918 March 18 61
1918 March 18 61
1918 March 19 61
1919 May 9 62
1919 Sept. 8 63

Goldberg, Rosa
* 1919 Dec. 2 64

Goldblatt, Lillian
* 1918 March 14 61

Goldman, Emma
* [1898 Feb. 5] 56
* [1898 March 5] 56
* [1898 March 12] 56
* [1898 March 26] 56
* [1898 April 2] 56
* [1900] May 19 67
* 1906 Nov. 2 56
* 1907 Jan. 6 56
* [1908?] 67
* [1909? Jan.?] 56
* 1909 Jan. 25 56

Goldman, Emma (cont'd.)
* [1910?] 67
* [1911 March 1] 56
* 1913 67
* 1914 67
* 1916 67
* 1916 67
* [1916 April 20] 56
* 1916 Nov. 2 56
* [1917?] 67
* [1917] 67
* 1917 May 18 57
* 1917 May 25 57
* 1917 June 7 57
* 1917 June 14 57
* [1917 June 14] 57
* 1917 July 11 57
* 1917 July 11 57
* [1917] July 11 57
* [1917] July 11 57
* 1917 Aug. 1 57
* 1917 Sept. 13 59
* 1917 Sept. 28 59
* 1917 Nov. 21 59
* 1917 Dec. 18 60
* 1917 Dec. 18 60
* 1917 Dec. 18 60
* 1917 Dec. 18 60
* 191[8] Jan. 29 60
* 191[8] Jan. 29 60
1918 March 8 61
1918 March 8 61
1918 March 8 61
1918 March 9 61
1918 March 9 61
1918 March 9 61
1918 March 10 61
* 1918 March 13 61
1918 March 14 61
* 1919 J[an.] 26 62
* 1919 Jan. 26 62
[1919] Sept. 1 63
[1919 Sept. 1] 63
* 1919 Oct. 27 63
* 1919 Nov. 5 64
* 1919 Nov. 23 64
* [1919 Nov. 26] 64
* [1919 Dec. 12?] 64
* 1919 Dec. 19 64
* 1920 Jan. 16 65
* 1920 Jan. 28 65
* [1920 Jan. 28] 65
* [1920 Jan. 28] 65
* 1920 Jan. 29 65
1921 Nov. 16 65
1921 Dec. 6 65
1921 Dec. 10 65
* 1921 Dec. 20 65
* 1921 Dec. 31 65
* 1922 67
* [1922 March? 17?] 65
* [1923 April?] 66
* 1923 May 18 66
* 1924 March 66
* 1924 March 66
1933 Dec. 5 66
1933 Dec. 5 66
* 1933 Dec. 26 66

Goldman, Emma, and Alexander Berkman
* [1916 Sept.?] 56
* 1917 June [8?] 57
[1917 July?] 57
* 1917 July 3 57
* [1919] 67
* 1919 Nov. 1 64
* 1919 Nov. 1 64
* 1920 Jan. 10 65
* 1920 Jan. 10 65
* 1920 Jan. 29 65
* 1920 March 13 65
* [1920 March 13?] 65
* [19]20 Sept. 12 65
* 192[2] Jan. 10 65
1922 Jan. 17 65

Goldman, Emma, et al.
* 1910 Jan. 67
* 1914 July 67
* 1916 April 20 56
* 1917 July 57
* 1917 July 57
* 1918 Jan. 60
* 1918 Feb. 61
* 1918 March 61
* 1918 April 61

(* denotes "written by")

Goldman, Emma; Alexander Berkman; and Hippolyte Havel
* 1907 July 28 56
Goldman, Taube
* 1923 March 23 65
Goldstein, Simon
* 1908 May 20 56
Gompers, Samuel J. (DOL)
* 1920 Feb. 10 65
* 1920 Feb. 24 65
* 1920 March 23 65
Goodwin, Russell P. (Asst Atty Gen)
1910 Jan. 25 56
* 1910 Feb. 2 56
* 1910 Feb. 2 56
1910 Feb. 4 56
Gould, (Mrs.) F.R.
* [1934 March?] 66
Gouled, Peter
* 1919 Dec. 29 65
1920 Jan. 2 65
Graham, Samuel J. (Asst Atty Gen)
* 1917 July 16 57
* 1918 April 2 61
* [1918 May 24?] 61
Grainsky, Joseph (POD)
1919 Sept. 5 63
Graves, W. Brooke
* 1934 Jan. 12 66
Gray (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 July 17 57
Green, A. S.
1917 [Aug. 1?] 57
Green, Leon
* 1919 Dec. 8 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
* [19]19 Dec. 19 64
Gregory, Thomas Watt (Atty Gen)
191[7] May 27 57
1917 May 31 57
* 1917 June 1 57
1917 June 2 57
1917 June 2 57
* 1917 June 4 57
1917 June 21 57
1917 June 27 57
1917 June 27 57
1917 June 27 57
[1917] July 6 57
1917 July 11 57
[19]17 July 17 57
* 1917 July 18 57
1917 July 18 57
* 1917 July 19 57
1917 July 19 57
1917 July 21 57
1917 Aug. 4 57
1917 Sept. 6 59
1917 Sept. 13 59
1917 Sept. 14 59
1917 Oct. 4 59
1917 Oct. 11 59
1917 Oct. 13 59
1917 Oct. 19 59
* 1917 Oct. 20 59
[1917 Oct. 25?] 59
* 1917 Oct. 27 59
* 1917 Oct. 27 59
1917 Oct. 28 59
* 1917 Oct. 31 59
1917 Oct. 31 59
* 1917 Nov. 2 59
1917 Nov. 5 59
1917 Nov. 5 59
* 1917 Nov. 6 59
1917 Nov. 8 59
1917 Nov. 14 59
1917 Nov. 15 59
1917 Nov. 22 59
1917 Dec. 21 60
1918 Jan. 7 60
* 1918 Jan. 10 60
1918 Jan. 12 60
1918 Jan. 15 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 19 60
1918 Feb. 5 61
* 1918 Feb. 23 61
1918 Feb. 26 61
* 1918 March 4 61
1918 March 13 61
1918 March 19 61
[1918 May 20?] 61
1918 June 4 61
1919 Jan. 27 62

Grey, Edward (DOS)
1908 Feb. 28 56
Grossman, B. N. (APL)
* 1918 Jan. 22 60
Gruenberg, John (BOImm)
* 1908 May 21 56
* [1908 May 27] 56
* [1908 May 27] 56
Grumbach
* 1901 March 26 67
Grunewald, H. W. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 June 12 57
* 1917 June [21?] 57
* 1917 June [21?] 57
* 1917 June 25 57
* 1917 June 29 57
* 1917 June 30 57
* 1917 Sept. 13 59
Guffey, D. S. (POD)
* 1917 Sept. 11 59
1917 Sept. 11 59
* 1917 Sept. 15 59
Guilfoyle, Thomas (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]22 March 9 65
Guillotine Club
* [1917? Dec.?] 60
Gunther, Franklin Mott (DOS)
1921 Dec. 23 65
Guthrie, Hugh
1934 Jan. 19 66
Haas, John L. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 Nov. 12 64
Hajek (Agent?)
* 1920 65
* 1920 Feb. 20 65
Hall, Alice Pettus (DOC)
* 1920 Sept. 18 65
1920 Oct. 5 65
Hall, Bolton
* 1916 April 15 56
Hall, E. J. (MID)
* 1918 June 8 61
Hampton, Alfred (BOImm)
* 1919 Sept. 23 63
* 1919 Sept. 23 63
* 1919 Sept. 25 63
* 1919 Sept. 25 63
* 1919 Oct. 13 63
* 1920 May 26 65
* 1921 Jan. 18 65
Hand, Augustus N. (Judge)
* 1918 March 11 61
* 1918 March [15?] 61
Hand, Learned (Judge)
* [1918 Dec. 20?] 61
* 1919 Jan. 17 61
* 1919 Jan. 17 61
Hanna, John (DOJ)
* 1919 Sept. 20 63
* 1919 Sept. 23 63
Harr, William R. (Asst Atty Gen)
* 1909 Jan. 6 56
* 1909 Feb. 2 56
1909 Feb. 5 56
1909 May 17 56
Harris, Frank
1920 Jan. 16 65
1920 Jan. 29 65
Harwell
1918 March 14 61
Haskin, Frederic J.
* [1937 March? 3] 66
Hassey, F. R. (RCMP)
* 1926 Nov. 2 66
Havel, Hippolyte
* 1910 Nov. 28 56
* [1910 Nov. 29] 56
Havel, J. H.
* [1899 Sept. 2] 56
Haynes, F. E. (BOInv)
* 1919 Dec. 23 65
Hays, Arthur Garfield
* 1933 Nov. 22 66
* 1934 April 16 66
Haywood, William D.
1916 Jan. 19 56
* 1916 Nov. [6?] 56
[1916 Nov. 7] 56
1916 Nov. 14 56
Hazel, John R. (Judge)
* 1908 Oct. 17 56
* 1909 April 8 56
* 1909 April 8 56
* 1909 April 8 56

Hazen, George W. (Agent, Sec Ser)
* 1901 Sept. 20 56
* 1901 Sept. 23 56
Hazen, William P. (Agent, Sec Ser/BOInv)
* 1908 June 26 56
1919 Oct. 15 63
* 1919 Oct. 16 63
* 1919 Oct. 17 63
* 1919 Oct. 18 63
* 1919 Oct. 20 63
Heckard, M. O.
* [1919 Nov. 25] 64
Heckler, Joseph P.
* 1918 Jan. 18 60
* 1918 Jan. 18 60
Heintzelman, Stuart (MID)
1921 Sept. 26 65
* 1921 Nov. 3 65
* 1921 Nov. 3 65
* 1921 Nov. 3 65
1921 Dec. 19 65
1921 Dec. 19 65
1921 Dec. 29 65
1922 Jan. 2 65
1922 Jan. 2 65
1922 Feb. 9 65
1922 Feb. 28 65
* 1922 March 4 65
* 1922 March 4 65
* 1922 March 4 65
1922 May 3 66
1922 May 3 66
1922 May 6 66
1922 June 20 66
1922 July 13 66
* 1922 July 28 66
Henderson, A. T.
1920 Jan. 19 65
* 1920 Feb. 17 65
Hendrickson, Mary N.
* 1923 Dec. 31 66
* 1931 Nov. 30 66
1931 Dec. 7 66
Henri, Adah S.
* 1917 Oct. 26 59
Henry, Doris, and Betty Thomson (Agents, BOInv)
* 1919 Oct. 27 63
Henry, John J. (Agent, Sec Ser)
* 1917 June 14 57
* 1917 Aug. 18 57
Herman, K. I. (APL)
* 1918 Jan. 25 60
Hessler, Fred H.(Agent, BOInv)
* 1918 Jan. 21 60
* 1919 Nov. 2[4?] 64
* 1919 Nov. 29 64
Higgins, Frank (Agent, DOS)
* 1922 May 2 66
Hilliard, P. R. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 June 6 57
* 1917 June 6 57
Hines, Frank T. (WD)
* [1919? Dec.? 16?] 64
* 1920 Jan. 24 65
Hollyday, T. Worthington (WD)
* 1921 Aug. 2 65
1921 Nov. 3 65
* 1921 Dec. 19 65
* 1922 Jan. 2 65
* 1922 Jan. 2 65
1922 March 4 65
1922 March 4 65
* 1922 May 3 66
* 1922 May 3 66
Holman, George T. (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]18 May 13 61
Holmes, J. M.
1916 Dec. 27 56
Holmes, John Haynes
* 1933 Dec. 21 66
* 1934 Jan. 12 66
* 1934 April 11 66
Honvery, Edmond (POD)
* 1917 May 17 57
1917 May 19 57
1917 May 21 57
* 1917 May 24 57
Hoover, J. Edgar (DOJ)
* 1919 Aug. 23 63
* 1919 Sept. 12 63
* 1919 Sept. 12 63
* [1919 Sept. 12] 63

Hoover, J. Edgar (DOJ – cont'd.)
* 1919 Sept. 12 63
* 1919 Sept. 15 63
* 1919 Sept. 15 63
[1919 Sept. 15?] 63
* 1919 Sept. 23 63
* [1919 Sept. 26?] 63
* 1919 Sept. 30 63
* 1919 Oct. 3 63
* 1919 Oct. 8 63
* 1919 Oct. 8 63
* 1919 Oct. 10 63
* 1919 Oct. 10 63
* 1919 Oct. 13 63
* 1919 Oct. 18 63
* 1919 Nov. 1 64
* 1919 Nov. 2 64
* 1919 Nov. 7 64
1919 Nov. 8 64
1919 Nov. 8 64
* 191[9] Nov. 17 64
* 1919 Nov. 17 64
* 1919 Nov. 25 64
1919 Nov. 29 64
* 1919 Dec. 5 64
* 1919 Dec. 6 64
* 1919 Dec. 6 64
1919 Dec. 6 64
* 1919 Dec. 11 64
* 1919 Dec. 13 64
[1919? Dec.? 16?] 64
* 1919 Dec. 23 65
1919 Dec. 23 65
1919 Dec. 23 65
* 1919 Dec. 24 65
* 1919 Dec. 24 65
* 1919 Dec. 24 65
* 1919 Dec. 26 65
1919 Dec. 29 65
* 1920 Jan. 2 65
* 1920 Jan. 2 65
1920 Jan. 6 65
1920 Jan. 13 65
1920 Jan. 26 65
* 1920 Jan. 28 65
1920 Jan. 29 65
* 1920 Feb. 6 65
* 1920 Feb. 12 65
* 1920 Feb. 12 65
1920 Feb. 16 65
* 1920 Feb. 17 65
1920 Feb. 18 65
1920 Feb. 21 65
* 1920 Feb. 26 65
* 1920 March 2 65
* 1920 March 2 65
* 1920 March 11 65
1920 March 13 65
1920 March 17 65
* 1920 March 18 65
* 1920 March 20 65
1920 March 23 65
* 1920 March 30 65
* 1920 March 30 65
* 1920 April 14 65
* 1920 April 16 65
* 1920 April 17 65
* 1920 April 18 65
* 1920 April 18 65
1920 April 20 65
* 1920 April 21 65
1920 April 26 65
* 1920 May 1 65
1920 June 16 65
* 1920 July 26 65
* 1920 Aug. 14 65
* 1920 Aug. 17 65
1920 Sept. 9 65
* 1920 Oct. 30 65
1920 Nov. 9 65
* 1920 Nov. 20 65
1920 Dec. 9 65
* 1921 Jan. 13 65
* 1921 Jan. 14 65
* 1921 Jan. 14 65
1921 Feb. 12 65
* 1921 Feb. 24 65
1921 March 12 65
* 1921 June 4 65
* 1921 July 30 65
* 1921 Aug. 13 65
1921 Aug. 23 65
* 1921 Aug. 31 65
192[3] Feb. 16 66
1923 Feb. 16 66
1924 May 15 66

Hoover, J. Edgar (DOJ – cont'd.)
1924 May 15 66
* 1924 May 23 66
* 1924 Dec. 8 66
* 1925 Jan. 6 66
* 1925 Jan. 17 66
* 1925 May 8 66
1925 Oct. 5 66
1925 Nov. [8?] 66
1926 Oct. 27 66
1926 Oct. 27 66
1927 March 28 66
1930 March 12 66
* 1930 March 18 66
1930 March 21 66
* 1930 March 24 66
* 1930 March 25 66
1930 April 7 66
1930 April 7 66
* 1930 April 8 66
1930 April 9 66
* 1930 April 14 66
1932 Feb. 26 66
1932 Feb. 26 66
* 1934 May 4 66
1936 Oct. 28 66
1938 May 19 66
1938 Nov. 28 66
* 1940 March 4 66

Hopkins, A. A. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1922 March 6 65
* 1922 Oct. 5 66
* 1922 Oct. 5 66
* [19]24 Jan. 22 66

Horgan, H. A. (MID)
* [1919 July?] 62

Horner, Ralph H. (INS)
* 1934 May 18 66

Horton, J. A. (POD)
* 1918 Feb. 15 61
* [1918 Feb. 15?] 61
* 1918 Feb. 28 61
* 1918 March 25 61
* 1918 March 25 61
* 1918 April 23 61
* [1918 July?] 61
* 1918 Oct. 14 62

Hotchkiss, James L. (Court Clerk)
* 1894 Oct. 13 56
* 1907 Nov. 6 56
1919 July 15 62
* [1919 Oct. 16] 63
* [1919 Oct. 16] 63

Houghteling, James L. (INS)
1939 Nov. 8 66
* 1940 Feb. 15 66

Houston, D. F. (Sect of Treas)
* 1920 April 13 65

How, J. Eads
* [1918] July 27 61

How, Louis (POD)
* 1918 April 10 61
* 1918 April 12 61
* 1934 April 6 66

Howe, Frederic C. (BOImm)
1917 July 12 57
1917 July 12 57

Hubrecht, J. B.
* 1920 Feb. 7 65

Hudson, George H. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1920 Jan. 5 65

Huebsch, Benjamin W.
* 1934 Jan. 12 66
* [1934 Jan. 12] 66

Hughan, Jessie Wallace
* 1917 April 23 57

Hughes, Charles Evans (Sect of State)
1921 Dec. 9 65
1921 Dec. 10 65
1921 Dec. 16 65
1921 Dec. 22 65
1921 Dec. 29 65
1921 Dec. 31 65
192[2] Jan. 3 65
1922 Jan. 5 65
1922 Jan. 5 65
1922 Feb. 6 65
1922 July 26 66
1922 July 26 66
1922 July 26 66

Hughes, William J. (Asst Sol Gen)
* 1917 Sept. 6 59
1917 Nov. 20 59
1917 Dec. 15 60
* 1918 Jan. 5 60

Hughes, William J. (Asst Sol Gen – cont'd.)
* [1918 Jan. 14?] 60
* [1918 Jan. 14?] 60
Hull, Cordell (Sect of State)
1934 Jan. 9 66
1936 Sept. 21 66
1937 Oct. 30 66
Hull, Harry E. (BOImm)
1930 March 27 67
* 1930 April 17 67
[1930] April 20 67
* 1930 April 28 67
[1930] April 30 67
Hunt, Arlee
* 1911 Nov. 6 56
Hunt, Henry T. (MID)
* 1918 April 9 61
1918 April 11 61
Hunter, Kent
* [1940 March 2] 66
Hurley, William L. (DOS)
1920 Jan. 20 65
* 1920 Jan. 21 65
* 1920 Jan. 22 65
1920 April 3 65
* 1920 June 2 65
1920 June 2 65
1920 June 2 65
1920 June 9 65
* 1920 June 16 65
1920 June 16 65
1920 July 26 65
1920 Aug. 27 65
* 1920 Sept. 9 65
1920 Sept. 21 65
1920 Nov. 20 65
* 1920 Dec. 9 65
1921 Jan. 14 65
* 1921 Feb. 12 65
* 1921 Feb. 14 65
1921 Feb. 24 65
1921 Aug. 4 65
* 1921 Aug. 23 65
1921 Aug. 31 65
* 1921 Sept. 7 65
1921 Oct. 25 65
1921 Nov. 3 65
1921 Nov. 10 65
* 1921 Dec. 19 65
* 1921 Dec. 19 65
* 1921 Dec. 19 65
* 1921 Dec. 19 65
* 1921 Dec. 23 65
* 1921 Dec. 23 65
* 1921 Dec. 23 65
* 1921 Dec. 23 65
* 1921 Dec. 23 65
* 1921 Dec. 23 65
* 1921 Dec. 29 65
* 1921 Dec. 29 65
* 1921 Dec. 29 65
1922 Jan. 12 65
1922 Jan. 14 65
1922 Jan. 18 65
1922 Jan. 19 65
* 1922 Jan. 20 65
1922 Jan. 20 65
[1922? Jan.? 20?] 65
1922 Jan. 25 65
* 1922 Jan. 28 65
* 1922 Jan. 28 65
1922 Jan. 30 65
1922 Feb. 4 65
* 1922 Feb. 9 65
* 1922 Feb. 9 65
* 1922 Feb. 9 65
1922 Feb. 11 65
* 1922 Feb. 13 65
* 1922 Feb. 13 65
* 1922 Feb. 13 65
1922 Feb. 15 65
1922 Feb. 20 65
* 1922 Feb. 23 65
* 1922 Feb. 23 65
1922 Feb. 25 65
* 1922 Feb. 27 65
* 1922 Feb. 27 65
1922 Feb. 28 65
* 1922 March 2 65
* 1922 March 2 65
* 1922 March 2 65
1922 March 3 65

Hurley, William L. (DOS – cont'd.)
* 1922 March 9 65
* 1922 March 9 65
* 1922 March 9 65
* 1922 March 9 65
* 1922 March 14 65
* 1922 March 14 65
1922 March 17 65
1922 March 21 65
1922 March 23 65
1922 April 3 66
1922 April 4 66
* 1922 April 11 66
* 1922 April 11 66
* 1922 April 11 66
* 1922 April 11 66
* 1922 April 11 66
1922 April 11 66
1922 April 12 66
1922 April 15 66
1922 April 21 66
1922 April 28 66
1922 April 28 66
* 1922 May 1 66
1922 May 3 66
* 1922 May 4 66
* 1922 May 4 66
* 1922 June 20 66
* 1922 June 20 66
* 1922 June 20 66
1922 June 20 66
* 1922 July 13 66
* 1922 Aug. 10 66
* 1922 Aug. 10 66
* 1922 Aug. 19 66
* 1922 Aug. 31 66
* 1922 Aug. 31 66
1923 April 17 66
1923 April 17 66
* 1923 May 8 66
* 1923 May 8 66

Husband, Walter W. (BOImm)
1921 Dec. 19 65
1921 Dec. 29 65
1922 Feb. 9 65
1922 Feb. 27 65
1922 March 9 65
1922 March 9 65
1922 April 11 66
1922 June 20 66
1926 Oct. 27 66

Hymans, Maurits (Agent)
* 1907 Oct. 11 56

Ikrod, J. E.
* 1918 March 14 61

Immigration Officers on the Canadian Border
1926 Nov. 2 66

Immigration and Naturalization Service
* 1933 Dec. 4 66
1934 April 11 66

Ingalls, Theodore (POD)
1910 Jan. 29 56
1910 Feb. 3 56

Inglis, Agnes
* 1918 March 4 61
* 1918 March 16 61

Intelligence Officer (MID)
1918 April 16 61
1918 Sept. 12 62
* 1919 Oct. 27 63
* 1919 Oct. 28 63
* 1919 Oct. 29 63
* 1919 Nov. 1 64
* 1919 Nov. 15 64

International Anarchist Congress, The
* 1921 Dec. 65

International Film Service
* 1917 June 16 57
* 1917 June 16 57

Ireland, Samuel P. (Agent, Sec Ser)
* 1901 Sept. 28 56

Irvine, Leigh
* [1919] May 2 62

Irvine, R. W. (RCMP)
* 1934 Nov. 29 66

Israel, Robert Scott (MID)
* 1918 Aug. 15 61

Jackson, Charles E.
* 1920 Jan. 31 65

Jackson, Robert H. (Atty Gen)
1940 March 4 66

Jacob, Charles (NYPD)
* 1893 Aug. 25 56

Jacobs, J. E. (POD)
* 1918 Sept. 13 62
* 1918 Oct. 4 62

Jacobstein, Meyer
* 1934 April 17 66
Jaeckel, Theodore (DOS)
1919 March 17 62
Jentzer, Emma (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 May 26 57
Johns, Peggy
* [1918 May?] 61
Johnson
* 1919 Nov. 18 64
Johnson, Albert (Rep)
* 1920 April 26 65
1920 April 26 65
Johnson, Felix S. S. (DOS)
* 1926 Oct. 21 66
Johnson, Hallett (DOS)
1921 Dec. 23 65
* 1922 Jan. 5 65
* 1922 Jan. 5 65
* 1922 Jan. 19 65
1922 Jan. 20 65
* 1922 Jan. 25 65
* 1922 Feb. 15 65
* 1922 Feb. 25 65
* 1922 March 21 65
* 1922 April 28 66
* 1922 April 28 66
* [19]22 May 26 66
* 1922 June 20 66
Johnson, Josephine DeVore
* [19]15 Aug. 5 56
Johnston, Gordon (MID)
* 1920 May 7 65
* 1920 May 7 65
Johnston, J. N. (POD)
* 1917 May 28 57
Jolliffe, A. L.
* 1928 Oct. 13 66
1928 Oct. 17 66
Jones, J. Gordon
1917 Nov. 29 59
Jones, John E. (DOS)
* 1908 April 8 56
* 1908 May 2 56
Jones, W. H. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 Oct. 7 59
Joseph, Barney H.
* 1919 Dec. 2 64
Joseph, Isadore
* 1919 Dec. 2 64
Joyce, William B.
* 1921 April 23 65
Joysky, Polya. ***See*** **Turkel, Pauline**
Judge, Ron S. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 Oct. 30 59
1917 Nov. 5 59
* 1919 Jan. 9 62
Kahn, Bernard (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 Nov. 25 64
* 1919 Dec. 1 64
Kalle
* 1922 Jan. 25 65
Kater, Fritz
* 1921 Dec. 12 65
Keefe, Daniel J. (BOImm)
1909 Jan. 2 56
1909 Jan. 8 56
* 1909 Jan. 12 56
1909 Jan. 15 56
1909 Feb. 16 56
1909 May 3 56
Keell, Thomas H.
[1923 April?] 66
Keenan, Joseph B. (DOJ)
* 1934 Jan. 18 66
1934 Jan. 29 66
* 1934 Jan. 30 66
1934 May 4 66
* 1934 May 11 66
1934 May 18 66
Keep, C. L. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1918 Jan. 9 60
* 1918 March 22 61
Kelleher, George E. (Agent, BOInv)
1918 May 25 61
Keller, Helen
* [1916] April 7 56
* 1916 April 7 56
Kellogg, Frank B. (Sect of State)
* [1926? Nov.? 17?] 66
Kelly, F. W. (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]18 Jan. 24 60
* 1919 Oct. 4 63
Kemp, J. F. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 June 6 57

(* denotes "written by")

Kemp, V. A. M. (RCMP)
* [19]40 Sept. 21 66
Kempston, J. W. (RCMP)
* [19]26 Dec. 16 66
Kennan, Ellen A.
* 1918 March 11 61
* [1918 May?] 61
* 1918 May 18 61
* 1918 June 16 61
* [19]18 A[ug.] 18 61
* 1918 Dec. 15 62
* 1918 Dec. 24 62
* [1919 Aug.?] 63
Kenyon, Dorothy
* 1934 Jan. 12 66
Keonan (DOJ)
1919 Sept. 18 63
1919 Dec. 9 64
* [1919 Dec. 10] 64
Kerr, G. H.
* 1922 Jan. 12 65
1922 Jan. 17 65
Kersner, Abraham and Bessie
* 1908 May 18 56
Kersner, David
* 1908 May 14 56
Kersner, Jacob A.
* 1884 Oct. 18 56
* [1919 July 21] 62
Kersner, Joseph
* 1919 Dec. 2 64
Kessler, Eugene (BOImm)
* 1919 Sept. 29 63
Kiely, W. J. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1918 July 12 61
King, Alexander C. (Sol Gen)
1918 Dec. 21 61
* 1918 Dec. 23 61
1918 Dec. 24 61
* 1918 Dec. 26 61
1919 Jan. 3 61
* 1919 Jan. 4 61
* 1919 March 11 61
* 1919 Dec. 11 64
1919 Dec. 11 64
1919 Dec. 11 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
* 1919 Dec. 13 64
1919 Dec. 15 64
* 1919 Dec. 16 64
* 1919 Dec. 19 64
* 1926 Nov. 17 66
Kinnane, John E. (US Atty)
[1917 Aug. 4?] 57
Kirk, Alexander C. (DOS)
1926 Oct. 21 66
* 1926 Oct. 27 66
* 1926 Oct. 27 66
Kirk, Earnest E.
* 1912 May 18 56
Kisliuk, Lillian
1917 July 11 57
1917 July 11 57
[1917] July 11 57
[1917] July 11 57
* 1919 July 16 62
Kissenger, H. D.
* 1934 Jan. 9 66
Klamon, Joseph M.
* 1934 April 14 66
* 1934 April 14 66
* [1934 April 14] 66
Klawans, S. T. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1918 Jan. 16 60
* 1918 Jan. 18 60
Klein (APL)
* 1918 Jan. 28 60
Knight, Theodore C. (MID)
* 1918 March 16 61
Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.
* 1929 Aug. 21 66
* 1929 Aug. 27 66
* 1929 Sept. 30 66
Knox, John C. (Asst US Atty/Judge)
1918 Feb. 9 61
* 1918 Feb. 21 61
* 1920 Jan. [9?] 65
Knox, Philander (Atty Gen)
1901 Sept. 10 56
1901 Sept. 15 56
1901 Sept. 17 56
1901 Sept. 18 56
1902 Jan. 6 56
Komon, P. M. (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]19 June 17 62

Koons, John C. (POD)
1917 May 15 57
1917 Nov. 20 59
Kosterlitzky, E. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 July 21 57
* [19]17 Aug. 25 57
* 1923 Sept. 20 66
Kovarik, Emil (ND)
* 1918 March 3 61
Kovner, Hilda
* 1919 Feb. 3 62
Krausch
* 1921 Dec. 6 65
Kropidlowski, J. F. (Agent, BOInv)
* [1917 June 11] 57
* 1917 June 11 57
La Roche, W. P.
* 1915 Aug. 6 56
LaNauze, C. D. (RCMP)
* [19]34 Nov. 30 66
Lague, J. Washington
1919 Nov. 20 64
Lamar, William H. (Sol POD)
1914 July 24 56
* 1914 July 28 56
1916 June 5 56
1916 July 6 56
1917 April 18 57
1917 May 8 57
1917 May 8 57
* 1917 May 10 57
* 1917 May 10 57
* 1917 May 10 57
1917 May 28 57
1917 May 31 57
1917 June 2 57
* 1917 June 5 57
1917 June 5 57
1917 June 8 57
* 1917 June 16 57
1917 June 21 57
* 1917 June 29 57
* 1917 June 29 57
* 1917 June 30 57
1917 June 30 57
1917 July 3 57
* 1917 July 5 57
[1917 July 5?] 57
* 1917 July 12 57
1917 July 19 57
* 1917 July 21 57
* 1917 July 23 57
1917 July 23 57
1917 July 26 57
* 1917 July 30 57
1917 July 31 57
1917 Aug. 15 57
1917 Sept. 1 59
1917 Sept. 7 59
1917 Sept. 10 59
* 1917 Sept. 11 59
* 1917 Sept. 11 59
* 1917 Sept. 11 59
* 1917 Sept. 11 59
1917 Sept. 15 59
1917 Sept. 15 59
1917 Nov. 5 59
1917 Nov. 10 59
* 1917 Nov. 15 59
* 1917 Nov. 15 59
* 1917 Nov. 15 59
1917 Nov. 23 59
* 1917 Nov. 26 59
* 1917 Nov. 27 59
1917 Dec. 5 60
191[7] Dec. 20 60
1918 Jan. 30 60
1918 Feb. 8 61
1918 Feb. 25 61
* 1918 Feb. 27 61
* 1918 Feb. 27 61
* 1918 Feb. 27 61
* 1918 March 4 61
* 1918 March 4 61
* 1918 March 4 61
* 1918 March 4 61
* 1918 March 8 61
1918 March 12 61
1918 March 19 61
1918 March 22 61
1918 March 22 61
1918 March 26 61
* 1918 March 30 61
* 1918 March 30 61
1918 April 5 61
1918 April 10 61

Lamar, William H. (Sol POD – cont'd.)
1918 April 10 61
* 1918 April 11 61
1918 April 12 61
1918 April 19 61
* 1918 April 27 61
* 1918 April 30 61
1918 May 2 61
1918 May 8 61
* 1918 May 21 61
1918 Aug. 14 61
* 1918 Aug. 27 61
* 1918 Aug. 30 61
1918 Sept. 4 62
* 1918 Oct. 18 62
* 1918 Oct. 18 62
* 1918 Oct. 18 62
* 1918 Nov. 6 62
* 1919 Jan. 16 62
1919 June 28 62
Lamb, George F. (DS BOInv)
1919 Sept. 15 63
* 1919 Sept. 22 63
* 1919 Sept. 30 63
* 1919 Sept. 30 63
* 1919 Oct. 1 63
* 1919 Oct. 2 63
* 1919 Oct. 2 63
1919 Oct. 4 63
1919 Oct. 6 63
* 1919 Oct. 10 63
1919 Oct. 11 63
* 1919 Oct. 15 63
1919 Oct. 17 63
1919 Oct. 22 63
* 1919 Oct. 27 63
1919 Nov. 1 64
1919 Nov. 2 64
* 1919 Nov. 7 64
1919 Nov. 28 64
* 1919 Dec. 1 64
1920 Jan. 22 65
* 1920 Jan. 23 65
1920 Jan. 23 65
* 1920 Jan. 24 65
* 1920 Feb. 4 65
* 1920 Feb. 21 65
1920 March 2 65
* 1920 March 16 65
1920 March 20 65
* 1920 March 23 65
* 1920 June 16 65
1920 June 22 65
Lane, Arthur Bliss (DOS)
* 1924 May 15 66
* 1924 May 15 66
1924 May 23 66
1924 Dec. 8 66
1925 Jan. 6 66
1925 May 8 66
Langner, Lawrence
* 1933 Nov. 25 66
Lansing, Robert A. (Sect of State)
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 13 64
* 1919 Dec. 18 64
1920 Feb. 3 65
* 1920 Feb. 6 65
1920 Feb. 7 65
1920 Feb. 12 65
1920 Feb. 21 65
1920 March 12 65
1920 March 26 65
Larned, F. H. (BOImm)
* 1907 Nov. 21 56
* 1907 Nov. 23 56
* 1921 Dec. 21 65
Lawrence, D. (MID)
* 1918 Aug. 30 61
* 1918 Sept. 17 62
Lazovich, V. J. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1918 July 5 61
League for the Amnesty of Political Prisoners
* [1918 May?] 61
* [1919? Jan.?] 62
League of Conscientious Objectors
* [1917 May?] 57
LeDoulx, Alexander
* [btw. 1920 and 1940] 65
Legaxione d'Italia
* 1932 Feb. 15 66
Legrand (PP)
* 1900 Aug. 6 67
* 1900 Aug. 7 67

Legrand (PP – cont'd.)
* 1900 Oct. 15 67
* 1901 Sept. 13 67
Leigh, Edmund (MID)
* 1917 Nov. 16 59
* 1918 Jan. 10 60
* 1918 Feb. 15 61
* 1918 March 30 61
* 1918 May 8 61
Lenin, V. I.
[1920 Feb.?] 65
* 1920 Feb. 28 65
1920 March 13 65
[19]20 Sept. 12 65
Leonard, George (POD)
* 1918 March 4 61
* 1918 March 8 61
* 1918 March 30 61
* [1918 April] 61
Lerner, Mosheh I.
* 1918 March 21 61
* 1919 Jan. 3 62
Letherman, Lawrence (Agent, BOInv)
1922 March 8 65
1922 March 9 65
Levering, Richard (APL)
1918 May 13 61
Levine, Isaac Don
* 1926 Nov. 8 66
Lewis, Burdette G.
1917 Sept. 13 59
Liddell, G. M.
* 1920 May 28 65
1920 June 2 65
* 1920 Aug. 25 65
* 1922 March 22 65
Lightfoot, Ferris
* [19]21 Dec. 10 65
1921 Dec. 20 65
* [19]22 Jan. 2 65
* 1922 Jan. [2] 65
1922 Jan. 13 65
Lillard, George W. (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]17 Oct. 2 59
Lindeman, E. C.
* 1934 April 17 66
Lindsay, W. P. (RCMP)
* [19]26 Dec. 16 66
[19]26 Dec. 16 66
Lion of St. Mark, The
* 192[3] Feb. 16 66
* 1923 Feb. 16 66
Loeb, William (Sect to Pres)
* 1908 June 10 56
1908 June 22 56
* 1908 July 7 56
Loebl, Louis (Agent, BOInv)
* 1918 Jan. 2 60
* 1918 Jan. 4 60
* [19]19 Sept. 18 63
* [19]19 Sept. 19 63
* [19]19 Sept. 29 63
* [19]19 Sept. 30 63
* [19]19 Oct. 14 63
* 1920 Feb. 5 65
Long, C. B.
* [19]17 April 26 57
Long, Donald E. (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]22 March 9 65
Loula, A. H. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 Sept. 12 63
* 1919 Dec. 1 64
* 1920 July 10 65
* [19]30 July 23 66
Low, Ruth
* [19]18 Sept. 13 62
Lowensohn, Minna
* [19]19 Aug. 5 63
Loyal American League
* 1921 Nov. 9 65
Loyal Citizen, A
* 1919 Sept. 28 63
Ludolph, Andrew (Court Clerk)
* 1919 Oct. 17 63
Luhring, O. R. (Asst Atty Gen)
* 1930 March 11 66
* 1930 March 12 66
1930 March 18 66
* 1930 March 21 66
1930 March 24 66
1930 April 14 66
* 1930 April 24 66
[1930] April 28 66

Luxembourg
* 1904 May 29 67
* 1906 May 9 67
Lynch, Charles F. (US Atty)
* 1918 March 4 61
1918 March 4 61
* 1918 March 7 61
1918 March 9 61
Lynch, G. A. (MID)
* 1934 Feb. 10 66
Lyons, J. J. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1918 Nov. 22 62
Maasch, F. W. C.
* 1907 Dec. 24 56
MacBrien, J. H. (RCMP)
* 1934 Jan. 19 66
1934 May 3 66
[19]34 Nov. 30 66
[19]39 Dec. 6 66
[19]39 Dec. 6 66
[1939 Dec. 12?] 66
[19]39 Dec. 12 66
[19]39 Dec. 15 66
[19]40 March 29 66
[19]40 Sept. 21 66
MacCormack, Daniel W. (INS)
1933 Nov. 8 66
1933 Dec. 23 66
1933 Dec. 28 66
1934 Jan. 5 66
1934 Jan. 6 66
* 1934 Jan. 18 66
1934 Feb. 21 66
1934 Feb. 21 66
1934 Feb. 23 66
1934 Feb. 27 66
1934 May 14 66
1934 Sept. 10 66
* 1934 Sept. 14 66
1934 Sept. 22 66
Maddox, H. (PCC)
1918 April 13 61
* 1918 May 8 61
Madeira, W. I. (POD)
* 1917 Aug. 22 57
* 1917 Aug. 22 57
Maffitt, T. S. (MID)
* 1919 Jan. 29 62
* 1919 Feb. 25 62
Magruder, Calvert
* 1917 July 23 57
Maher, James D. (Clerk, SCt)
1917 Aug. 8 57
* 1917 Aug. 9 57
* 1917 Aug. 15 57
1917 Aug. 23 57
1917 Sept. 24 59
* 1917 Sept. 25 59
1917 Sept. 27 59
* 1917 Oct. 3 59
1917 Oct. 4 59
* 1917 Oct. 5 59
* 1917 Oct. 9 59
1917 Nov. 28 59
1917 Nov. 28 59
1917 Nov. 30 59
1917 Nov. 30 59
* 1917 Dec. 1 60
1917 Dec. 12 60
* 1917 Dec. 14 60
1917 Dec. 19 60
* 1917 Dec. 22 60
1917 Dec. 22 60
* [191]7 Dec. 24 60
1917 Dec. 24 60
* 1917 Dec. 26 60
1918 Jan. 2 60
1918 Jan. 2 60
1918 Jan. 7 60
* [1918 Jan. 8?] 60
* 1918 Jan. 9 60
* 1918 Jan. 14 60
* 1918 Jan. 14 60
* 1918 Jan. 14 60
[1918 Jan. 14?] 60
191[8] Jan. 14 60
1918 Jan. 14 60
* 1918 Jan. 15 60
* [1918 Jan. 15?] 60
* 1918 Jan. 15 60
1918 Jan. 15 60
* 1918 Jan. 19 60
* 1918 Jan. 21 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
* 1918 Jan. 25 60

Maher, James D. (Clerk, SCt – cont'd.)
* 1918 Jan. 28 60
* 1918 Jan. 28 60
1918 Jan. 28 60
* 1918 Jan. 29 60
* 1918 Jan. 29 60
* [1918 Jan. 29?] 60
* [19]18 Jan. 29 60
1918 Jan. 30 60
1918 Jan. 30 60
* [1918 Feb. 2?] 61
* 1918 Feb. 2 61
1918 Feb. 6 61
1918 May 29 61
* 1918 May 31 61
1918 June 4 61
1918 Aug. 21 61
* 1918 Aug. 27 61
1918 Sept. 3 62
1919 Sept. 22 63
1919 Oct. 7 63
* 1919 Oct. 8 63
* 1919 Dec. 15 64

Malone, R. J. (MID)
* 1918 Aug. 30 61

Manly, Chesly
* [1937 March 28] 66

Manton, Martin T. (Judge)
* 1917 July 24 57
1917 Aug. 9 57

Margolis, Jacob
* 1919 Nov. 23 64
* [1919 Nov. 26] 64
* 1920 March 23 65

Markell, John S.
* [19]19 Nov. 26 64

Marquess Curzon of Kedleston
1922 Jan. 18 65
1922 Feb. 15 65
1922 April 28 66

Marshall, H. Snowden (US Atty)
1917 May 17 57
* 1917 May 21 57
* 1917 May 29 57

Marston (MID)
* 1917 Dec. 24 60

Martens, Ludwig A.
1919 Dec. 18 64
* 1919 Dec. 20 64

Martin, E. P. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 Aug. 14 57
* 1917 Aug. 14 57

Mason, C. H. (MID)
1920 June 18 65

Mason, Frank H. (DOS)
1908 March 26 56
* 1908 March 27 56
* 1908 March 30 56
* 1908 March 31 56
1908 March 31 56
* 1908 April 24 56

Mason, Walt
* [1919 Dec.? 22] 64

Master of the Steamer, *Gellert*
* 1885 Dec. 29 56

Matthews, W. B. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 June 21 57
* 1917 Oct. 4 59
* 1917 Oct. 8 59
* 1917 Oct. [9?] 59

Maxwell, Samuel H.
* 1917 Aug. 5 57

Mayer, Julius M. (Judge)
[1917 June 23] 57
1917 June 2[3?] 57
1917 June 30 57
* 1917 July 9 57
* 1917 July 9 58
* 1917 July 11 57
* 1918 Jan. 29 60
* 1918 Feb. 1 61
1918 Feb. 1 61
* 1918 Feb. 5 61
* 1919 Dec. 5 64
* 1919 Dec. 5 64
* 1919 Dec. 9 64
* 1919 Dec. 9 64
* 1920 Jan. [9?] 65

Mayer, Walter S. (POD)
1910 Jan. 14 56
* 1910 Jan. 15 56
1910 Jan. 25 56
* 1910 Jan. 26 56
1910 Jan. 26 56

Mayer, Walter S. (POD – cont'd.)
1910 Jan. 28 56
* 1910 Jan. 29 56
* 1910 Jan. 29 56
* 1910 Jan. 29 56
1910 Jan. 29 56
[1910] Jan. 29 56
* 1910 Feb. 3 56

McAdoo, William G. (Sect of Treas)
1917 Aug. 6 57
1917 Aug. 24 57

McCarthy, Cliff
1934 April 3 66
1934 April 11 66
* 1934 April 12 66

McCarthy, Thomas D. (US Marshal)
* 1917 June 21 57
1917 June 26 57
1917 Oct. 15 59
1917 Oct. 27 59
* 1917 Oct. 28 59
1917 Nov. 2 59
* 1917 Nov. 5 59
1917 Nov. 6 59
* 1917 Nov. 8 59

McCarver, C. P. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1918 July 8 61
* 1918 July 8 61

McCauley, Edward, Jr. (ONI)
* 1917 Nov. 13 59
* 1917 Nov. 13 59
* 1917 Nov. 23 59
* [1917 Nov.? 27?] 59
* 1917 Nov. 27 59
* [1917 Nov.? 27?] 59
* 1917 Nov. 28 59
1917 Dec. 5 60
1917 Dec. 5 60
* 1917 Dec. 27 60
* 1917 Dec. 28 60
* 1918 Jan. 3 60
* 1918 Jan. 22 60
* 1918 Jan. 22 60
* 1918 Feb. 28 61
* 1918 April 18 61
* 1918 April 18 61
* 1918 April 18 61
* 1918 May 11 61

McClelland, H. (BOImm)
* 1919 April 25 62

McCuen, Joseph Raymond
* 1919 Oct. 18 63

McDevitt, J. F. (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]19 Dec. 12 64
* 1919 Dec. 15 64
* [19]19 Dec. 29 65
* 1920 Jan. 30 65

McGee, T. J. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 June 29 57
* 1917 June 29 57
* 1917 June 29 57
* 1917 July 19 57

McGlasson, Clifford H. (DOJ)
1918 April 6 61
* 1919 Jan. 15 62
[1919 July? 31?] 62
* [1919 Sept. 15?] 63
1919 Sept. 15 63
* 1919 Sept. 16 63
1919 Sept. 23 63
* 1919 Sept. 24 63

McGlaughlin, J. D. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 Nov. 21 59

McGlaughlin, R.
* 1922 March 25 65
1922 March 30 65

McGraw, Edward (DOL)
* 1919 Nov. 25 64

McKean, Clarence D. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1921 Nov. 15 65
1930 March 25 66
* 1930 April 7 66
* 1930 April 7 66
1930 April 8 66

McKenna, Melvin J. (MID)
* 1920 Oct. 6 65

McLaughlin, William M. (NYPD)
1907 Jan. 7 56

McNamee, Luke (Dir ONI)
* 1922 April 11 66

Mead, F. J. (RCMP)
* 1934 May 3 66

Mencken, H. L.
* 1930 March 9 66
* 1930 March 9 67
1930 March 11 66

Mencken, H. L. (cont'd.)
1930 March 26 67
* 1930 March 27 66
* 1930 March 27 67
* 1930 March 27 67
1930 April 17 67
* [1930] April 20 67
1930 April 24 66
* [1930] April 28 66
1930 April 28 67
* [1930] April 30 67

Mennt, Marie
* [1918 March?] 61

Meyer, George Von L. (POD)
1908 Dec. 2 56
* 1908 Dec. 7 56

Milelli
* 1926 Oct. 30 66

Military Attache (WD)
* 1920 Feb. 27 65
1920 Nov. 9 65

Military Intelligence Division
* 1917 June 2 to 1922 July 13 . 57
* 1917 Nov. 28 59
* [1917? Dec.? 31?] 60
* [1918?] 60
* [19]18 Jan. 15 60
* [1918] Feb. 4-5 61
* 1918 March 12 61
* 1918 April 1 61
* [1918 April 18?] 61
* [1918 July?] 61
* 1918 Sept. 4 62
1918 Sept. 9 62
* [19]18 Oct. 8 62
* [19]18 Dec. 1 62
* [1919? Feb.?] 62
* [1919? Feb.?] 62
* 1919 May 6 62
* 1919 May 26 62
* [1919? June? 2?] 62
* [1919? June? 2?] 62
* [1919 Oct.?] 63
1919 Nov. 28 64
* [1920 Feb. 18?] 65
* 1920? April? 65
1920 April 15 65
* [19]20 May 28 65
1921 Jan. 8 65
* [1921 Oct. 1] 65
* 1921 Oct. 1 65
* [1921 Oct. 29] 65
* 1922 Jan. 21 65
* 1929 July 9 66

Military Secretary's Office (WD)
* [1909? May?] 56

Miller, Hugh Gordon
* 1917 June 6 57

Miller, Maude Murray
* 1934 Jan. 19 66
1934 Jan. 31 66

Mindak, Peter P. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 June 22 57
* 1919 Oct. 4 63
* 1919 Oct. 16 63
* 1919 Dec. 4 64

Minister des Innern
* [1898?] 56

Ministero degli Affari Esteri
* 1909 Nov. 27 56
1929 June 21 66
* 1932 March 28 66
194[0] May 14 66

Ministre de l'Interieur
1926 Nov. 4 66

Ministro dell' Interno
* [19--?] 56
* 1903 June 9 56
1909 Nov. 27 56
1912 April 5 56
* 1928 June 14 66
* [193-] 66
1932 March 28 66
* 1938 Jan. 18 66
1938 April 22 66
* 1938 May 29 66
* [19]38 Dec. 9-13 66
[19]38 Dec. 9-13 66
* 1939 Jan. 23 66
* 1939 Feb. 10 66
* 1940 June 12 66
* 1940 June 24 66

Ministry of the Interior, Japan
* [1910 Nov. 12] 56
* [1910 Nov. 29] 56
* [1910 Dec. 12] 56

Ministry of the Interior, Japan (cont'd.)
* [1911 Jan. 29] 56
* [1911 Jan. 30] 56
* [1911 Feb.] 56
* [1911 Feb.] 56
* [1911 March?] 56
* [1911 April?] 56
Minor, Robert
* [1917 July?] 57
* [1917? July?] 57
Mitchell, William D. (Atty Gen)
1930 March 9 66
1930 July 10 66
Moffatt, W. L. (MID)
1919 Oct. 28 63
* 1919 Oct. 31 63
Moffitt, John A. (DOL)
* 1917 May 25 57
Monckton, Frank (Court Clerk)
* 1918 Aug. 21 61
1918 Aug. 27 61
* 1918 Sept. 3 62
Mooers, Horatio (DOS)
1933 Dec. 19 66
* 1933 Dec. 21 66
* 1933 Dec. 21 66
* 1933 Dec. 27 66
1934 Jan. 5 66
* 1934 Jan. 8 66
Moran, W. H. (Chief, Sec Ser)
1919 May 1 62
1919 Oct. 2 63
1919 Oct. 23 63
1919 Oct. 30 63
1919 Dec. 11 64
* [19]19 Dec. 17 64
Morgan, E. M. (POD)
* 1910 Jan. 14 56
1910 Jan. 24 56
* 1910 Jan. 25 56
* 1910 Jan. 25 56
1910 Jan. 29 56
1910 Feb. 2 56
* 1910 Feb. 4 56
* 1914 July 24 56
1914 July 28 56
* 1916 July 3 56
Morris, Ira N. (DOS)
* 1922 July 26 66
* 1922 July 26 66
Morton, Bliss (Agent, BOInv)
1919 Aug. 27 63
* 1919 Sept. 2 63
* 1921 Nov. 12 65
1921 Nov. 17 65
1922 March 9 65
* 1922 March 17 65
* [19]22 March 23 65
Moskowitz, Henry
* 1934 April 4 66
Mother Earth Publishing Association
* 1907 Nov. 22 56
* 1907 Nov. 22 56
* [1917 July] 57
* 1917 [July?] 57
* [1917 July?] 57
* 1917 [Aug. 1?] 57
* [1917 Aug.?] 57
* [1917 Aug.?] 57
* [1918] 60
* 1918 Feb. 23 61
* [1918 Feb.? 23?] 61
* 1918 Feb. 25 61
* [1918 March? 14?] 61
Mother Earth Publishing Company
1917 Sept. 12 59
* 1918 March 14 61
Mulholland, Don S. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 June 29 57
Mulker, Fredrick (POD)
1918 July 10 61
Mullen, LeRoy A. (Agent, DOS)
* 1927 July 19 66
Mullen, T. F. (Agent, BOInv)
* [1919] Dec. 2 64
Mulrenan, Katharine
* 1940 Jan. 23 66
1940 Jan. 25 66
Mumford
1942 Oct. 16 66
Murphy, John E. (Agent, Sec Ser)
* 1901 Sept. 9 56
* 1901 Sept. 13 56
* 1901 Sept. 19 56
* 1901 Sept. 21 56

(* denotes "written by")

Murphy (US Marshal)
* 1934 Jan. 29 66
1934 Jan. 30 66
Murray, Joseph (BOImm)
1907 Sept. 23 56
* 1907 Sept. 25 56
Murray, Raymond F. (MID)
* 1919 July 15 62
* [1919 July? 15?] 62
Muste, A. J.
* 1934 Jan. 19 66
Nafe, Gertrude
* 1918 Feb. 27 61
* 1918 April 16 61
* 1918 May 22 61
Nathan, Harold (Agent, BOInv)
* 1922 Dec. 19 66
* 1938 March 22 66
Naval Attache (ONI)
* 1920 June 9 65
Neale, William J. (DOJ)
1920 Sept. 18 65
Nebeker, Frank K. (Asst Atty Gen)
* 1919 Dec. 4 64
[19]19 Dec. 13 64
* 1919 Dec. 23 65
Nelson, William D.
* [1919] Nov. [2?] 64
Neuberger, David H.
1917 May 29 57
Neuman-Zilberman, Bella
* 1918 April 16 61
New York Call
1918 Feb. 20 61
New York State Joint Legislative Committee Investigating Seditious...
[19]19 Oct. 31 63
* 1920 April 24 65
Newlander, Carl ("Carolus")
* [19]18 Jan. 30 60
191[8] Jan. 30 60
* 1918 March 8 61
* 1919 Jan. 14 62
Newman, Ed. L. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 June 19 57
* 1917 Sept. 13 59
Newson, H. M. (RCMP)
* [19]27 Jan. 12 66
* [19]27 Sept. 3 66
1927 Sept. 7 66
* [19]27 Sept. 29 66
* [19]27 Dec. 16 66
Niblack, A. P. (Dir ONI)
1917 Nov. 16 59
1917 Nov. 20 59
1917 Nov. 20 59
1917 Nov. 22 59
1917 Dec. 6 60
1917 Dec. 10 60
1917 Dec. 14 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
1918 Feb. 20 61
1918 March 1 61
[19]18 Sept. 2 62
Nicoll, De Lancey (NYDA)
* 1893 [Aug.? 21?] 56
* 1893 [Sept. 6 to Nov. 12] . . . 56
* 1893 Sept. 6 to Nov. 13 . . . 56
* 1893 Sept. 6 to Nov. 14 . . . 56
No Conscription League
* [1917 May?] 57
* [1917 May?] 57
* 1917 May 25 57
* [1917] June 4 57
Nolan, Dennis E. (Dir MID)
1920 Oct. 30 65
* 1920 Nov. 9 65
* 1920 Nov. 9 65
1921 Jan. 14 65
* 1921 Jan. 15 65
* 1921 Feb. 1 65
1921 Feb. 14 65
1921 June 4 65
1921 July 30 65
1921 Aug. 2 65
1921 Aug. 13 65
O'Brian, John Lord (DOJ)
* 1909 April 5 56
* 1917 Nov. 2 59
* 1918 Jan. 14 60
* 1918 Jan. 22 60
1918 Jan. 29 60
* 1918 Feb. 1 61
1918 Feb. 7 61
* 1918 Feb. 9 61
1918 Feb. 21 61

(* denotes "written by")

O'Brian, John Lord (DOJ – cont'd.)
* 1918 March 22 61
* 1919 Feb. 1 62
* 1919 April 23 62
* 1919 April 25 62
* 1919 April 25 62
O'Connell, E. J.
1926 Nov. 3 66
1926 Nov. 23 66
O'Malley, King
* 1911 Nov. 4 56
O'Neill, Eugene
* 1933 Nov. 25 66
O'Neill, Harry F.
* [1917 Sept.? 25?] 59
Oberbuergermeister
1895 Sept. 25 56
1895 Sept. 25 56
1895 Oct. 9 56
Office of Naval Intelligence
* [1917 Nov. 13 to 1918 March 19] 59
* 1917 Nov. 21 59
1917 Nov. 27 59
[1917 Nov.? 27?] 59
[1917 Nov.? 27?] 59
* 1917 Nov. 28 59
* [1917 Dec. 6 to 1918 March 6] 60
* [19]17 Dec. 10 60
* [1917 Dec. 10 to 1918 Feb. 2] . 60
* 1918 Feb. 2 61
* [1918 Feb. 20 to May 21] . . 61
* 1918 July 20 61
* 1918 Sept. 18 62
* 1922 April 1 66
Office of the Chief of Staff (MID)
* 1917 May 30 to 1940 May 15 . 57
* 1918 Jan. 15 60
* [1918 Dec.?] 62
Office of the Counselor (DOS)
* 1917 July 27 57
Office of the President
* [1903?] 56
Office of the Solicitor (POD)
* [1917? Dec.?] 60
* 1918 Aug. 21 61
* 1918 Aug. 21 61
* 1918 Oct. 15 62
Officer in Charge (ONI)
1918 Feb. 28 61
Offley, William M. (DS BOInv)
1917 May 4 57
* 1917 May 29 57
* 1917 May 31 57
* 1917 May 31 57
* 1917 May 31 57
1917 May 31 57
1917 June 2 57
* 1917 June 17 57
1917 June 22 57
* 1917 June 26 57
* 1917 July 1 57
1917 July 2 57
* 1917 July 14 57
1917 July 14 57
* 1917 July 17 57
* 1917 July 17 57
1917 July 30 57
* 1917 Aug. 11 57
* 1917 Aug. 16 57
1917 Aug. 27 57
* 1917 Sept. 12 59
* 1917 Sept. 19 59
1917 Sept. 21 59
1917 Dec. 29 60
* 1918 Jan. 5 60
1918 Jan. 5 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
* 1918 Feb. 2 61
* 1919 April 14 62
1919 April 15 62
* 1919 May 13 62
* 1919 July [25?] 62
Oliver, Frank
1908 April 9 56
1908 Dec. 15 56
Oliver, Robert Shaw (WD)
1908 July 7 56
1908 July 15 56
Onandago County Court
* 1894 June 12 56
Operative in Charge (Sec Ser)
* 1919 Oct. 30 63
Orth, Charles D.
* 1920 Oct. 11 65

(* denotes "written by")

Oswald, W. B. (DOS)
* [19]22 March 7 65
Painter, William R. (Pres MoPB)
1918 Feb. 7 61
* 1918 Feb. 8 61
1918 Feb. 9 61
* 1918 March 18 61
* 1918 March 21 61
1918 March 22 61
1918 April 2 61
* 1918 April 9 61
* [1918 May 20?] 61
[1918 May 24?] 61
1919 Jan. 23 62
* 1919 Jan. 27 62
* 1919 Jan. 27 62
1919 Feb. 1 62
* 1919 March 17 62
1919 March 26 62
* 1919 June 27 62
1919 July 1 62
* 1919 July 8 62
1919 July 11 62
1919 Aug. 13 63
* 1919 Aug. 18 63
* 1919 Aug. 22 63
1919 Aug. 22 63
* 1919 Sept. 4 63
1919 Sept. 4 63
* 1919 Sept. 5 63
* 1919 Sept. 9 63
1919 Sept. 16 63
1919 Sept. 24 63
Palmer, A. Mitchell (Atty Gen)
1919 March 17 62
[1919] May 2 62
1919 June 2 62
1919 June 27 62
1919 July 31 62
* 1919 Aug. 22 63
1919 Aug. 22 63
* 1919 Sept. 4 63
1919 Sept. 4 63
1919 Sept. 5 63
1919 Sept. 6 63
* 1919 Sept. 8 63
1919 Sept. 9 63
1919 Sept. 18 63
* 1919 Sept. 22 63
1919 Oct. 27 63
1919 Nov. 12 64
* [1919 Nov. 17?] 64
* [1919 Nov. 17?] 64
* 1919 Nov. 17 64
* [1919 Nov. 17?] 64
* [1919 Nov. 17?] 64
* [1919 Nov. 17?] 64
[1919] Nov. 17 64
* 1919 Nov. 24 64
* 1919 Nov. 24 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 5 64
[1919 Dec. 6] 64
1919 Dec. 7 64
[19]19 Dec. 7 64
1919 Dec. 8 64
1919 Dec. 9 64
1919 Dec. 9 64
* 1919 Dec. 15 64
1919 Dec. 16 64
1919 Dec. 29 65
* 1920 Jan. 2 65
1920 Feb. 4 65
* 1920 Feb. 14 65
1920 Sept. 20 65
1920 Oct. 11 65
Palmera, William Ralph (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]22 March 2 65
Parker, A. W. (BOImm)
1918 Feb. 25 61
Parrish, Frank M. (DOJ)
1933 April 13 66
* 1933 April 18 66
Patriotic American League
* 1919 Dec. 2 64
* 1919 Dec. 2 64
* 1919 Dec. 2 64
* 1919 Dec. 3 64
Patriotic Woman, A
* [1921 Dec. 10?] 65
Patten, Thomas G. (POD)
* 1917 May 8 57
* 1917 May 8 57
* 1917 June 2 57
* 1917 June 5 57
1917 June 16 57

Patten, Thomas G. (POD – cont'd.)
1917 June 28 57
1917 June 29 57
1917 June 29 57
* 1917 June 30 57
1917 July 2 57
* 1917 July 3 57
* 1917 July 3 57
* 1917 July 19 57
* 1917 July 23 57
1917 July 23 57
1917 July 25 57
* 1917 July 26 57
1917 July 30 57
1917 Aug. 31 57
1917 Sept. 5 59
* 1917 Sept. 7 59
1917 Sept. 11 59
1917 Sept. 25 59
1917 Nov. 15 59
* 1917 Nov. 23 59
1917 Nov. 27 59
* 1917 Dec. 5 60
* 191[7] Dec. 20 60
* 1918 Jan. 30 60
* 1918 Feb. 25 61
1918 Feb. 27 61
1918 March 4 61
1918 March 8 61
* 1918 March 12 61
* 1918 March 19 61
* 1918 March 22 61
* 1918 March 22 61
1918 March 30 61
* 1918 April 5 61
* 1918 April 19 61
1918 April 27 61
1918 April 30 61
* 1918 Aug. 14 61
1918 Aug. 27 61
* 1918 Sept. 4 62
1918 Oct. 18 62
1918 Oct. 18 62
1918 Nov. 6 62

Paul Jones Council 115
* 1934 Feb. 6 66

Pegram, J. C. (MID)
* 1934 March 1 66

Penfold, E.
1911 Nov. 4 56
1911 Nov. 6 56
* 1911 Nov. 17 56

Pennoyer, Richard E. (DOS)
1921 Dec. 23 65
* 1922 Jan. 18 65
* 1922 Feb. 20 65

People's Council of America
* [1917 Oct.?] 59

Perkins, Frances (Sect of Labor)
[1933] 66
[1933 Nov.? 2?] 66
1933 Nov. 18 66
1933 Nov. 22 66
1933 Nov. 22 66
1933 Nov. 24 66
1933 Nov. 25 66
1933 Nov. 25 66
1933 Dec. 19 66
1933 Dec. 19 66
1933 Dec. 21 66
1933 Dec. 22 66
[1934 Jan. 10?] 66
1934 Jan. 11 66
1934 Jan. 12 66
1934 Jan. 12 66
1934 Jan. 12 66
1934 Jan. 12 66
1934 Jan. 12 66
1934 Jan. 12 66
1934 Jan. 12 66
1934 Jan. 12 66
[1934 Jan. 12] 66
1934 Jan. 14 66
1934 Jan. 15 66
1934 Jan. 15 66
1934 Jan. 15 66
1934 Jan. 15 66
1934 Jan. 18 66
1934 Jan. 19 66
1934 Feb. [15?] 66
1934 March 21 66
1934 March 27 66
1934 April 4 66
1934 April 5 66
1934 April 6 66
1934 April 11 66
1934 April 13 66

Perkins, Frances (Sect of Labor – cont'd.)
1934 April 16 66
1934 April 17 66
1934 April 17 66
1934 May 11 66
1934 July 13 66
1934 Oct. 16 66
* 1934 Oct. 22 66
1937 Sept. 16 66
1938 Feb. 5 66
1940 Feb. 15 66
Perkins (DOS)
* 1936 Sept. 21 66
Peters, W. J. (BOImm)
* [1919] Aug. [26] 63
* 1919 Oct. 27 63
[19]19 Dec. 6 64
* 1920 Feb. 6 65
[19]20 May 29 65
Petrie, Sidney W. (Court Clerk)
1908 Oct. 7 56
* 1909 Jan. 19 56
1909 Jan. 20 56
* 1909 April 5 56
* 1909 April 8 56
1919 May 15 62
Petrovitsky, Charles (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 Oct. 2 63
Petterson, Carl, and Ernst Johansson
* 1922 Jan. 17 65
Peyronnin, Jas. O. (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]19 Dec. 1 64
* 1919 Dec. 4 64
Philadelphia Bureau of Police
* [1901 Sept. 15] 56
Phillips, J. W. (RCMP)
* 1926 Oct. 25 66
* [19]26 Nov. 3 66
Phillips, William (DOS)
1921 Dec. 23 65
* 1922 Feb. 6 65
Pierson, J. R.
* [19]19 Dec. 13 64
1919 Dec. 23 65
Pigniuolo, P. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 June 8 57
* 1917 June 12 57
* 1917 June 21 57
* 1917 June 22 57
* 1917 June 29 57
* 1917 July 10 57
Pinckney, J. C.
* [1919 Dec. 6] 64
Pinkerton, William A.
* 1917 Dec. 10 60
* [1917 Dec. 10?] 60
Poirier de Narçay, R.
* [19]01 Sept. 16 67
Police Department, Chicago
* [1901? Sept.?] 56
* [1901? Sept.?] 56
Police Department, New York
[btw. 1901 and 1914] 56
* [1919 Dec.?] 64
Police, Germany
* 1895 to 1917 67
Polk, C.
* [1919 Oct.?] 63
Polk, Frank L. (DOS)
* 1920 Jan. 3 65
* 1920 Jan. 12 65
* 1920 Jan. 27 65
1920 Jan. 28 65
* 1920 Jan. 29 65
* 1920 March 22 65
1926 Nov. 8 66
1926 Nov. 17 66
Poole, D. C. (DOS)
1919 Dec. 24 65
1919 Dec. 31 65
1920 Jan. 10 65
1920 Jan. 10 65
Pope, Francis A. (WD)
* 1908 June 30 56
Porter, Claude R. (Asst Atty Gen)
1919 March 11 61
* 1919 June 4 62
Porter, Thomas I. (Agent, Sec Ser)
* 1901 Sept. 9 56
* 1901 Sept. 10 56
* 1901 Sept. 11 56
* 1901 Sept. 13 56
* 1901 Sept. 14 56
* 1901 Sept. 17 56
* 1901 Sept. 18 56

Porter, Thomas I. (Agent, Sec Ser)
* 1901 Sept. 22 56
* 1917 Sept. 11 59
Portley, Ed (Agent, BOInv)
* 1918 March 10 61
* [19]22 March 25 65
Post, Louis F. (Asst Sect of Labor)
* 1917 July 20 57
* 1917 July 21 57
* 1917 July 21 57
* 1917 July 21 57
1919 Sept. 5 63
1919 Nov. 18 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
[19]19 Nov. 26 64
1919 Nov. 29 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
[1919 Dec. 4] 64
* 1920 March 12 65
1920 March 23 65
* 1920 March 26 65
* [19]20 April 14 65
1920 April 14 65
1920 April 19 65
* 1920 April 26 65
* 1920 April 26 65
1920 April 26 65
Post Office Department
* [1916 June? 26?] 56
* [1918?] 60
* [1918?] 60
* [1918? Jan.?] 60
* [19]18 Jan. 17 60
* [1918 April?] 61
* [19]18 Aug. 22 61
* 1919 Jan. 11 62
* [1919 Jan. 16?] 62
Postal Censorship Committee
* 1919 April 1 62
Postmaster
* 1917 May 15 57
* 1917 May 31 57
* [1917 June 25] 57
1917 July 21 57
1924 Feb. 21 66
Potter, Fuller (MID)
1918 Feb. 6 61
1918 Feb. 26 61
Pratt, Henry G. (MID)
1919 Dec. 10 64
Préfet de Police
1900 March 26 67
* 1900 March 27 67
* 1900 April 24 67
1900 [April] 26 67
* 1900 April 27 67
* 1900 May 22 67
* 1900 May 26 67
1900 Sept. 7 67
* 1901 March 19 67
1901 March 26 56
* [1901? Sept.? 11?] 67
* [1901? Sept.? 11?] 67
* 1902 March 4 67
* 1902 March 7 67
* 1902 May 8 56
1921 Dec. 24 67
1929 Nov. 19 67
1929 Dec. 12 67
* 1929 Dec. 27 67
1930 Feb. 5 67
* 1930 March 11 67
* 1930 March 18 67
* 1930 April 10 67
* [19]30 April 10 67
1933 Dec. 26 67
1934 Jan. 27 67
* 1934 Feb. 2 67
* 1934 Feb. 2 67
Préfet du Var
1926 Oct. 30 66
* 1926 Nov. 4 66
Prefetto di Trento
* 1940 Aug. 9 66
Président du Conseil, Ministre de l'Intérieur
* 1929 Nov. 19 67
1929 Dec. 27 67
* 1930 Feb. 5 67
1930 March 11 67
* 1930 March 12 67
1930 March 18 67
1930 April 10 67

Président du Conseil, Ministre de l'Intérieur (cont'd.)
[19]30 April 10 67
* 1933 Dec. 26 67
1934 Feb. 2 67
1934 Feb. 2 67
Preston, J. W. (US Atty)
* 1917 May 31 57
1917 June 1 57
* 1917 June 2 57
* 1917 June 2 57
1917 June 4 57
Price, Thomas A. (NYPD)
* 1916 May 23 56
Pritchard, J. M.
* 1920 March 23 65
1920 April 15 65
Provost Marshal General (WD)
1917 June 16 57
Purner, Fred A. (ONI)
* 1918 Jan. 23 60
Qui-Sait, Pierre
* [1899? Nov.?] 67
R., G. F. (DOJ)
* 1920 Feb. 16 65
R., S. (DOJ)
* 1921 March 12 65
Radical Division (DOJ)
* 1920 March 1-13 65
* 1920 April 3 65
* 1920 April 10 65
* 1920 April 17 65
* 1920 May 1 65
* [1920] June 26 and July 3 . . 65
Rainey, Henry T. (Rep)
1920 Jan. 28 65
* 1920 Jan. 29 65
Rainey, John W. (Rep)
1920 Feb. 17 65
Rand, Aorian A.
* 1934 Jan. 15 66
Randolph, William H. (NYPD)
* 1919 Oct. 1 63
Raney, Rebekah E.
* 1918 March 8 61
* 1918 April 24 61
* 1918 June 22 61
Rathbone, Robert C. (RCMP)
* 1927 March 8 66
Rathbun, Don S. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 July 9 57
* 1917 Aug. 23 57
1917 Dec. 29 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
Recht, Charles
* [1919 Oct.] 63
1920 March 2 65
Reed, James A. (Sen)
1917 July 12 57
Reeves & Todd
* 1917 Aug. 22 57
* 1917 Aug. 24 57
* 1917 Nov. 5 59
Reichmann, Carl (MID)
1917 Dec. 6 60
Reichskommissar
* 1922 Feb. 21 65
Reid, Ira De A.
* 1934 Jan. 15 66
Reinecke, H.H. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1930 April 9 66
Reitman, Ben L.
* 1910 Jan. 4 56
* 1916 Jan. 19 56
* 1916 Oct. 28 56
1916 Nov. [6?] 56
* [1916 Nov. 7] 56
* 1916 Nov. 14 56
* [1917 April?] 57
* 1917 July 18 57
* 1917 July 25 57
* 1917 Aug. 13 57
* 1917 Aug. [13] 57
* 1917 Aug. 31 57
* 1917 Sept. 5 59
* 1918 March 9 61
* 1918 March 10 61
Richard, Ira
* 1916 Dec. 30 56
Richardson, John B. (WD)
* 1934 March 10 66
Richey, Lawrence (Sect to Pres)
[btw. 1920 and 1940] 65

(* denotes "written by")

Riddiford, C. (POD)
[1917 June 25] 57
* 1917 June 28 57
Riis, Roger William
* 1934 Jan. 12 66
Ritchie, James (RCMP)
* 1927 March 8 66
* 1927 March 9 66
* 1927 March 10 66
* 1927 March 10 66
* 1927 March 14 66
Robbins, Person A. (BOImm)
* 1908 April 6 56
Robertson, Hugh W. (ONI)
* 1918 June 3 61
Robertson, Victor D.
* [1919] Nov. 17 64
1919 Nov. 24 64
Robeson, A. C. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1918 July 2 61
* 1918 July 2 61
Robins, Lucy
* 1918 May [22?] 61
Rodau, Antol (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 Sept. 6 59
* 1917 Sept. 6 59
* 1918 Jan. 16 60
* 1918 Jan. 17 60
* 1918 Jan. 21 60
* 1918 Jan. 21 60
* 1918 Jan. 22 60
* 1918 [May 21] 61
* 1918 May 21 61
* [19]18 June 5 61
Roe, James P.
* 1934 Jan. 11 66
Rogers, Charles E.
* 1917 June 15 57
Rogers (Judge)
* 1917 Oct. 25 59
Rooney, J. D. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 Dec. 9 64
Roosevelt, Eleanor
1934 Jan. 19 66
* 1934 Jan. 31 66
1934 April 4 66
1934 April 5 66
1934 June 3 66
* 1934 June 7 66
Roosevelt, Franklin D.
1933 Dec. 30 66
1934 Feb. 6 66
[1934 March?] 66
1934 March 23 66
1934 April 5 66
[1934 April 5] 66
[1934 April 5] 66
1934 April 14 66
1934 April 14 66
[1934 April 14] 66
1934 April 22 66
Roosevelt, Theodore
1907 July 28 56
* 1908 June 24 56
1909 Jan. 8 56
Root, Elihu (Sect of State)
1907 Nov. 27 56
1907 Nov. 28 56
* 1907 Dec. 4 56
1907 Dec. 19 56
1908 March 24 56
1908 March 24 56
* 1908 March 27 56
1908 March 28 56
1908 March 30 56
Rosenberger, George
* 1934 Jan. 15 66
* 1934 Jan. 15 66
Ross, Arthur Leonard
* 1933 Dec. 19 66
1933 Dec. 21 66
* 1933 Dec. 22 66
* 1934 Jan. 5 66
* 1934 Jan. 5 66
* 1934 Jan. 6 66
1934 Jan. 8 66
1934 Jan. 9 66
1934 Jan. 9 66
* 1934 Jan. 11 66
* 1934 Feb. 13 66
1934 Feb. 16 66
* 1934 Feb. 21 66
* 1934 Feb. 21 66
* 1934 Feb. 27 66
* 1934 April 11 66

Rubin, B.
* 1901 Sept. 11 56
Ryan, J. V. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1923 April 2 66
Samson, E. C. (Agent, BOInv)
1917 July 30 57
Sanders, T. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 Dec. 7 60
Sanderson, George A.
* 1919 Oct. 6 63
1919 Oct. 9 63
Sanger, William
1915 Sept. 11 56
Sargent, Frank P. (BOImm)
* 1907 Sept. 24 56
1907 Sept. 25 56
1907 Oct. 19 56
* 1907 Nov. 13 56
1907 Nov. 13 56
1907 Nov. 22 56
1907 Nov. 23 56
* 1907 Dec. 12 56
* 1908 Feb. 28 56
1908 Feb. 28 56
1908 Feb. 28 56
* 1908 March 31 56
* 1908 March 31 56
* 1908 April 11 56
1908 April 14 56
1908 April 20 56
* 1908 April 23 56
1908 May 21 56
[1908 May 27] 56
1908 June 26 56
Sargent, John G. (Atty Gen)
1923 Dec. 31 66
Sauselo, William C. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1918 March 11 61
Schapiro, Alexander ("Sania")
1921 July 26 65
1921 July 26 65
1921 Dec. 8 65
1921 Dec. 12 65
Schapiro, Fanny
* 1921 Dec. 8 65
Scheider, Malvina T.
* 1934 April 6 66
* 1938 Feb. 5 66
* 1938 Feb. 5 66
1940 Jan. 23 66
* 1940 Jan. 25 66
Schell, Augustus P. (BOImm)
1919 Nov. 1 64
* 1919 Dec. 8 64
* 1919 Dec. 8 64
Scherr, Arthur M.
* 1933 April 13 66
1933 April 18 66
Schmid, P. P. (Agent, BOInv)
1917 July 17 57
Schmitz, Oscar (Agent, BOInv)
* 1918 March 20 61
* 1918 March 21 61
Schmuck (MID)
1918 May 2 61
Schroeder, Theodore
* 1910 56
Schuettler, H. F. (ChPD)
* 1917 Dec. 6 60
Schulder, Fred
* 1934 March 21 66
Schutz, F. W. (RCMP)
* [19]40 March 29 66
Schwartz, Morris (NYPD)
* 1893 Aug. 25 56
* 1906 Nov. 2 56
Scott, Evelyn
* 1934 Jan. 12 66
Scott, H. L. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1924 Feb. 2 66
Scott, Robert T. (DOJ)
1919 Sept. 20 63
1919 Sept. 23 63
1920 April 18 65
Scott, W. D.
1908 May 4 56
* 1908 Dec. 15 56
Scully, Arthur M.
* 1920 Jan. 26 65
Scully, C. J. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 Aug. 27 63
* 1919 Sept. 25 63
* [19]19 Oct. 3 63
* [19]19 Oct. 4 63
* [19]19 Oct. 6 63

(* denotes "written by")

Scully, Margaret (Agent)
* 1919 Oct. 27 63
* 1919 Oct. 28 63
* [1919 Oct. 29] 63
* 1919 Oct. 30 63
* [1919] Oct. 30 63
* [19]19 Oct. 30 63
* [19]19 Oct. 31 63
* [19]19 Oct. 31 63
* [1919 Nov.? 1?] 64
* [19]19 Nov. 1 64
* [19]19 Nov. 5 64
1919 Nov. 5 64
* 1919 Nov. 6 64
Seinner, G. R. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1918 Nov. 6 62
Seofield, John C. (WD)
* 1908 June 22 56
Sharp, R. S. (Agent, DOS)
1922 May 2 66
1927 July 19 66
Shaughnessy, Edward J. (INS)
* 1934 Jan. 9 66
* 1934 Jan. 9 66
1934 Jan. 11 66
Shearn, Clarence J. (Judge)
* [1919 Oct.] 63
Sheldon, Raymond (MID)
1920 Sept. 28 65
* 1920 Oct. 6 65
1920 Oct. 6 65
Shelley, Rebecca
* 1917 July 5 57
Sherman, A. F. (BOImm)
* 1919 Nov. 16 64
Sherman, E.
* 1919 Dec. 31 65
Shidehara, K.
* 1920 Jan. 28 65
Shields, Mary
* 1918 March 9 61
Shoemaker, Thomas B. (INS)
* 1933 Nov. 8 66
Shorr, Isaac
* 1920 Jan. 9 65
1920 Jan. 10 65
Sickel, H. S. J.
* 1919 Nov. 12 64
1919 Nov. 21 64
Siegel, C.
* [19]26 Nov. 29 66
Siegfried, G.
* [1919 June?] 62
Simmons, John Farr (DOS)
* 1930 March 26 67
1930 March 27 67
Simmons, Rush (POD)
1922 Aug. 19 66
Sims, Edwin W. (US Atty)
* 1908 March 2 56
1908 March 4 56
1908 March 9 56
* 1908 March 16 56
Skinner, Robert (DOS)
* 1922 July 26 66
Sloan, Anna M.
* [1917 btw. July 25 and Nov. 14] 57
Slocumb, R. G. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1918 July 16 61
Small, Robert T.
* [1924 Dec. 29] 66
* [1924 Dec. 29] 66
* [1924 Dec. 30] 66
* [1924 Dec. 30] 66
* [1924 Dec. 30] 66
* [1924 Dec. 30] 66
* [1924 Dec. 30] 66
Smarjesse, A. D. (MID)
* 1919 April 16 62
* [1919 April 16?] 62
Sminck, Charles S.
* 1901 Sept. 8 56
* 1901 Sept. 17 56
Smith, J. B. (POD)
1918 March 4 61
1918 March 8 61
Smith, R. J. (RCMP)
* [19]40 Feb. 24 66
* 1940 Sept. 11 66
Smith, Seymour Wemyss
* 1918 Feb. 26 61
1918 March 4 61
Socialist Party
* 1917 May 57

Solanka, Emil (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]20 May 6 65
* [19]22 March 8 65
Sorgue
* [1907 Aug.] 67
Southerland, J. J. (POD)
* 1917 June 8 57
* [1917 July 5?] 57
* 1917 July 9 57
* 1917 Aug. 3 57
* 1917 Aug. 24 57
Spain, W. W. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 Nov. 28 64
Special Agent No. 7 (RCMP)
* 1927 March 9 66
* 1927 March 14 66
Special Agent, Bureau of Investigation
* 1917 Nov. 22 59
1918 Jan. 17 60
Special Committee to Investigate Communist Activities
* 1930 Dec. 5 66
* [1930? Dec.? 5?] 66
* [1930? Dec.? 5?] 66
Special Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities
* 1938 Aug. 17 66
* [1938 Oct. 25] 66
* 1938 Nov. 15 66
* 1938 Dec. 14 66
Spellacy, Thomas J. (Asst Atty Gen)
* 1919 Dec. 11 64
* 1920 Jan. 2 65
Spencer, R. B. (Agent, BOInv)
1920 Jan. 30 65
* 1922 March 1 65
* 1923 May 29 66
Spolansky, J. (Agent, MID)
* 1919 June 25 62
* 1919 Nov. 25 64
* 1919 Dec. 1 64
* 1919 Dec. 3 64
* 1919 Dec. 4 64
* 1920 Feb. 23 65
* 1922 March 7 65
* 1922 April 7 66
Spring-Rice, Cecil
* 1917 June 30 57
Staatskommissar
1923 May 18 66
Stadter, F. W. (Judge)
* 1915 Aug. 7 56
* 1915 Aug. 7 56
* 1915 Aug. 9 56
* 1915 Aug. 9 56
* [1915 Aug. 10] 56
Starnes, Cortlandt (RCMP)
[19]26 Oct. 22 66
1926 Oct. 25 66
[19]26 Nov. 3 66
* 1926 Nov. 6 66
[19]26 Dec. 16 66
[19]27 Jan. 12 66
[19]27 Feb. 4 66
1927 March 8 66
1927 March 9 66
1927 March 10 66
1927 March 10 66
1927 March 14 66
[19]27 Sept. 3 66
* 1927 Sept. 7 66
[19]27 Sept. 29 66
[19]27 Dec. 16 66
[19]28 Feb. 10 66
1928 Oct. 13 66
* 1928 Oct. 17 66
Starr, George J. (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]21 Nov. 16 65
* 1922 March 22 65
Steele, Drusie E.
* [19]18 Aug. 16 61
* 1919 April 6 62
* 1919 July 27 62
Stephens, William D. (CA Gov)
* 1917 May 11 57
1917 May 11 57
1917 May 14 57
Stern, Henry M.
* 1934 April 22 66
Stevens, H. H.
1934 Jan. 15 66
Stevens, R. B. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 Sept. 22 63
Stevenson, Archibald E.
* 1918 Dec. 30 62

(* denotes "written by")

Stevenson, Archibald E. (cont'd.)
1919 July 21 62
1920 June 16 65
Stewart, Robert P. (Asst Atty Gen)
1919 Oct. 4 63
1919 Oct. 8 63
* 1919 Oct. 13 63
* 1919 Oct. 23 63
* 1919 Nov. 21 64
* 1919 Dec. 12 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
* 1920 April 15 65
Stickney, Henry A. (WD)
* 1918 April 13 61
Stimson, Henry L. (Sect of State)
1932 April 18 66
1932 April 29 66
Stone, Samuel R. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 Sept. 29 63
Stone, William J. (Sen)
1917 July 12 57
Storey, Charles M. (DOJ)
* 1918 Jan. 14 60
* 1918 Jan. 25 60
* 1918 Jan. 31 60
Straus, Oscar S. (Sect C & L)
* 1907 Nov. 14 56
* 1907 Nov. 14 56
1907 Nov. 17 56
* 1907 Nov. 19 56
1908 March 2 56
* 1908 March 4 56
* 1908 March 9 56
1908 March 16 56
1908 March 21 56
1908 June 18 56
1909 Feb. 8 56
* 1909 Feb. 11 56
Strauss, H. A. (MID)
* 1919 June 11 62
1919 Dec. 13 64
1920 May 17 65
Stuart, Henry J.
* 1918 March 22 61
Stuart, James E. (POD)
1917 Oct. 27 59
* 1917 Oct. 31 59
* 1917 Oct. 31 59
Sturgis, F. M. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 Oct. 11 63
* [1919 Nov. 26?] 64
* 1919 Dec. 6 64
Sullivan, Matt I.
* 1932 April 21 66
Superintendent of Water Transportation
1919 Dec. 24 65
Superintendent, Mailing Department (POD)
1910 Jan. 26 56
Survey Magazine
* [1920] Jan. 3 65
Suter, John T. (BOInv)
* 1919 Nov. 29 64
1920 March 18 65
Sutton, George M. (POD)
1917 May 10 57
* 1917 May 19 57
* 1917 May 28 57
1917 June 28 57
1917 Aug. 22 57
1917 Aug. 22 57
* 1917 Sept. 1 59
1917 Nov. 5 59
* 1917 Nov. 10 59
1917 Nov. 26 59
1918 March 4 61
1918 March 20 61
* 1918 March 26 61
1918 March 30 61
* 1918 May 2 61
1918 Aug. 30 61
1918 Oct. 18 62
1919 June 24 62
* 1919 June 28 62
Swann, Edward (NYDA)
[1916] April 7 56
1916 April 7 56
* [1916 May?] 56
Sweet, John C. (Asst US Atty)
1908 Dec. 14 56
Sylvester, Richard (WaPD)
1907 Nov. 30 56
* 1907 Dec. 2 56
T. (Agent, MID)
* 1920 Feb. 21 65

(* denotes "written by")

Taft, William H. (Sect of War)
1908 June 10 56
1908 June 11 56
1908 June 19 56
Tait, Robert C.
* 1934 March 23 66
Tamm, Edward A. (FBI)
1937 Sept. 30 66
Taylor, Harry A. (MID)
1918 Aug. 7 61
1918 Aug. 30 61
1918 Sept. 17 62
Taylor, R. H. (ONI)
1918 March 3 61
Thurston, Walter C. (DOS)
* 1937 Oct. 30 66
Timoney, James P. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 Oct. 18 63
Tinsley, R. W. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1918 May 18 61
Toback, Max
* 1917 July 14 57
Tod, Robert E. (BOImm)
* 1921 Dec. 16 65
Todd, George Carroll (Asst Atty Gen)
* 1917 Sept. 6 59
Tolman, G. E. (BOImm)
* 1926 Nov. 2 66
Tormey, James C. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 Nov. [13?] 64
* 1919 Nov. 13 64
Townley, James H.
* 1919 Dec. 16 64
Triner, Joseph (Agent, BOInv)
* 1918 March 4 61
* 1918 March 7 61
* 1918 March 14 61
* 1918 March 17 61
* 1918 March 19 61
Troisieme Bureau de Recherches
* [1901? March? 19?] 56
Trovillion
1920 Feb. 6 65
Tucker, Joseph G. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 June 29 57
* 1917 June 29 57
* 1917 June 29 57
* 1917 June 29 57
* 1917 June 29 57
* 1917 June 30 57
* 1917 June 30 57
* 1917 June 30 57
* 1917 July 6 57
* 1917 July 11 57
* 1919 Aug. 19 63
* 1919 Aug. 21 63
* [19]19 Oct. 24 63
* [19]19 Oct. 25 63
* [19]19 Oct. 25 63
* 1919 Oct. 27 63
* [19]19 Oct. 28 63
* [19]19 Oct. 30 63
* 1924 July 26 66
Tumulty, Joseph P. (Sect to Pres)
1917 June 6 57
1919 June 28 62
Tunney, Thomas (NYPD)
* 1918 Feb. 4 61
Turkel, Pauline
* 1918 March 1 61
* 1918 March 13 61
* 1918 March 18 61
* 1918 April 3 61
* 1918 April 10 61
* 1918 April 11 61
* 1918 April 13 61
* 1918 April 21 61
* 1918 April 24 61
* 1918 May 12 61
* 1918 June 56
* 1918 June 12 61
* 1918 June [2]1 61
* [1918 Sept. 13?] 62
* 1918 Oct. 5 62
* 1918 Nov. 22 62
* [1919 Jan. 5?] 62
* [19]19 June 20 62
* 1919 June 28 62
* 1919 Aug. 5 63
Turner, Frank L. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1918 Feb. 20 61
Turner (Agent, Lusk Comm)
[1919] Oct. 30 63
[19]19 Oct. 30 63
[19]19 Oct. 31 63

Turner (Agent, Lusk Comm – cont'd.)
[19]19 Nov. 1 64
[19]19 Nov. 5 64
Tyng, C. Rorkland
* 1917 July 26 57
* 1917 July 26 57
Uhl, Byrne H. (BOImm)
* 1919 Oct. 2 63
* 1919 Nov. 12 64
1919 Nov. 13 64
* 1919 Nov. 24 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
* [1919 Dec. 5-21] 64
* 1919 Dec. 8 64
1919 Dec. 9 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
1919 Dec. 13 64
1919 Dec. 15 64
1920 Feb. 17 65
* 1920 Feb. 18 65
* 1920 Feb. 18 65
United Hebrew Trades
* [1917 Aug.?] 57
United States District Court, Southern District of New York
* 1917 June 21 to 1921 Feb. 18 . 57
* [1919 Oct. 1?] 63
* 1919 Dec. 5 to 1920 Jan. 9 . . 64
United States District Court, Western District of New York
* 1908 Sept. 28 to 1909 April 9 . 56
* 1908 Oct. 17 56
* 1909 April 8 56
United States Supreme Court
* 1917 Sept. 25 59
* 1917 Sept. 25 59
* 1917 Sept. 25 59
* 1918 Jan. 7 60
* 1918 Jan. 14 60
* 1918 Jan. 14 60
* 1918 Jan. 14 60
* 1918 Jan. 22 60
* 1919 May 19 61
* 1919 May 19 61
* [1919 Dec. 18] 64
Unknown author
* [1895?] 56
* [18]95 Sept. 17 56
* [18]97 Dec. 17 67
* 1900 April 17 67
* [1900 May 22?] 67
* [1900 Aug.? 13?] 56
* 1900 Sept. 4 67
* 1900 Sept. 4. 67
* [1900 Nov.?] 56
* 1900 Nov. 1 67
* 1900 Nov. 1 67
* [1901 Sept. 8] 56
* [1901 Sept. 8] 56
* [19]01 Sept. 9 56
* [19]01 Sept. 9 56
* [19]01 Sept. 14 67
* [19]01 Sept. 15? 67
* [19]01 Sept. [15?] 67
* [19]01 Sept. 16 56
* [1901] Sept. 17 56
* 1901 Sept. 23 56
* 1901 Sept. 25 56
* [1901 Oct. 1] 56
* [1901 Oct. 3] 56
* [1901] Oct. [5] 56
* [1901 Oct. 19] 56
* [1907 June 8] 56
* [1907 Sept. 22] 56
* [1907 Oct. 12] 56
* [1908? Feb. 24] 56
* [1908 Feb. 28] 56
* [1908 March 30] 67
* 1908 March 31 67
* 1908 April 8 56
* 1908 Nov. 14 67
* [1909 Jan. 15] 56
* [1909? April 9?] 56
* [1909 April 10] 56
* [1909 Oct. 14] 56
* 1910 Nov. 12 56
* 1910 Dec. 13 56
* 1911 Jan. 30 56
* 1911 Jan. 30 56
* [1911 Aug. 15] 56
* 1911 Nov. 1 56
* 1916 Dec. 5 56
* [1917] 57
* 1917 June 15 57
* [1917 June 23] 57
* 1917 June 2[3?] 57

(* denotes "written by")

Unknown author (cont'd.)
* [1917 Sept. 2] 59
* 1917 Sept. 10 59
* 1917 Sept. 12 59
* 1917 Nov. 19 59
* 1918 Jan. 5 60
* [1918 Jan. 15] 60
* [1918 Jan. 15] 60
* [1918 Jan. 24] 60
* [1918 Feb. 2] 61
* 1918 Feb. 16 61
* 1918 Feb. 25 61
* 1918 March 13 61
* 1918 March 15 61
* [1918 April 10] 61
* [1918 July 25] 61
* [1919? Jan.?] 62
* [July 14? 1919] 62
* [1919 Sept. 5] 63
* [1919 Sept. 18] 63
* [1919 Sept. 24] 63
* [1919 Sept. 28] 63
* [1919 Sept. 28] 63
* [1919 Oct. 6] 63
* [1919] Oct. 15 63
* [1919 Oct. 27] 63
* [1919 Oct. 27?] 63
* [1919 Oct.? 27?] 63
* 1919 Oct. 28 63
* [1919 Oct. 28] 63
* [1919 Oct. 28] 63
* 1919 Oct. 31 63
* [1919 Oct. 31] 63
* [1919 Nov. 13] 64
* [1919 Nov. 14] 64
* [1919 Nov. 17] 64
* [1919 Nov. 17] 64
* [1919 Nov. 17] 64
* [1919 Nov. 17] 64
* [1919 Nov. 18] 64
* [1919 Nov. 18] 64
* [1919 Nov. 18] 64
* [1919 Nov. 19] 64
* [1919 Nov. 20] 64
* [1919 Nov. 26] 64
* [1919 Dec. 5?] 64
* [1919 Dec. 5?] 64
* 1919 Dec. 7 64
* [1919 Dec. 9] 64
* [1919 Dec. 9] 64
* [1919 Dec. 12] 64
* [1919 Dec. 12] 64
* 1919 Dec. 13 64
* [1919 Dec. 13] 64
* [1919 Dec. 15] 64
* [1919 Dec. 16?] 67
* [1919 Dec. 16] 64
* [1919 Dec. 21?] 64
* [1919 Dec. 21] 64
* [1919 Dec.? 22?] 64
* [1919 Dec.? 22?] 64
* [1919 Dec. 22] 64
* [1919 Dec. 22?] 64
* [1919 Dec. 22] 64
* [1919 Dec. 22] 64
* [1919 Dec. 22] 64
* [1919 Dec. 23] 65
* 1919 Dec. 23 65
* 1919 Dec. 27 65
* [btw. 1920 and 1936] 65
* [1920? Jan.?] 65
* [1920-1930?] 65
* [1920 Jan. 27] 65
* [1920 Jan. 28] 65
* 1920 Dec. 12 65
* [1920 Dec. 18] 65
* [1921 Feb. 26] 65
* 1921 April? 23? 65
* [1921 Dec.] 65
* [1921 Dec. 10] 65
* [1921 Dec. 10] 65
* [1921 Dec. 10] 65
* [1921 Dec. 10?] 65
* [1921 Dec. 10?] 65
* [1921 Dec. 22] 65
* 1921 Dec. 23 67
* [1922? Jan.? 2?] 65
* [1922 Jan. 7?] 65
* [1922 Jan. 14] 65
* 1922 Jan. 18 65
* [1922] Jan. 23 65
* [1922 March 22] 65
* 1922 March 29 65
* [1922 April 17] 66
* [1922 April 29] 66
* [1922 May] 66

Unknown author (cont'd.)
* [1922 May? 26?] 66
* 1922 Sept. 22 66
* [1923 Jan. 5] 66
* [1923 March 10] 66
* [1924 Dec. 21] 66
* [1924 Dec. 21?] 66
* [1924 Dec. 23] 66
* [1924 Dec. 23] 66
* [1924 Dec. 26] 66
* [1924 Dec. 26] 66
* [1924 Dec. 26] 66
* [1924 Dec. 27] 66
* [1924 Dec. 27] 66
* [1924 Dec. 27] 66
* [1924 Dec. 28] 66
* [1924 Dec. 29] 66
* [1924 Dec. 30] 66
* [1924 Dec. 30] 66
* [1924 Dec. 30] 66
* 1925 Oct. 5 66
* [1925 Oct.? 5?] 66
* [1926 Nov. 6?] 66
* [1927 Jan. 8] 66
* [1927 Jan. 31] 66
* [1927 March 24] 66
* 1928 June 17 66
* [193-?] 66
* [193-?] 66
* [193-?] 67
* [1930? March?] 67
* [1930? March?] 67
* 1930 July 10 66
* 1933 Aug. 14 66
* [1934 Jan. 20] 66
* [1934 Feb.] 66
* [1934 Feb. 2?] 66
* [1934 Feb. 9] 66
* [1934 Feb. 11?] 66
* [1934 Feb. 12] 66
* [1934 Feb. 19] 66
* [1934 Feb. 24?] 66
* [1934 Feb. 24] 66
* [1934 March 6?] 66
* [1934 May 1?] 66
* 1934 May 7 66
* 1935 May 28 66
* 1938 March 14 66
* [1939 April 22] 66
* [1939 Sept. 20] 66
* [1939 Sept. 20] 66
* [1939 Sept. 20] 66
* 1939 Sept. 29 66
* [1939 Oct.? 26?] 66
* [1939 Nov. 30] 66
* [1939 Dec. 4] 66
* [1939 Dec. 7] 66
* [1940 Feb. 20] 66
* [1940 May 14] 66
* [1940 May 14] 66
* [1940 May 14] 66
* [1940 May? 14?] 66
* [1940 May 14] 66
* [1940 May 14] 66
* [1940 May 14?] 66
* [1940 May 14?] 66

Unknown recipient
1901 March 26 67
[1909? Jan.?] 56
[1909? April 9?] 56
1911 Nov. 17 56
1916 Oct. 28 56
1917 May 25 57
1917 May 25 57
[1917 btw. July 25 and Nov. 14] 57
1917 July 28 57
1917 Aug. 1 57
1917 Sept. 28 59
1917 Nov. 21 59
1917 Dec. 18 60
1917 Dec. 18 60
1917 Dec. 18 60
1917 Dec. 18 60
191[8] Jan. 29 60
191[8] Jan. 29 60
1918 Feb. 61
1918 March 14 61
1918 June 18 61
[1918 Dec. 21 62
1919 Nov. 1 64
1919 Nov. 21 64
1920 Jan. 10 65
1920 Jan. 10 65
1938 March 22 66

Vaile, William N. (Rep)
* 1920 Jan. 5 65

Valjavec, Victor J. (Agent, BOInv)
* [1921 Oct. 19?] 65
Van Antwerp, William C. (ONI)
* 1917 Nov. 16 59
* 1917 Nov. 20 59
* 1917 Nov. 20 59
* [1917 Nov. 20?] 59
* 1917 Nov. 22 59
* 1917 Nov. 27 59
* 1917 Dec. 6 60
* [1917 Dec.? 6?] 60
* 1917 Dec. 10 60
* 1917 Dec. 14 60
* 1918 Jan. 23 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
* 1918 Feb. 6 61
* 1918 Feb. 20 61
* 1918 April 22 61
* 1918 July 16 61
* 1918 July 17 61
* [19]18 Sept. 2 62
Van Buren, D. C. (MID)
* 1919 Dec. 6 64
Van Deman, Ralph H. (Chief, MID)
1917 June 2 57
* 1917 June 16 57
* 1917 June 16 57
* 1917 July 10 57
1917 July 18 57
1917 Aug. 31 57
1917 Nov. 16 59
1917 Nov. 27 59
1917 Nov. 30 59
1917 Dec. 10 60
* 1917 Dec. 13 60
1917 Dec. 20 60
1917 Dec. 24 60
1917 Dec. 27 60
1917 Dec. 28 60
1917 Dec. 31 60
1918 Jan. 3 60
1918 Jan. 10 60
* 1918 Jan. 14 60
* 1918 Jan. 14 60
* 1918 Jan. 16 60
1918 Jan. 21 60
1918 Jan. 22 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
* 1918 Jan. 26 60
1918 Feb. 5 61
1918 Feb. 15 61
1918 Feb. 15 61
1918 March 30 61
* 1918 April 16 61
1918 April 18 61
1918 April 18 61
* 1918 April 20 61
1918 May 8 61
* 1918 May 13 61
* 1918 May 24 61
* 1918 May 24 61
* [1918 June? 1?] 61
1918 June 3 61
Van Dusen (MID)
* 1918 May 2 61
1918 Aug. 30 61
Vecchiotti
* 194[0] May 14 66
Vera
* 1921 Dec. 10 65
1921 Dec. 20 65
Verhagen, Richard
* 1915 Sept. 11 56
Vetterli, R. E. (Agent, FBI)
* 1938 May 19 66
Viehmann, Fred O. (US Marshal)
* 1908 Oct. 17 56
Virgilio
* 1907 Oct. 26 56
Vogel, Charles
* [19]01 Sept. 25 67
Von Windheim
* 1895 Sept. 20 56
* 1895 Oct. 4 56
* 1900 March 12 67
Von der Recke von der Horst
1895 Sept. 20 56
* 1895 Sept. 25 56
* 1895 Sept. 25 56
1895 Oct. 4 56
* 1895 Oct. 9 56
Voorsanger, Henrietta M.
* 1934 April 4 66
* 1934 April 5 66
1934 April 6 66

Vorse, Mary Heaton
* 1919 Aug. 25 63
Wald, Lillian
* 1920 Jan. 7 65
1920 Feb. 6 65
Waldeck-Rousseau, Pierre Marie René
1900 March 12 67
* 1900 March 26 67
1900 April 24 67
* 1900 [April] 26 67
1900 May 22 67
1900 May 26 67
* 1900 Sept. 7 67
1901 March 19 67
* 1901 March 26 56
* 1901 March 26 67
Walker, John E. (DOJ)
* 1918 Feb. 2 61
Walker, Joseph A. (Agent, Sec Ser)
* 1901 Oct. 1 56
Walsh, Frank P.
* 1918 Feb. 7 61
1918 Feb. 8 61
* 1918 Feb. 9 61
* 1918 March 30 61
War Department
1916 Dec. 26 56
Ward, Frank E.
* 1934 July 13 66
Warren, William H.
[19]15 Aug. 5 56
Warrior, S. L. (RCMP)
* 1927 March 9 66
Watchorn, Robert (BOImm)
[1907 Nov. 12] 56
* 1907 Nov. 13 56
1907 Nov. 19 56
* 1907 Nov. 21 56
1907 Nov. 23 56
1907 Dec. 24 56
1907 Dec. 28 56
Watkins, Robin G. (MID)
* 1918 Feb. 5 61
Watson, Blanche
* 1919 Sept. 22 63
Watson, Elizabeth
* 1934 April 12 66
Watson, Thomas E.
1917 Oct. 25 59
1917 Nov. 17 59
* 1917 Nov. 29 59
1917 Nov. 30 59
1917 Dec. 15 60
1917 Dec. 22 60
1918 Jan. 4 60
* 1918 Jan. 7 60
1918 Jan. 9 60
[1918 May?] 61
Weakley, C. S. (Agent/DS BOInv)
1917 Dec. 29 60
* 1919 July 10 62
Weatherby, R. A. (BOImm)
* 1908 Sept. 24 56
Webster, F. P. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 July 18 57
Weinberger, Harry
* 1916 Nov. 4 56
* [1916 Nov.? 4?] 56
1916 Nov. 20 56
* 1916 Dec. 1 56
* 1916 Dec. 26 56
* 1916 Dec. 26 56
* 1916 Dec. 26 56
* 1916 Dec. 27 56
* 1916 Dec. 30 56
1916 Dec. 30 56
* [1917?] 57
* [1917] 57
* [1917] 57
* [1917?] 57
* [1917?] 57
* 1917 June 28 57
* 1917 June 28 57
* 1917 June 28 57
1917 June 29 57
1917 June 30 57
* [1917 July?] 57
* [1917? July?] 57
[1917 July?] 57
* 1917 July 2 57
1917 July 3 57
1917 July 9 57
* 1917 July 10 57
* 1917 July 10 57
* 1917 July 10 57

Weinberger, Harry (cont'd.)
* 1917 July 12 57
* 1917 July 12 57
* 1917 July 17 57
* 1917 July 17 57
* 1917 July 17 57
* [1917 July 19?] 57
* 1917 July 20 57
1917 July 23 57
* [1917 July 24] 57
* 1917 July 24 57
* 1917 Aug. 2 57
* 1917 Aug. 2 57
* 1917 Aug. 6 57
* 1917 Aug. 6 57
* 1917 Aug. 8 57
* 1917 Aug. 8 57
* 1917 Aug. 9 57
1917 Aug. 9 57
* 1917 Aug. 14 57
1917 Aug. 15 57
* 1917 Aug. 16 57
* [1917 Aug.? 16?] 57
* 1917 [Aug.? 16?] 57
1917 Aug. 16 57
1917 Aug. 18 57
* 1917 Aug. 23 57
* 1917 Aug. 24 57
* 1917 Sept. 6 59
* 1917 Sept. 8 59
1917 Sept. 10 59
* 1917 Sept. 13 59
* 1917 Sept. 19 59
1917 Sept. 20 59
* 1917 Sept. 21 59
1917 Sept. 22 59
* 1917 Sept. 24 59
1917 Sept. 25 59
1917 Sept. 26 59
1917 Sept. [26] 59
* 1917 Sept. 27 59
* 1917 Sept. 27 59
* 1917 Sept. 27 59
* 1917 Sept. 27 59
* 1917 Sept. 28 59
1917 Sept. 29 59
1917 Sept. 29 59
* [1917 Oct. 2?] 59
* 1917 Oct. 3 59
* 1917 Oct. 3 59
1917 Oct. 3 59
* 1917 Oct. 4 59
1917 Oct. 5 59
1917 Oct. 9 59
1917 Oct. 10 59
1917 Oct. 10 59
* 1917 Oct. 13 59
* 1917 Oct. 13 59
* 1917 Oct. 13 59
* 1917 Oct. 13 59
1917 Oct. 15 59
* 1917 Oct. 19 59
1917 Oct. 23 59
* 1917 Oct. 24 59
* 1917 Oct. 24 59
* 1917 Oct. 25 59
* 1917 Oct. 25 59
* 1917 Oct. 25 59
* 1917 Nov. 2 59
* 1917 Nov. 2 59
1917 Nov. 3 59
1917 Nov. 3 59
* 1917 Nov. 5 59
* 1917 Nov. 17 59
* 1917 Nov. 19 59
* 1917 Nov. 20 59
1917 Nov. 22 59
* 1917 Nov. 23 59
* 1917 Nov. 28 59
* 1917 Nov. 28 59
* 1917 Nov. 28 59
* 1917 Nov. 28 59
* 1917 Nov. 28 59
* 1917 Nov. 28 59
1917 Nov. 28 59
* 1917 Nov. 30 59
* 1917 Nov. 30 59
1917 Nov. 30 59
* [1917? Dec.?] 60
1917 Dec. 1 60
* 1917 Dec. 4 60
* 1917 Dec. 4 60
1917 Dec. 4 60
* 1917 Dec. 15 60
* 1917 Dec. 15 60
* 1917 Dec. 19 60
* 1917 Dec. 22 60

Weinberger, Harry (cont'd.)
* 1917 Dec. 22 60
* 1917 Dec. 22 60
1917 Dec. 22 60
* 1917 Dec. 24 60
[191]7 Dec. 24 60
1917 Dec. 26 60
1917 Dec. 26 60
* 1917 Dec. 29 60
* 1917 Dec. 29 60
1917 Dec. 31 60
* [1918 Jan.] 60
* [1918 Jan.?] 60
* 1918 Jan. 2 60
* 1918 Jan. 2 60
* [1918 Jan. 2] 60
* [1918 Jan. 3] 60
* 1918 Jan. 4 60
* 1918 Jan. 5 60
* 1918 Jan. 5 60
1918 Jan. 5 60
* 1918 Jan. 7 60
1918 Jan. 7 60
1918 Jan. 8 60
* 1918 Jan. 9 60
1918 Jan. 9 60
* 191[8] Jan. 14 60
* 1918 Jan. 14 60
1918 Jan. 14 60
1918 Jan. 14 60
* 1918 Jan. 15 60
1918 Jan. 15 60
1918 Jan. 15 60
* [1918 Jan. 18] 60
* 1918 Jan. 18 60
* 1918 Jan. 18 60
* 1918 Jan. 18 60
* 1918 Jan. 18 60
* [1918 Jan. 18] 60
* 1918 Jan. 18 60
* 1918 Jan. 18 60
* 1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 19 60
* 1918 Jan. 23 60
* 1918 Jan. 23 60
* [1918 Jan. 23?] 60
* [1918 Jan. 23?] 60
1918 Jan. 25 60
1918 Jan. 25 60
1918 Jan. 28 60
1918 Jan. 29 60
[19]18 Jan. 29 60
* 1918 Feb. 1 61
1918 Feb. 2 61
* 1918 Feb. 5 61
* 1918 Feb. 6 61
* 1918 March 7 61
* [1918 March 7?] 61
* 1918 March 13 61
* 1918 March 13 61
* 1918 March 13 61
* 1918 March 16 61
* 1918 March 18 61
* 1918 March 18 61
* 1918 March 18 61
* 1918 March 18 61
1918 March 18 61
* 1918 March 19 61
* 1918 March 19 61
1918 March 21 61
* 1918 March 22 61
1918 March 22 61
* 1918 March 27 61
* 1918 March 30 61
* 1918 April 2 61
1918 April 2 61
* 1918 April 6 61
* 1918 April 6 61
* 1918 April 11 61
1918 April 13 61
1918 April 13 61
* 1918 April 15 61
* 1918 April 20 61
* [1918 May?] 61
* 1918 May 9 61
* 1918 May 10 61
* 1918 May 10 61
* 1918 May 18 61
* 1918 Aug. 7 61
* 1918 Nov. 13 62
1918 Nov. 14 62
* 1918 Dec. 18 61
* 1918 Dec. 18 61
* [1918 Dec. 18] 61

Weinberger, Harry (cont'd.)
* [1918 Dec. 20?] 61
* 1918 Dec. 21 61
1918 Dec. 23 61
* 1918 Dec. 24 61
1918 Dec. 26 61
* 1919 Jan. 3 61
1919 Jan. 4 61
* 1919 Jan. 17 61
* 1919 Jan. 17 61
* 1919 Jan. 17 61
* 1919 Jan. 23 62
1919 Jan. 26 62
1919 Jan. 27 62
* 1919 March 4 62
* 1919 March 5 62
1919 March 5 62
* 1919 April 17 62
1919 April 25 62
1919 April 25 62
* 1919 April 26 62
1919 May 13 62
* 1919 May 15 62
* 1919 June 2 62
1919 June 4 62
1919 June 9 62
1919 July 6 62
* 1919 July 15 62
* 1919 July 31 62
* 1919 July 31 62
1919 Aug. 7 63
* 1919 Aug. 11 63
* 1919 Aug. 13 63
* 1919 Aug. 15 63
* [1919 Aug. 15] 63
1919 Aug. 18 63
1919 Aug. 18 63
1919 Aug. 24 63
* 1919 Sept. 5 63
* 1919 Sept. 5 63
1919 Sept. 10 63
* 1919 Sept. 11 63
* 1919 Sept. 11 63
[1919] Sept. 11 63
1919 Sept. 13 63
1919 Sept. 13 63
* 1919 Sept. 15 63
1919 Sept. 17 63
* [1919 Sept. 18] 63
* 1919 Sept. 18 63
* 1919 Sept. 19 63
* 1919 Sept. 20 63
* 1919 Sept. 20 63
1919 Sept. 22 63
* 1919 Sept. 23 63
* 1919 Sept. 23 63
1919 Sept. 23 63
1919 Sept. 23 63
* 1919 Sept. 24 63
* [1919 Sept. 24] 63
* 1919 Sept. 24 63
* 1919 Sept. 24 63
* 1919 Sept. 25 63
* 1919 Sept. 25 63
1919 Sept. 25 63
1919 Sept. 25 63
1919 Sept. 26 63
* 1919 Sept. [27?] 63
* [1919 Oct.] 63
* [1919 Oct.] 63
* [1919 Oct.?] 63
* [1919 Oct.?] 63
* [1919 Oct.?] 63
1919 Oct. 2 63
* 1919 Oct. 17 63
* 1919 Oct. 20 63
* 1919 Oct. 28 63
* 1919 Nov. 7 64
* 1919 Nov. 12 64
1919 Nov. 12 64
* 1919 Nov. 13 64
* 1919 Nov. 13 64
1919 Nov. 14 64
1919 Nov. 14 64
* 1919 Nov. 24 64
1919 Nov. 24 64
* 1919 Nov. 26 64
1919 Nov. 29 64
1919 Nov. 29 64
* 1919 Dec. 1 64
* [1919 Dec.?] 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
* 1919 Dec. 2 64
* 1919 Dec. 2 64
* 1919 Dec. 2 64

* 1919 Dec. 2 64
* 1919 Dec. 2 64
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* [1919 Dec. 4] 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
[1919 Dec. 4] 64
* 1919 Dec. 5 64
* 1919 Dec. 5 64
* 1919 Dec. 5 64
* [1919 Dec. 5] 64
1919 Dec. 5 64
1919 Dec. 5 64
* 1919 Dec. 6 64
* 1919 Dec. 6 64
1919 Dec. 6 64
1919 Dec. 6 64
1919 Dec. 6 64
1919 Dec. 6 64
* 1919 Dec. 8 64
* 1919 Dec. 8 64
1919 Dec. 8 64
1919 Dec. 8 64
* 1919 Dec. 9 64
* 1919 Dec. 9 64
* 1919 Dec. 9 64
* 1919 Dec. 10 64
* 1919 Dec. 10 64
* 1919 Dec. 12 64
* 1919 Dec. 12 64
* 1919 Dec. 12 64
* 1919 Dec. 12 64
* 1919 Dec. 12 64
* [1919 Dec. 12?] 64
* 1919 Dec. 13 64
* 1919 Dec. 13 64
* 1919 Dec. 13 64
* 1919 Dec. 13 64
* 1919 Dec. 15 64
* 1919 Dec. 15 64
1919 Dec. 15 64
1919 Dec. 15 64
* [1919 Dec. 16?] 64
* 1919 Dec. 16 64
* 1919 Dec. 18 64
* 1919 Dec. 19 64
[19]19 Dec. 19 64
1919 Dec. 19 64
1919 Dec. 19 64
* 1919 Dec. 29 65
1920 Jan. 2 65
* [1920 Jan? 19?] 65
[1920 Jan. 28] 65
* 1920 Feb. 3 65
* 1920 Feb. 21 65
1920 Feb. 21 65
* 1920 April 6 65
* 1920 April 12 65
1920 April 13 65
* 1920 May 25 65
* 1920 May 25 65
1920 June 4 65
* 1920 June 10 65
1920 June 12 65
* 1920 June 21 65
* 1922 Jan. 17 65
* 1922 Feb. 13 65
* 1924 Feb. 21 66
1933 Dec. 27 66
* 1934 Jan. 12 66
* 1939 Nov. 8 66

Weinberger, Harry, and Francis G. Caffey
* 1918 Feb. 18 61

Weinberger, Harry, and Zeigler
* 1920 Oct. 5 65

Weinstein, G., and B. Zubovick
* 1918 Feb. 2 61

Weitsman, Albert L. (Agent, BOInv)
* [19]22 March 11 65
* [19]22 March 17 65

Welsh, F. R.
* 1927 Oct. 3 66
Wendell, L. M. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 Nov. 2 59
West, W. J. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1922 March 7 65
Weston, Thomas A.
* 1917 June 30 57
Whalen, John A. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 Nov. 22 59
White, Edward (Justice, SCt)
* 1918 Jan. 14 60
* 1918 Jan. 28 60
* 1918 Jan. 28 60
* 1918 Jan. 29 60
White, Eliot
* 1934 Jan. 14 66
White, Henry M. (BOImm)
1918 Aug. 24 61
* 1918 Aug. 28 61
White, Robe Carl (DOL)
1927 Oct. 3 66
Whitehouse, Sheldon (DOS)
1921 Dec. 23 65
Wickersham, George W. (Atty Gen)
1909 May 15 56
* 1909 May 17 56
* 1909 May 18 56
Wilcox, Thomas C. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 Nov. 28 64
* 1919 Nov. 28 64
* 1919 Nov. 28 64
Wilder, Charlotte
* 1933 Nov. 24 66
Wilder, W. E. (WD)
* 1917 May 30 57
Wilkie, John E. (Chief, Sec Ser)
1901 Dec. 26 56
1907 Oct. 11 56
* 1907 Oct. 19 56
Will, Blanche
* 1919 June 18 62
Williams, Curtis C. (DOS)
1920 May 28 65
* 1920 June 2 65
1920 Aug. 25 65
Williams, Harris S. (Court Clerk)
* 1919 May 13 62
* 1919 Oct. 1 63
Williams (MID)
1918 April 1 61
1918 April 13 61
Williamson, Royden (WD)
* 1917 Oct. 10 59
* 1917 Oct. 25 59
Willoughby-Heyman, K. R.
* [1934 Jan. 10?] 66
Wilson, Alex T.
* [1918 Feb. 3] 61
1918 Feb. 12 61
Wilson, F. W. (MID)
* 19[19] Jan. 6 62
* 1919 May 1 62
Wilson, William B. (Sect of Labor)
[1919] April 2[6?] 62
1919 Aug. 29 63
1919 Sept. 23 63
* 1919 Oct. 9 63
1919 Nov. 24 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
* 1919 Dec. 4 64
1920 Jan. 12 65
1920 Jan. 13 65
1920 Jan. 27 65
1920 Feb. 9 65
* 1920 Feb. 12 65
1920 Feb. 19 65
1920 Feb. 21 65
1920 Feb. 24 65
1920 March 8 65
1920 March 22 65
1920 April 12 65
1920 May 25 65
1920 June 10 65
1920 June 21 65
1920 Oct. 5 65
Wilson, Woodrow
* 1917 May 11 57
1917 May 11 57
* 1917 May 14 57
1918 Feb. 2 61
[1918 Feb. 3] 61
1918 Aug. 7 61
* 1919 June 28 62

Winslow, L. Lanier (DOS)
1919 Nov. 11 64
* [1919] Dec. [3] 64
* 1920 June 2 65
* 1920 June 2 65
* 1920 June 9 65
* 1920 Aug. 27 65
* 1920 Sept. 21 65
* [1920 Sept. 21?] 65
* 1921 Aug. 4 65
1921 Sept. 7 65
Witting, Arthur
* 1918 Dec. 12 62
* 1919 July 22 62
Wixon, Irving F. (BOImm)
* 1922 March 3 65
Wolff, M. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1919 Dec. 8 64
Wolfker, Charles
1918 Feb. 23 61
Wood, C. E. S.
* 1915 Aug. 9 56
* 1917 June 27 57
Wood, Edwin C.
* 1910 Jan. 21 56
Wood, Leonard
1916 Dec. 26 56
Woods, Arthur (NYPD)
* 1907 Sept. 23 56
[19]17 April 26 57
Woodward, J. E. (Adj Gen)
* 1934 Feb. 9 66
Word, T. M. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1922 March 6 65
Workers Defense Union
* 1918 D[ec.] to 1920 April . . 62
Wright, ? W. (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 June 4 57
Wright, Charles E. (Agent, Sec Ser)
* 1917 May 23 57
* 1917 July 28 57
Wright (Agent, BOInv)
* 1917 Aug. 30 57
Wynne, Samuel O. (PCC)
* 1918 July 19 61
X., H. D. (RCMP)
* 1927 Jan. 11 66
Yada, C.
* 1918 May 29 61
1918 May 31 61
* 1918 June 4 61
Yampolsky, Miriam
[1908] Dec. 20 56
Yanowitz, Joseph
* 1917 Dec. 12 60
1917 Dec. 14 60
Young, Charles R. (NYPD)
* 1893 Aug. 25 56
Young, Evan E. (DOS)
* 1921 Dec. 9 65
* 1921 Dec. 10 65
* 1921 Dec. 22 65
1921 Dec. 23 65
* 1921 Dec. 29 65
* 1921 Dec. 31 65
* 192[2] Jan. 3 65
* 1922 Jan. 30 65
* 1922 April 3 66
* [1924 April? 1?] 66
[1924] April 12 66
1925 Jan. 17 66
Young, Fred P.
* 1918 March 7 61
Zamosh, Abraham L. (BOImm)
1908 March 20 56
Zerbst, Fred G. (Warden AP)
1918 April 9 61
* 1918 April 11 61
1919 Jan. 15 62
1919 Sept. [27?] 63
Zimmer, Sol
1917 Aug. 13 57
1917 Aug. [13] 57

The Emma Goldman Papers
Government Documents Series
Index by Title

Title	Reel
249 Reds Sail, Exiled to Soviet Russia.... *In* [New York Herald (Dec. 22, 1919)]	64
[Address Card, 1917 July? for Mother Earth Publishing Association]	57
[Affidavit] 1908 May 18 [in re: Jacob Kersner]	56
[Affidavit] 1908 May 20 [in re: Jacob Kersner]	56
[Affidavit] 1908 May 21 [in re: Jacob Kersner]	56
[Affidavit] 1917 June 1[0? authenticating document]	57
[Affidavit] 1919 Oct. 1 [describing transcript of speech at Harlem River Casino, May 18, 1917]	63
[Affidavit] 1919 Oct. 18 [in re: New Haven Palladium article]	63
[Affidavit] 1919 Oct. 20 [authenticating transcript of Goldman speech]	63
[Affidavit] 1919 Dec. 2 [in re Jacob Kersner]	64
[Affidavit] 1920 Feb. 5 [in re: Abraham Schneider]	65
[Affidavit] 1923 March 23 [giving Emma Goldman's birth date]	65
[Affidavit] 1933 Dec. 26 [in support of motion for readmission to United States]	66
[Affidavit? 1917? July? regarding California indictment of Alexander Berkman (excerpt?)]	57
Affirms Sentence on Emma Goldman. *In* [New York Times (Jan. 15, 1918)]	60
Against Draft Obstructors. *In* [Baltimore Sun (Jan. 15, 1918)]	60
[Agent Report] In re: A.P. Olson (or Olsson)—Anarchist and Radical, New York, 1918 Aug. 30	61
[Agent Report] In re: Abraham Schneider—I.W.W., St. Louis, Mo. [19]19 Oct. 14	63
[Agent Report In re:] Abraham Schneider, St. Louis, Mo. [19]20 May 6	65
[Agent Report] In re: Adolph Wolff—Alleged German Activities, New York, 1917 Oct. 15	59
[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman—Anti-Conscription Literature, New York, 1917 June 8	57
[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman—Anti-Conscription Matter, New York, 1917 June 29	57
[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman, Rosa Spanier, Helen Boardman [et al.]—Anarchistic Matters, N[ew] Y[ork] 1917 Aug. 14	57
[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman Benefit Concert and Ball..., Chicago, 1917 Oct. 7	59
[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman—Prisoner in U.S. Penitentiary, Atlanta, Ga., 1918 March 5	61
[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, et al.—Anarchists, New York, 1918 Oct. 22	62

[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, M. E. Fitzgerald —Anarchist activities, New York, 1918 Oct. 25 62
[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman, Miss E.M. Fitzgerald, Mrs. Stella Ballantine and others of the Anarchist Group, Atlanta, Ga., 1919 June 2 62
[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman—Bolsheviki Activities, New York, 1919 Aug. 21 63
[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman—Deportation Matter, New York, 1919 Aug. 27 63
[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman—Deportation Matter [New] York [19]19 Sept. 24 63
[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman—Deportation Matter, New York [19]19 Sept. 24 63
[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman—Deportation Matter, New York [19]19 Oct. 4 63
[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman—Deportation Matter, New York [19]19 Oct. 6 63
[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 26 64
[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman—Anarchists, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 28 64
[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, Chicago, 1919 Nov. 30 . . 64
[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman—Anarchist Matter, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 3 . . . 64
[Agent Report In] re: Alexander Berkman—Anarchist Activities, New York [19]22 March 11 65
[Agent Report] In re: Alexander Berkman—Anarchist Activities, New York [19]22 March 17 65
[Agent Report In] re: Alexander Ber[k]man—Anarchistic Activities, New York, 1922 March 22 65
[Agent Report In] re: Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, New York, 1922 April 21 . 66
[Agent Report In re:] Alexander Berkman, Berlin, Germany—Anarchist Activities, Los Angeles, 1922 Oct. 5 66
[Agent Report In re:] Alexander Berkman—Immigration Matter, Chicago, 1927 Oct. 1 . . 66
[Agent Report In re:] Alexander Berkman—Immigration Matter, Butte, Mont. [19]27 Oct. 17 66
[Agent Report In re:] Alexander Berkman—Immigration Matter, Chicago, 1927 Nov. 23 . 66
[Agent Report In re:] Alice Stone Blackwell—Alleged Radical Activities, Boston, 1922 March 7 65
[Agent Report] In [re]: Amnesty League—Bolshevik Matter, Chicago, 1919 Sept. 12 . . . 63
[Agent Report] In re: Anarchism—Berkman and Goldman, New York, 1919 Nov. 5 . . . 64
[Agent Report] In re: Anarchism—Emma Goldman, N[ew] Y[ork] 1919 Nov. 21 64
[Agent Report] In re: Anarchist activities; Deportation Matters—Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, N[ew] York, 1919 Sept. 30 63

[Agent Report] In re: Anarchist Activities—Deportation Matter; Emma Goldman, [New] York [19]19 Sept. 30 63
[Agent Report] In re: Anarchist Activities—Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, New York, 1919 Sept. 30 63
[Agent Report] In re: Anarchist Activities, Emma Goldman—Alex[ander] Berkman Hearing, New York, 1919 Dec. 11 64
[Agent Report In re:] Anarchist Black Cross of Russia, Boston, 1922 March 16 65
[Agent Report] In re: Anarchist Matters, Mother Earth Book Shop..., New York, 1918 Aug. 11 61
[Agent Report] In re: Anarchists (See files Emma Goldman, et al.), Chicago, 1917 July 18 . 57
[Agent Report] In re: Anarchists Association—Berkman-Goldman Dinner—Bolsheviki Activities, New York, 1919 Oct. 27 63
[Agent Report] In re: Anarchists, Chicago [19]17 Aug. 10 57
[Agent Report] In re: Anarchists—European Neutrality Matter, Chicago, 1917 July 17 . . 57
[Agent Report] In re: Anti-Conscription Matters (Alex. Berkman, M. Hillquit, et al.), New York, 1917 June 19 57
[Agent Report] In re: Anticipated Emma Goldman Meetings on the West Side on the evening of June 5, Chicago, 1917 June 6 57
[Agent Report] In re: Articles by Emma Goldman—Liberator Meeting, New York [19]22 April 19 66
[Agent Report] In re: Bales, Federal Prisoner—Anarchistic Activities and Draft Evasion, New York, 1918 July 12 61
[Agent Report] In re: Ben L. Reitman, Anarchist, Chicago, 1917 June 6 57
[Agent Report] In re: Ben Reitman—European Neutrality Matters, Chicago, 1917 May 22 . 57
[Agent Report] In re: Ben Reitm[a]n—Supposed Anarchist, Pal of Emma Goldman, Los Angeles, 1917 July 21 57
[Agent Report] In re: Ben Reitman—Anarchist, N[ew] Y[ork] 1918 Nov. 6 62
[Agent Report In] re: Ben Reitman—Anarchist, Hartford, Conn., 1919 Oct. 16 63
[Agent Report In] re: Ben Reitman—Anarchist, Hartford, Conn., 1919 Oct. 17 63
[Agent Report In] re: Ben Reitman—Anarchist, Hartford, Conn., 1919 Oct. 18 63
[Agent Report in re:] Ben Reitman—Alleged Radical, Hartford, Conn., 1919 Oct. 18 . . . 63
[Agent Report In re:] Ben Reitman—Alleged Radical, Hartford, Conn., 1919 Oct. 18 . . . 63
[Agent Report In] re: Ben Reitman—Anarchist, Hartford, Conn., 1919 Oct. 20 63
[Agent Report] In re: Bolshevik Activities, New York [19]19 Sept. 22 63
[Agent Report] In re: Bolsheviki Meeting at Poli's Theatre, Sunday Afternoon, February 2, 1919, Washington, D.C. [19]19 Feb. 6 62
[Agent Report] In re: Bolsheviki Movement [Chicago] 1918 March 4 61
[Agent Report] In re: Bolsheviki Movement [Chicago] 1918 March 7 61
[Agent Report] In re: Bolsheviki Movement [Detroit? Mich.?] 1918 March 14 61
[Agent Report] In re: Bolsheviki Movement [Chicago] 1918 March 17 61

[Agent Report] In re: Bolsheviki Movement [Chicago] 1918 March 19 61
[Agent Report] In re: Bolsheviki Movement in America [Detroit? Mich.?] 1918 April 25 . 61
[Agent Report In] re: Bolshev[iki M]ovement in America [Detroit, Mich.] 1918 [May 21 (fragment)] 61
[Agent Report In] re: Bolsheviki Movement in America, Detroit, Mich., 1918 May 21 [fragment] 61
[Agent Report In re:] C. Beu, General Information, Kansas City, Mo. [19]22 March 25 . . 65
[Agent Report] In re: Carl N[ew]lander, William Bales—Slacker, Anarchist, New York, 1918 July 25 61
[Agent Report] In re: Carl Newlander, William Bales and Miss M. E. Fitzgerald—Anarchistic and I.W.W. Activities, New York, 1918 July 5 61
[Agent Report] In re: Carl N[ew]lander, William Bales—Slacker, Anarchist, New York, 1918 July 25 61
[Agent Report] In re: Cas[s]ius V. Cook, Humanity League—Conscription Law, Chicago, 1917 June 22 57
[Agent Report In re:] Communist Activities [19]39 Sept. 15 [excerpt] 66
[Agent Report] In re: Communist Labor Party Activities, Jacksonville, Fla. [19]19 Dec. 17 67
[Agent Report] In re: (Conference of Socialists) German Activities, New York [19]17 [June] 7 57
[Agent Report] In re: Deportation Matter—Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, New York, 1919 Sept. 30 63
[Agent Report] In re: Deportation Matter—Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, New York [1919 Sept. 30?] 63
[Agent Report In re:] Dill Pickle Club of Chicago [Chicago, 19]30 July 23 66
[Agent Report] In re: Dorothy Miller, Pittsburgh, Pa. [19]21 Oct. 25 65
[Agent Report In re:] Dr. Ben Reitman—Anarchist Matter, Chicago, 1920 Feb. 23 65
[Agent Report] In re: Dudley H. Grant, Bolsheviki Matter, Washington, D.C. [19]19 June 17 [fragment] 62
[Agent Report] In re: Elmer Ellsworth—Alleged German Activities, Los Angeles [19]18 May 13 61
[Agent Report In] re: Emerson P. Jennings—Alleged Bolsheviki Activities, New York [1921 Oct. 19?] 65
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman & Berkman, et al., New York, 1917 Oct. 13 59
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman & Berkman—Radical Activities, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 29 64
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman & Alexander Berkman—Anarchist Matter, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 1 64
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman & Alexander Berkman—Anarchist Matter, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 8 64
[Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman (Socialistic Matter) Washington, D.C. [19]17 Oct. 2 59

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman (Strike of October 8th), New York, [19]19 Oct. 2 . . 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman Meeting, East End Hall, North Clark St., Friday Night..., Chicago, 1917 Aug. 25 57
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman Meeting—Held at West Side Auditorium, Racine & Taylor Sts., Chicago, 1917 Aug. 27 57
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—German Activities, New York, 1917 May 26 57
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Alleged Vio. Section 37, U.S.C.C., New York, 1917 June 21 57
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Anti-Conscription Propagandists, New York, 1917 June 29 57
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Anti-Conscription Propagandists, New York, 1917 July 19 57
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Anti-Conscription Matter, New York, 1917 July 20 57
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexand[er] Berkman—Bolsheviki Activities, New York, 1919 Aug. 19 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Anarchists, New York, 1919 Sept. 25 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Ben R. Reitman—Revolutionary Activities, Seattle, Wash., 1919 Oct. 2 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Deportation Matter, New York [19]19 Oct. 2 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Deportation Matter, New York [19]19 Oct. 3 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Deportation Matter, New York [19]19 Oct. 6 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Deportation Matter, New York, 1919 Oct. 17 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Deportation Proceedings, New York [19]19 Oct. 30 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Anarchists Held for Deportation, New York, 1919 Nov. 12 64
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Anarchists, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 2[4?] 64
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Anarchistic Meeting Held at 56 E. Adams St. at 8 P.M., Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 25 64
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Anarchistic meeting held at 56 E. Adams St. at 8 P.M., Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 25 64
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Her [?] Jacob Lewis—Deportation Matter, Chicago [1919 Nov. 26?] 64

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 28 64
[Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 29 64
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, Mass Meeting West Side Auditorium, Chicago [19]19 Dec. 1 64
[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman Meeting, Carmen's [H]all, Chicago [19]19 Dec. 1 64
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Anarchist Matter, Indianapolis, 1919 Dec. 1 64
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alex[ander] Berkman, Indianapolis, Ind. [1919] Dec. 2 64
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Mass Meeting West Side Auditorium, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 4 64
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Anarchists, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1919 Dec. 6 64
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Anarchists, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1919 Dec. 9 64
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman's Lecture on "Maxim Gorki"—Seditious Utterances, Chicago, 1918 Jan. 11 60
[Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman, Anarchist Leader, Philadelphia, 1917 June 2 . . . 57
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman, Anarchist—Lecture on "The Bolsheviki, Their True Nature and Aim," Chicago, 1918 Jan. 8 60
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman, Anarchist—Lecture on "The Bolsheviki, Their True Nature and Aim," Chicago, 1918 Jan. 11 60
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman, Anarchist, Kansas City, Mo., 1918 March 10 . . . 61
[Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Mina Lowensohn (Anarchist-Soviet Bulletin), Philadelphia [19]19 Dec. 29 65
[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and Mina Lowensohn —Alleged Jewish Bolsheviki Activities, Philadelphia, 1920 Jan. 30 65
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, et al., Pittsburgh, Pa. [19]21 Sept. 24 65
[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Shapiro, Wolff—Anarchistic Activities, Seattle, Wash. [19]22 March 24 65
[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Alexander S[c]hapiro —Anarchistic Activities, Seattle, Wash. [19]22 June 5 66
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman, Berkman, et al., New York, 1917 Sept. 13 59
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman, Berkman, et al.—Anti-Conscription Case, New York, 1917 Sept. 13 59
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman, Berkman, et al., New York, 1917 Sept. 29 59
[Agent Report In re: Emma Goldman, Chicago?] 1920 July 10 [excerpt] 65

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman, Cleveland, Ohio, 1917 June 29 57
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 26 64
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman, Kansas City, Mo., 1918 March 20 61
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman, Kansas City, Mo., 1918 April 5 61
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman, Lecture Jan. 11, 1918 [at] Douglas Park Auditorium, Chicago, 1918 Jan. 28 60
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman, New York, 1919 Dec. 8 64
[Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman, New York, 1924 Nov. 13 66
[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman, Stockholm, Sweden—Anarchist Activities, Los Angeles, 1922 Oct. 5 66
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman, et al.—European Neutrality Matter, Chicago [19]17 July 24 57
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman, et al., Chicago, 1917 Aug. 14 57
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman, et al., Chicago, 1917 Aug. 15 57
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman, et al., Anarchist Matter, Chicago, 1919 Oct. 11 . . 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anti-Conscription Matter, New York, 1917 June 12 57
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Berkman et al. (Bernard Ackerman), New York, 1917 Dec. 4 60
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Los Angeles, 1918 Jan. 9 60
[Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Detroit, Mich., 1918 Jan. 16 60
[Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Detroit, Mich., [19]18 Jan. 17 60
[Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Detroit, Mich., 1918 Jan. 17 60
[Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Detroit, Mich., 1918 Jan. 18 60
[Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Detroit, Mich., 1918 Jan. 21 60
[Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Detroit, Mich., 1918 Jan. 22 60
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Socialist Matter, St. Louis, Mo., 1918 March 11 . 61
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Los Angeles, 1918 March 22 61
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Alexander Berkman—Stella Comyn—Elizabeth Freeman—E. Fitzgerald, Anarchist Activities, Pittsburgh, Pa. [19]19 Jan. 7 . 62
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, St. Louis, Mo. [19]19 Sept. 18 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, St. Louis, Mo. [19]19 Sept. 19 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, St. Louis, Mo. [19]19 Sept. 29 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, St. Louis, Mo. [19]19 Sept. 30 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Deportation Matter, New York [19]19 Oct. 2 . . . 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist Literature, New York [19]19 Oct. 3 . . 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Buffalo, N.Y. [19]19 Oct. 3 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist Matter, Chicago, 1919 Oct. 4 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, San Francisco, 1919 Oct. 4 63

[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Alleged Anarchist, Buffalo, N.Y., 1919 Oct. 6 . . 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Buffalo, N.Y., 1919 Oct. 7 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Buffalo, N.Y., 1919 Oct. 8 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Deportation Matter, New York [19]19 Oct. 14 . . 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Alexander Berkman, Defense and Deportation Proceedings, Pittsburgh, Pa. [19]19 Oct. 14 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist Matter, Chicago, 1919 Oct. 16 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Buffalo, N.Y., [19]19 Oct. 18 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Buffalo, N.Y., 1919 Oct. 18 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist Activities, New York, 1919 Oct. 18 . . 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Buffalo, N.Y., 1919 Oct. 20 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Buffalo, N.Y., 1919 Oct. 22 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Buffalo, N.Y., 1919 Oct. 2[3?] 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist Matter, Chicago [1919] Oct. 23 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Kansas City, Mo., 1919 Oct. 25 . . . 63
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Alex Berkman, New York, 1919 Nov. 6 64
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Buffalo, N.Y., 1919 Nov. 15 64
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Buffalo, N.Y., 1919 Nov. 26 64
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Detroit, Mich., 1919 Nov. 29 64
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Buffalo, N.Y. [19]19 Dec. 3 64
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist Matter, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 4 64
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—Deportation Matter, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 6 . . . 64
[Agent Report] In re: Emma Goldman—[Proposed] Return to the United States, Pittsburgh, Pa., 192[1] Jan. 1[2?] 65
[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Buffalo, N.Y. [19]21 Nov. 15 65
[Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman—Alleged Attempt to Return to the U.S., New York [19]21 Nov. 16 65
[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman—Anarchist, Detroit, Mich., 1921 Nov. 21 65
[Agent Report In re:] Emma Goldman—Alien Anarchist, Detroit, Mich. [19]22 Jan. 28 . . 65
[Agent Report In] re: Emma Goldman—Anarchist Activities, New York, 1922 March 22 [excerpt?] 65
[Agent Report In] re: Federal Writers Project, 1938 Dec. 2 [excerpt?] 66
[Agent Report] In re: Floyd Hardin—Anarchist and pro-German, San Francisco, 1918 June 25 61
[Agent Report] In re: General Matters, New York, 1917 June 12 57
[Agent Report] In re: Goldman—Berkman—Mina Lowensohn—Count Max Podocki (Alleged Anarchists—Russian Activities), Philadelphia [19]19 Dec. 12 64
[Agent Report In re:] Henry Sara—Communist Matter, Chicago, 1922 April 7 66
[Agent Report In] re: Herman F. Sexauer, Alien Enemy--Violation President's Proclamation, Los Angeles, 1918 Feb. 20 61

[Agent Report] In re: I.W.W. & Anarchist Activities, St. Louis, Mo., 1918 Jan. 4 60
[Agent Report] In re: I.W.W. Activities, San Francisco, 1917 July 9 57
[Agent Report] In re: I.W.W. Activities, San Antonio, Tex[as] 1917 Oct. 16 59
[Agent Report] In re: I.W.W. Agitators, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1917 Nov. 2 59
[Agent Report I]n re: I.W.W. Matters, St. Louis, Mo., 1918 Jan. 2 [excerpt] 60
[Agent Report] In re: Inglewood (or Englewood) and H. F. Sexauer—German Activities, Los Angeles, 1917 July 18 [excerpt] 57
[Agent Report In] re: Italian Defense Committee—Anarchist Activities, New York, 1922 April 3 66
[Agent Report In re:] Jacob Henshear and Frank P. O'Hare—Alleged Anarchists, St. Louis, Mo. [19]22 March 8 65
[Agent Report] In re: Jacob Kersner, Chicago, 1919 Nov. 25 64
[Agent Report] In re: Jacob Kersner, Emma Goldman—Anarchist Matter, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 4 64
[Agent Report] In re: Jacob Kersner—Alleged Husband of Emma Goldman, Syracuse, N.Y., 1919 Nov. [13?] 64
[Agent Report In re:] Jacob Margolis, Disbarred Anarchist Attorney, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1923 May 29 66
[Agent Report In re:] Joint Conference Russian Societies, Springfield, Mass., 1921 Dec. 15 [excerpt] 65
[Agent Report In re:] Joseph Spivak—Anarchist Activities, Los Angeles, 1923 Sept. 20 . . 66
[Agent Report In re:] Katherine Irvine, formerly Kitty Beck, Portland, Ore., 1922 March 6 65
[Agent Report In] re: League for Amnesty for Political Prisoners in America..., Detroit, Mich. [19]18 June 5 61
[Agent Report] In re: League For the Amnesty of Political Prisoners—Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, Eleanor Fitzgerald, Roger N. Baldwin, et al., N[ew] Y[ork], 1918 Nov. 1[5?] 62
[Agent Report In re: League of Humanity, Chicago, 1917 June? (fragment)] 57
[Agent Report] In re: League of Humanity (See files Daniel H. Wallace, C. V. Cook, Anarchists, Etc.)—European Neutrality Matter, Chicago, 1917 July 2 57
[Agent Report] In re: Lecture by Emma Goldman, "The Russian Revolution and its Forerunners,"—Seditious Utterances, Chicago, 1918 Jan. 11 60
[Agent Report] In re: Lecture by Emma Goldman..."America and the Russian Revolution"—Seditious Utterances, Chicago, 1918 Jan. 18 60
[Agent Report] In re: Lecture under auspices of the Non-Partisan Radical League, Douglas Park Auditorium, Chicago, 1918 Jan. 25 60
[Agent Report In] re: Leon Malmed—Anarchist, Albany, N.Y. [19]22 March 6 65
[Agent Report In re: Local I.W.W. Activities, New York] 1918 Feb. 4 61
[Agent Report] In re: Lost File on Goldman-Berkman Case, New York, 1919 Dec. 9 . . . 64
[Agent Report] In re: Louis Weitzenkorn, et al., I.W.W. Activities, New York, 1918 Jan. 7 . 60

[Agent Report] In re: Louise Bryant (Mrs. John Reed), Emma Goldman, Teddy Ballantine, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1921 Aug. 30 65
[Agent Report] In re: Louise Olivereau—Violation of Espionage and Conscription Acts, New York, 1917 Oct. 8 59
[Agent Report In] re: M.S., care [of] Mrs. Lawrence—Suspected Anarchist, Albany, N.Y. [19]22 March 9 65
[Agent Report] In re: Maxwell Bodenheim—Alleged Anarchist, War Matter, Boston, 1918 Nov. 22 62
[Agent Report] In re: Meeting West Side Auditorium [Chicago] 1919 Dec. 3 64
[Agent Report In re:] Meeting at Mrs. Burt, Ann Arbor [Mich.] 1918 June 11 61
[Agent Report] In re: Meeting held for Benefit of Alex Berkman at the West Side Auditorium, Chicago, 1917 Dec. 15 60
[Agent Report] In re: Meeting held under auspices of Northwest Labor School, 2021-23 E. Division St., Chicago, 1918 Jan. 22 60
[Agent Report In re:] Miss Aline Barnsdal—Anarchist Activities, Los Angeles, 1922 March 6 65
[Agent Report] In re: Miss M. E. Fitzgerald & Carl Newlander—I.W.W. Activities, N[ew] Y[ork], 1918 July 2 61
[Agent Report] In re: Miss M. E. Fitzgerald—Anarchist, New York, 1918 July 8 61
[Agent Report] In re: Miss Margaret E. Fitzgerald & Alice M. Fitzgerald—Possible Neutrality Matter, St. Louis, Mo., 1917 Nov. 21 59
[Agent Report] In re: Mother Earth Bulletin..., Atlanta, Ga., 1918 July 16 61
[Agent Report] In re: Mrs. Angella Marietta—Anarchistic Agent of Emma Goldman, San Francisco [19]18 Jan. 24 60
[Agent Report In] re: [N.A. Collier?] Alleged Communist Propagandist, New York, 1923 Feb. 26 66
[Agent Report In re: Name Deleted] 1938 July 26 66
[Agent Report In re: Name Deleted] Chicago [193-? (excerpts)] 66
[Agent Report In re: Name Deleted] Indianapolis [Ind., 193-? (excerpt)] 66
[Agent Report In re: Name Deleted, 193-? (excerpt)] 66
[Agent Report In re: Name Deleted, 193-? (excerpts)] 66
[Agent Report In re:] Names and Addresses Found in Papers of Alexander Berkman, Chicago, 1922 March 7 65
[Agent Report In re:] Neie Geselshaft, Free Workers Forum, Joseph Spivak—Russian (Jewish) Anarchist Activities, Los Angeles [19]24 Jan. 22 66
[Agent Report] In re: No Conscription League, Emma Goldman, A. Be[r]kman —Anti-Conscription Activities, New York, 1917 June 4 57
[Agent Report] In re: No Conscription League, New York, 1917 June 6 57
[Agent Report] In re: No Conscription League, Martha Gruening, Rose Marie R. Spanier —Activities of Socialists and Anarchists Against Conscription [New York, 1917 June 11 (fragment)] 57

[Agent Report] In re: No Conscription League, Martha Gruening, Rose Marie R. Spanier —Activities of Socialists and Anarchists Against Conscription, New York, 1917 June 11 57
[Agent Report] In re: No-Conscription League, Seattle, Wash., 1917 July 17 57
[Agent Report] In re: No-Conscription League—Held at Douglas Park Auditorium, Chicago, 1917 Aug. 28 57
[Agent Report] In re: [Number] 2, New York [19]22 Feb. 10 65
[Agent Report In] re: [Number] 3, New York [19]22 March 2 65
[Agent Report] In re: Outline of meetings at which Emma Goldman is to lecture—Seditious Utterances, Chicago, 1918 Jan. 8 60
[Agent Report] In re: Peace Meeting at Star Casino, Park Avenue and 107th Street—Violation Espionage Act, N[ew] Y[ork] 1917 Dec. 7 60
[Agent Report] In re: The People's Council of America, Los Angeles [19]17 Aug. 25 . . . 57
[Agent Report] In re: People's Council of America, Seattle, Wash., 1917 Aug. 30 57
[Agent Report] In re: People's Council, Chicago, 191[8] Jan. 4 60
[Agent Report] In re: Radical Activities in New York—Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, "Anarchist Soviet Bulletin" [New York] 1919 Dec. 15 64
[Agent Report] In re: Radical Agitators, New York [19]19 Oct. 7 63
[Agent Report In re:] Radical Press in the Detroit District, Detroit, Mich., 1922 Feb. 17 [excerpt] 65
[Agent Report] In re: Refusing to register—Abraham Schneider, Akron, Ohio, 1917 June 29 [fragment] 57
[Agent Report] In re: Robert Minor—Anarchist, San Francisco, 1918 May 10 61
[Agent Report] In re: Rosa Spanier and Helen Boardman, Alexander Berkman [et al.] —Anarchistic Matters, N[ew] Y[ork] 1917 Aug. 14 57
[Agent Report In re:] Rose J. (or F.), Kansas City, Mo. [19]22 March 9 65
[Agent Report In re:] Rose or Riva Fleshin—Radical, Cleveland, Ohio [19]22 March 23 . 65
[Agent Report In] re: Russian Revolution Series, Wash[ington] D.C. [19]23 Jan. 29 . . . 66
[Agent Report In re: Russian Socialists in New York] 1917 Dec. 27-28 60
[Agent Report] In re: Secret Order of the Guillotine, Cincinnati, Ohio, 1919 July 10 . . . 62
[Agent Report] In re: Secret Order of the Guillotine, San Francisco, 1919 July 17 62
[Agent Report] In re: Seditious Publication from "Mother Earth," San Antonio, Texas, 1918 May 18 61
[Agent Report In re:] "Smitty"—Radical, Cleveland, O[hio] 1922 March 17 65
[Agent Report In] re: Sofie Markovich, Spasoj Markovich, and John Panoner—I.W.W. Activities, Detroit, Mich., 1917 Sept. 6 59
[Agent Report In] re: Sofie Markovich, Spasoj Markovich and John Panoner—I.W.W. Activities, Detroit, Mich., 1917 Sept. 6 59
[Agent Report In] re: Sophia Markovich—I.W.W. & Anarchist Activities, Detroit, Mich. [19]19 June 26 62

[Agent Report In] re: Spasoj (Steve) Markovich—I.W.W. & Anarchist Activities, Detroit, Mich. [19]19 July [14?] 62
[Agent Report In] re: Spasoj (Steve) Markovich—[I.W.W. &] Anarchist Activities, Detroit, Mich. [19]19 July 1[4?] 62
[Agent Report] In re: Special report—Emma Goldman and Alex[ander] Berkman, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 1 64
[Agent Report] In re: Stella Comyn Ballantine—Emma Goldman—Chicago Tribune [1920 March 30 (cover page)] 65
[Agent Report] In re: Stella Comyn Ballantine—Emma Goldman—Chicago Tribune, Pittsburgh, Pa., 1920 March 30 65
[Agent Report In re:] Stella Comyn—New York—Anarchist Activities, Fresno, Calif., 1920 Jan. 5 65
[Agent Report In re: Subject Deleted, 1925? (excerpts)] 66
[Agent Report In re: Subject Deleted, 193-? (excerpt)] 66
[Agent Report In re: Subject Deleted] Philadelphia? [193-? (excerpt)] 66
[Agent Report In re: Subject Deleted, 193-? (excerpt)] 66
[Agent Report In re: Suspected Anarchists, Buffalo, N.Y. [19]22 March 15 65
[Agent Report] In re: Suspicious Employees Frankford Arsenal, Philadelphia, 1917 Dec. 17 60
[Agent Report In re:] Telfair S. Wetter, Communist, Baltimore, Md., 1922 Dec. 19 66
[Agent Report In re: Tepetz—I.W.W. Activities, New York] 1917 Nov. 15 59
[Agent Report] In re: Tom Burns and Mirovitch—Anarchistic agitators, Portland, Ore., 1917 June 28 57
[Agent Report In re:] U.S. vs. Alexander Berkman, et al.—Anti-Conscription Matter, New York, 1917 June [21?] 57
[Agent Report In re:] U.S. vs. Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman —Anti-Conscription Matter, New York, 1917 June 22 57
[Agent Report In re:] U.S. vs. Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman —Anti-Conscription Case, New York, 1917 June 25 57
[Agent Report In re:] United States vs. Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman—Vio. Section 37, U.S.C.C., New York, 1917 June 25 57
[Agent Report In re:] U.S. vs. Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman—Anti-Conscription Case, New York, 1917 June 29 57
[Agent Report In re:] U.S. vs. Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman—German Activities, New York, 1917 June 30 57
[Agent Report In re:] U.S. vs. Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman—Anti-Conscription Matter, New York, 1917 July 10 57
[Agent Report] In re: U.S. vs. Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman —Anti-Conscription, New York, 1917 Oct. 4 59
[Agent Report In re:] United States vs. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman —Anti-Conscription Activity, New York, 1917 June 21 57

[Agent Report In re:] U.S. vs. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Conscription Matter, New York, 1917 June 21 57
[Agent Report In re:] United States vs. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman —Anti-Conscription Activities, New York, 1917 June 23 57
[Agent Report In re:] U.S. vs Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman —Anti-Conscription Matter, New York, 1917 June 29 57
[Agent Report In re:] U.S. vs. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman —Anti-Conscription Matter, New York, 1917 June 29 57
[Agent Report In re:] U.S. vs Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman —Anti-Conscription Matter, New York, 1917 June 29 57
[Agent Report In re:] U.S. vs Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman —Anti-Conscription Matter, New York, 1917 June 30 57
[Agent Report In re:] U.S. vs Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman—Anti-Conscription Matter, New York, 1917 June 30 57
[Agent Report In re:] U.S. vs Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman —Anti-Conscription Matter, New York, 1917 June 30 57
[Agent Report In re:] United States vs Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman —Anti-Conscription Matter, New York, 1917 July 6 57
[Agent Report In re:] United States vs. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman —Anti-Conscription Matter, New York, 1917 July 11 57
[Agent Report] In re: U.S. vs. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman —Anti-Conscription Matter, New York, 1917 Oct. [9?] 59
[Agent Report In re:] U.S. v. Emma Goldman—Deportation Proceedings, New York [19]19 Oct. 24 63
[Agent Report In re:] U.S. v. Emma Goldman—Deportation Proceedings, New York [19]19 Oct. 25 63
[Agent Report In re:] U.S. v. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Deportation Matter, New York [19]19 Oct. 27 63
[Agent Report In re:] U.S. v. Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman—Deportation Matter, New York, 1919 Oct. 27 63
[Agent Report In re:] U.S. v. Emma Goldman—Deportation Proceedings, New York [19]19 Oct. 28 63
[Agent Report In re:] Union of Russian Anarchists, Cleveland, Ohio, 1923 April 2. 66
[Agent Report In] re: Union of Russian Anarchists, New York, 1924 Sept. 6 66
[Agent Report In] re: United Russian Professional Unions [and] International Anarchist Aid Federation, New York, 1922 March 22 [excerpt] 65
[Agent Report] In re[:] Wencil Francik—Agitator of I.W.W., Tulsa, Okla., 1917 Nov. 22 . 59
[Agent Report? In re: "The Masses" Annual Costume Ball, New York, 1917 Dec. 8?] . . . 60
[Agent Report?] In re: Socialist Meeting—[W?]icker's Hall [Chicago? 19]17 Dec. 21 [fragment] 60

Alex. Berkman and Emma Goldman say they will come back.... *In* [unknown periodical (Dec.? 22? 1919)] 64
Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman on the way to Ellis Island.... *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 5? 1919)] 64
Americas Greatest Peril: The Bolsheviki and the Mooney Case [1919? Jan.? (excerpt, government transcript)] 62
Amerika. Das "Land der Freiheit." *In* Vorwärts [Berlin (Sept. 22, 1907)] 56
Gli Anarchici Italiani negli Stati Uniti. *In* Secolo [of Milan (Aug.? 13? 1900)] 56
Anarchism: What It Really Stands for— 2nd. ed.—New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n, 1914 [excerpt] 67
Anarchist Hopes to Stay. *In* [New York Times (Feb. 9, 1934)] 66
Anarchist Leaders Fought to Last Legal Ditch to Escape Deportation. *In* [New York Tribune (Dec. 22, 1919)] 64
[Anarchist Literature Price List, 1917 Aug.?] 57
Anarchist Urges Trial Marriages. *In* [unknown periodical (Feb. 24, 1908?)] 56
L'anarchiste Czolgosz. *In* Le Français (Sept. 9, [19]01) 56
Les Anarchistes à Londres. *In* L'Autorité (Sept. 17, [18]95) 56
Les Anarchistes. *In* Le Siècle (Sept. 16, [19]01) 56
Les Anarchistes. *In* [Le Journal (March 30, 1908)] 67
Anarchists Dined and Cheered at Big Reception. *In* [New York Evening Globe (Oct. 28, 1919)] 63
Anarchists Welcome Emma Goldman Back Into Fold. *In* [New York Telegram (Oct. 28, 1919)] 63
Annual Record of Assessed Valuation of Real Estate, Borough of..., New York, 1917 July 26 57
Another Hoover. *In* Time [(Dec. 29, 1924)] 66
Answers to Questions. *In* [Washington Star (March? 3, 1937)] 66
[Arrest Record and Vital Statistics, 1907? Dec.? of Emma Goldman] 56
Arrestations d'anarchistes. *In* Le Journal (Sept. [15? 19]01) 67
Asks New Goldman Hearing. *In* [Washington Star (Jan. 24, 1918)] 60
L'Assassin C[z]olgosz. *In* Le Journal (Sept. 9, [19]01) 56
L'Attentat contre le Président Mac-Kinley. *In* [Le Petit Parisien (Sept. 8, 1901)] 56
Au Dehors: Une Harangue de Louise Michel. *In* [unknown periodical (Nov.? 1899?)] . . 67
Aus unserer Bewegung. *In* Der Anarchist [Leipzig (Aug. 15, 1911)] 56
Babillarde Américaine. *In* [unknown periodical] (Dec. 17, [18]97) 67
Back to Russia. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 9, 1919)] 64
[Bank Book of Emma Goldman] Toronto, 1940 Feb. 22 to June 17 66
Berkman and Goldman. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 22? 1919)] 64
Berkman and Goldman [v.] United States: [Assignments of Error] 1919 Jan. 17 61
[Berkman and Goldman v. United States:] Citation, 1919 Jan. 17 61

Berkman and Goldman v. United States: [Slip Opinion] 1919 May 19 61
Berkman [and Goldman] v. United States. *In* United States Reports. —Vol. 250 (May 19, 1919) 61
The Bolshevik Scare. *In* Social Demokraten Leader (Jan. 23 [1922, government transcript)] 65
Brief History of the L'Era Nuova Group of Anarchists at Paterson, N.J. ... [1920? May?] . 65
The Buford Has Fine Service Record. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec.? 22? 1919, fragment)] 64
Bulletin de vérification aux Sommiers judiciaires, Paris, 1900 March 29 67
Bulletin de vérification aux Sommiers judiciaires, Paris, 1902 March 12 67
A Bulletin for Booklovers [1918 March? 14? (leaflet)] 61
Bulletin of Radical Activities No. 8, March 1-13, 1920, Washington [D.C. (excerpt)] . . . 65
Bulletin of Radical Activities No. 11, week ending April 3, 1920 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] 65
Bulletin of Radical Activities No. 12, week ending April 10, 1920, Washington, D.C. [excerpt] 65
Bulletin of Radical Activities No. 13, week ending April 17, 1920, Washington, D.C. [excerpt] 65
Bulletin of Radical Activities No. 14, week ending May 1, 1920, Washington, D.C. [excerpt] 65
Bulletin [of Radical Activities] No. 22 [weeks ending] June 26 and July 3 [1920, Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] 65
Call Berkman a Martyr. *In* [New York Times (Jan. 5, 1918)] 60
Cancels Warrant Against Martens. *In* [Washington Post (Feb. 26, 1921)] 65
Certificate of Citizenship, 1894 Oct. 13 [of Abraham Goldman (copy certified on Oct. 16, 1919)] 63
Certificate of Citizenship, 1907 Nov. 6, for Jacob A. Kersner 56
[Certificate of Citizenship] 1908 April 6 [for Jacob A. Kersner (government transcript)] . . 56
Certificate of Citizenship, 1894 Oct. 13 [of Abraham Goldman (copy certified on Oct. 16, 1919)] 56
[Certificate of Marriage] 1925 June 27 [between Emma Goldman and James Colton], London 66
[Certified Copy of Goldman Letter] 1920 April 14, Kanalia [Finland (government transcript)] 65
[Certified Copy of Goldman Letter to Frank Harris] 1920 April 14, Kanalia [Finland (government transcript)] 65
Charges Stalin Betrayed Workers. *In* [Winnipeg Free Press (Sept. 20, 1939)] 66
City of Portland v. Emma Goldman and Ben Reitman: Complaint, Aug. 6, 1915 56
City of Portland v. Emma Goldman [and Ben Reitman]: Judgment, Aug. 7, 1915 [against Emma Goldman] 56

City of Portland v. [Emma Goldman and] Ben Reitman: Judgment, Aug. 7, 1915 [against Ben Reitman] 56
City of Portland v. Emma Goldman and Ben Reitman: Notice of Appeal, Aug. 9, 1915 . . 56
City of Portland v. Emma Goldman and Ben Reitman: Undertaking on Appeal, Aug. 9, 1915 [accepting bond] 56
City of Portland v. Emma Goldman and Ben Reitman: Transcript on Appeal, Aug. 10, 1915 [cover page] 56
[City of Portland v. Emma Goldman and Ben Reitman: Certificate of Authenticity, Aug. 10, 1915] 56
City of Portland v. Emma Goldman [and] Ben Reitman: [Order] Aug. 13, 1915 [granting motion to dismiss] 56
[City of Portland v. Emma Goldman and Ben Reitman: Certificate of Authenticity] Sept. 10, 1915 56
Cleric Stirred by Conviction for Blasphemy. *In* [Buffalo Evening News (March 24, 1927)] 66
Community Centre Plan Being Backed by Leading Hebrews. *In* Hudson Dispatch (Dec. 27, 1919) 65
Confidential Bulletin No. 20, 1918 July 20 [excerpt] 61
[Confidential Files, 1908 March 19 to 1934 May 18 (cover page)] 56
Confidential Files [1917 Dec. 10 to 1918 Feb. 2 (cover page)] 60
[Confidential Files, 1917 Dec. 29 to 1919 April 23 (cover page)] 60
Confidential Files [1917 Dec. 6 to 1918 March 6 (cover page)] 60
[Confidential Files, 1917 May 29 to Dec. 26 (cover page)] 57
[Conf]idential Files [1917 Nov. 13 to 1918 March 19 (cover page)] 59
[C]onfidential Files [1918 Feb. 20 to 1918 May 21 (cover page)] 61
[Confidential Files, 1918 June 4 to 1933 April 18 (cover page)] 61
Congrès Anarchiste d'Amsterdam [Aug.] 1907 [excerpts, government transcript] 56
Contempt Writs for Soviet Envoys. *In* [New York Sun (Dec. 16? 1919, excerpt)] 67
Contract, 1929 Aug. 21, with Emma Goldman for [her] autobiography [draft] 66
Contract, 1929 Aug. 27, with Emma Goldman for [her] autobiography [draft] 66
Contract, 1929 Sept. 30, with Emma Goldman for [her] autobiography 66
Contre Les Anarchistes. *In* Le Libertaire (Sept. 20, [19]01) 56
[Contribution Form for Goldman-Berkman Defense Fund & The Blast Fund, July? 1917] . 57
[Contribution Form, for Goldman-Berkman Defense Fund, 1917 Aug.?] 57
[Contribution/Membership Form— New York? 1917 May?] 57
[Contribution/Membership Form]— [New York? 1917 May?] 57
Contributions [to Defense Fund] & Relief, D[ec.] 1918 to April 1920 62
Conversation avec Emma Goldmann et le D. Friedeberg. *In* [La Guerre Sociale (Aug. 1907)] 67
Court Fight Lost by Berkman and Goldman Woman. *In* [New York Times? (Dec. 9, 1919)] 64

Credential [to International Anarchist Congress of 1921] 1921 Nov. 7 [for Alexander Berkman (government transcript)] 65
Credential [to International Anarchist Congress of 1921] 1921 Nov. 7 [for Emma Goldman (government transcript)] 65
Criminal Record of Emma Goldman [1919 Sept. 30] 63
Cross Reference Card [for Mother Earth and Mother Earth Bulletin, Washington, D.C.?] 1917 June 2 to 1922 July 13 57
Cross Reference Cards [on Emma Goldman] 1917 May 30 to 1940 May 15 57
Cross-Reference Card [on Emma Goldman, 1918 Dec.?] 62
The Crushing of the Russian Revolution— London : Freedom Press, 1922 [excerpt] . . . 67
D.A.R. Ban on Emma Goldman Denied; But "Red" Will Speak Here, Anyway. *In* [Washington Herald (Feb. 19, 1934)] 66
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, St. Louis District, 1901 Sept. 9 56
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, Chicago District, 1901 Sept. 9 56
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, Chicago District, 1901 Sept. 10 56
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, Chicago District, 1901 Sept. 11 56
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, Cincinnati District, 1901 Sept. 11 56
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, Chicago District, 1901 Sept. 13 56
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, St. Louis District, 1901 Sept. 13 56
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, Chicago District, 1901 Sept. 14 56
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, Chicago District, 1901 Sept. 17 [excerpt] 56
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, New York District, 1901 Sept. 17 [excerpt] 56
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, Chicago District, 1901 Sept. 18 [excerpt] 56
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, St. Louis District, 1901 Sept. 19 56
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, Dallas District, 1901 Sept. 20 [excerpt] 56
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, San Francisco District, 1901 Sept. 20 [excerpt] . . 56
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, St. Louis District, 1901 Sept. 21 56
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, Chicago District, 1901 Sept. 22 56
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, San Francisco District, 1901 Sept. 23 [excerpt] . . 56
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, Rochester District, 1901 Sept. 28 [excerpt] 56
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, New York District, 1901 Oct. 1 [excerpt] 56
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, Denver District, 1901 Oct. 1 [excerpt] 56
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, New York District, 1901 Oct. 18 [excerpt] 56
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, Baltimore District, 1917 May 23 57
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, New York District, 1917 June 14 [excerpt] 57
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, Baltimore District, 1917 July 28 57
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, New York District, 1917 Aug. 18 [excerpt] 57
Daily Report of Agent, Secret Service, Chicago District, 1917 Sept. 11 59

Days of "Old Sleuth" Are Ended, Justice Department's Verdict. *In* [Washington Star (Dec. 29, 1924)] 66
Days of "Old Sleuth" Gone Forever In Department of Justice Activities. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 29, 1924)] 66
Days of "Old Sleuth" In The Justice Department Are Over. *In* [The Charlotte Observer (Dec. 30, 1924)] 66
Death Certificate [of Jacob Lewis] 1919 Jan. 18 [copy certified Nov. 25, 1919] 64
Death Takes "Red Emma," Anarchist. *In* [(Rochester) Democrat and Chronicle (May 14? 1940)] 66
Decide Berkman Will Be Deported. *In* [New York World (Nov. 26, 1919)] 64
[Delay in Emma Goldman's Deportation: A Dangerous Policy. *In* Kansas City Star (Oct. 6, 1919)] 63
[Deport Emma Goldman]. *In* [(Philadelphia) Press (Nov. 18, 1919)] 64
[Deportation Hearing of Emma Goldman] Ellis Island, N.Y., 1919 Oct. 27 and Nov. 12 [transcript] 63
[Deportation] Hearing of [Ludwig] Martens, 1920 March 31, Washington, D.C. [excerpt] . 65
Deportation May be Sought for Berkman Rather than Prison. *In* [Florida Times (Feb. 2, 1918)] 61
Deportation of Anarchist Aliens: Extension of Remarks of Hon. William N. Vaile. *In* Congressional Record (Jan. 5, 1920). 65
The deportation of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman is the unworthy way. *In* The Lewiston Daily Sun (Dec. 13, 1919) [fragment] 64
[Deposition] 1908 May 14 [in re: Jacob Kersner] 56
[Deposition] 1919 Dec. 2 [in re: Jacob Kersner] 64
[Deposition] 1919 Dec. 3 [in re: Jacob Kersner] 64
[Deposition] 1919 Dec. 16 [in re departure of the Buford] 64
Description of Alexander Schapiro [Stockholm, 1922 April? 4?] 66
Description of Anarchistical Meeting, 1907 Nov. 12, Ellis Island, N.Y. [cover page] . . . 56
[Diary] 1921 Sept. 10 to Dec. 22 [excerpts, government transcript] 65
Diary, 1921 Sept. 10 to Dec. 22 [excerpts, government transcript] 65
Dinner Will Honor Emma Goldman and Berkman Tonight. *In* [New York Call (Oct. 27, 1919)] 63
[Discussion of Citizenship by Marriage]. *In* Congressional Record (Feb. 10, 1919) . . . 63
Do Beacon Street and Back Bay Boost Bolshevism. *In* The [Boston] Herald (Dec. 7, 1919) 64
Document File [1909? May? of William Buwalda] 56
Down With the Anarchists!— [New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1916] 56
Emma Goldman. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec.? 22? 1919)] 64
Emma Goldman [A]ssails Draft; Police [On?] Leash. *In* [New York Times?] (June 15, 1917) 57

Emma Goldman Barred from Making a Speech. *In* The [New York] World (Sept. 12, 1917) 59
Emma Goldman Before the Bar, April 20, 1916. *In* Mother Earth —Vol. 9, no. 3 (May 1916) 56
Emma Goldman Bids Good-by Again. *In* [New York Times? (May 1? 1934)] 66
Emma Goldman Claims Citizenship by Marriage in Trial Opened To-Day. *In* [unknown periodical (Oct. 27? 1919)] 63
Emma Goldman Denounces Stalin. *In* [New York Post (Sept. 20, 1939)] 66
Emma Goldman Dies in Toronto; Famous Radical. *In* [(Rochester) Democrat and Chronicle (May 14, 1940)]. 66
[Emma Goldman Donates Money to Victims of Kotoku Case]. *In* Zaibei Shakai Shugisha Museifu Shugisha Enkaku — Tokyo [April? 1911] 56
Emma Goldman Eager to Return Voluntarily to Republic of Russia. *In* [New York Call (Nov. 18, 1919)] 64
Emma Goldman Extols Anarchist. *In* [unknown periodical (Feb. 12, 1934)] 66
Emma Goldman Free, Now to Face Deportation Action. *In* [New York Tribune (Sept. 28, 1919)] 63
Emma Goldman Gets Stay of Week; Berkman to Go. *In* [Chicago Tribune (Dec. 12, 1919)] 64
[Em]ma Goldman Going to Reval. *In* [Boston Traveller (Dec. 22, 1921, fragment)] . . . 65
Emma Goldman Ill in Toronto Hospital. *In* [Toronto Daily Star (Feb. 20, 1940)] 66
Emma Goldman Is Tired of Russia. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 10? 1921)] 65
Emma Goldman Keen To Get Back to U.S.A. *In* [unknown periodical (1922 Jan. 7?)] . . 65
Emma Goldman Lawyer Seeks Verdict Delay. *In* [New York Call (Nov. 13, 1919)] . . . 64
[Em]ma Goldman [Leav]es Russia And Is Planning Return to U.S. *In* [New York Tribune (Dec. 10, 1921)] 65
Emma Goldman Mentor of Czolgosz, McKinley's Slayer, Declare U.S. Investigators. *In* [Washington Post (Dec. 22, 1919)] 64
Emma Goldman Ready To Go To Soviet Russia. *In* [Chicago Tribune (Dec. 13, 1919)] . . 64
Emma Goldman Reported To Have Left Russia. *In* [Baltimore Sun (Dec. 10, 1921)] . . . 65
Emma Goldman Resents Action of Challenger. *In* [Winnipeg Free Press (Jan. 31, 1927)] . 66
Emma Goldman Seeks Release From Prison. *In* [New York Tribune (1919 Sept. 5)] . . . 63
Emma Goldman Seeks to Return to America. *In* [Washington Post (Dec. 10, 1921)] . . . 65
Emma Goldman Seeks to Return to United States. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 10? 1921)] 65
Emma Goldman [v.] New York Produce Exchange Bank: Summons, 1917 Aug. 16 57
Emma Goldman [v.] New York Produce Exchange Bank: [Complaint, 1917 Aug.? 16?] . . 57
Emma Goldman [v.] New York Produce Exchange Bank: Summons and Complaint, 1917 [Aug.? 16? (cover page)] 57
Emma Goldman [v.] New York Produce Exchange Bank: [Answer] 1917 Aug. 22 57

Emma Goldman [v.] New York Produce Exchange Bank: Answer, 1917 Aug. 24 [cover page] 57
Emma Goldman and Russia. *In* [New York Evening Po]st (March 13, 1918) 61
Emma Goldman in P[rag]ue. *In* [Washington Post (April 29, 1922)] 66
[Emma Goldman on Russia]. *In* [unknown periodical (April? 23? 1921, fragment)] . . . 65
Emma Goldman to be Deported. *In* [New York Sun (Nov. 17, 1919)] 64
Emma Goldman's Defense [April 20, 1916]. *In* The Masses —Vol. 8, no. 8 (June 1916) . 56
Emma Goldman's Lectures on Drama and Social Topics, October - November - December, 1927, Toronto [advertisement] 66
Emma Goldman, 70, Is Dead at Toronto. *In* [Montreal Gazette (May 14, 1940)] 66
Emma Goldman, Anarchist. *In* [Philadelphia Star? (May 14? 1940] 66
Emma Goldman, Anarchist, Crazy About Cathedrals. *In* [Toronto Star (April 22, 1939)] . 66
Emma Goldman, Fired By Russia, Lights In Berlin. *In* [Indianapolis Star (March 10, 1923)] 66
Emma Goldman: Elderly Red Here to Pay Us 90-Day Visit. *In* Newsweek [Jan. 20, 1934] . 66
Emma Goldman: Queen of Anarchists Visits New York. *In* [Newsweek? (Feb. 1934)] . . 66
Emma Goldmann. *In* [Berliner? Ta]geblatt (Sept. 23, 1901) 56
Emma Goldmann et les anarchistes. *In* Le Siècle (Sept. 14 [19]01) 67
Emma Plump, But Berates Jail Fare. *In* [New York Sun (Sept. 28, 1919)] 63
Estimate of the Subversive Situation as of January 31, 1934, Governors Island, N.Y., 1934 Feb. 10 [excerpt] 66
Etrangers Detenus Passibles D'Expulsion: Notice Individuelle [Paris, 1930? March?] . . . 67
[Examination of Emma Goldman before Board of Special Inquiry] 1908 April 8, Noyes, Minn. [government transcript] 56
[Excerpts from] Anarchism and Other Essays [1919 Sept.? Washington, D.C.?] 63
Explains Barring Papers From Mail. *In* [The Evening Star] (Feb. 16, 1918) 61
[Expulsion Order] 1901 March 26 [against Emma Goldman] Paris 67
Extracts from Freedom of Nov.-Dec. 1919 [compiled 1925 Oct.? 5?, Philadelphia] 66
Facts Regarding Japanese Radicals. *In* New York Call (Nov. 28, 1910) 56
Fight Goldman Ban. *In* [New York Times (March 6? 1934)] 66
[File Destruction Memorandum] 1929 July 9 66
[File Memorandum for Harry Weinberger, 1918 Jan. 8?] 60
[File Memorandum for Harry Weinberger, 1918 Jan. 15?] 60
[File Memorandum for Harry Weinberger, 1918 Feb. 2?] 61
[File Memorandum for John W. Davis, 1918 Jan. 29? Washington, D.C.] 60
[File Memorandum re: Deportation of Emma Goldman, 19]19 Dec. 15 64
[File Revocation Request Card for Emma Goldman] 1940 June 12 [Rome?] 66
[File of Emma Goldman, 1898? (cover page)] 56
[File of Emma Goldman, 193-?] 67

[File of Emma Goldman] Berlin, 1895 to 1917 67
[File of Emma Goldman] Paris [1930? March? (cover page)] 67
[File of Emma Goldman, Paris, 1901? Sept.? 11?] 67
[File of Emma Goldman] Paris, 190[1 Sept.? (cover page)] 67
[File of Emma Goldman] Rome, 1930 May 28 66
[File of Emma Goldman, Rome?, 19--? (cover page?)] 56
[File of Emma Goldman, Rome?, 193- (cover page?)] 66
[Fingerprints of Emma Goldman, 1919 Dec.?] 64
Flapper Best Wife, Emma Goldman Idea. *In* [unknown periodocal (Nov. 6? 1926)] . . . 66
For the National Defense. *In* [Washington Post (Jan. 27, 1920)] 65
Former Goldman Employee Arrested by U.S. Officers. *In* [New York Tribune (July 25, 1918)] 61
A Fragment of the Prison Experiences of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman— New York : Stella Comyn [1919 (excerpt)] 67
Free Our Political Prisoners [leaflet]— New York [1919? Jan.? (excerpt)] 62
Frees Woman, Calling Court Record Faulty. *In* [New York Times? (July 14? 1919)] . . . 62
Gegen einseitige Klassen-Propaganda. *In* Der Sozialist [Berlin (March 1, 1911)] 56
[General Conditions Report on Sweden, Stockholm, 1932 April 16?-29 (excerpt)] 66
General Intelligence Bulletin No. 31, Oct. 2, 1920 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] 65
General Intelligence Bulletin No. 44, week of April 2, 1921 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] . 65
General Intelligence Bulletin No. 52, week ending May 28, 1921 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] 65
General Intelligence Bulletin No. 60, week ending July 23, 1921 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] 65
General Intelligence Bulletin No. 63, week ending Aug. 6, 1921 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] 65
General Intelligence Bulletin No. 70, week ending Sept. 17, 1921 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] 65
General Intelligence Report No. 56, week ending Dec. 24, 1921 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] 65
[General Intelligence Report?, 19]22 Feb. 6 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] 65
[General Intelligence Report?, 19]22 March 27 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] 65
General Orders No. 84, 1908 May 22 [reducing sentence of William Buwalda] 56
Get Those Behind Them. *In* [New York Telegram (Nov. 20, 1919)] 64
Goldman [&] Berkman [v.] United States: Assignments of Error, 1917 July 17 57
[Goldman & Berkman v.] United States: Citation, 1917 July 19 57
Goldman & Berkman v. United States: Stipulation, 1917 Aug. 17 [to extend time to file transcript] 57
Goldman [&] Berkman v. United States: Stipulation, 1917 Sept. 10 [to extend time to file transcript] 59

Goldman [&] Berkman v. United States: Transcript of Record, 1917 Sept. 25 59
Goldman [&] Berkman v. United States, 1917 Sept. 25 [cover page] 59
Goldman [&] Berkman v. United States: Order for Appearance [1917 Sept.? 25?, as plaintiffs' attorney] 59
[Goldman & Berkman] v. United States: Order for Appearance [1917 Oct. 2?, as counsel for plaintiffs] 59
[Goldman & Berkman v. United States...]: Motion to Advance, 1917 Oct. [2 (cover page)] 59
Goldman [&] Berkman v. United States: Motion to Advance, 1917 Oct. [2] 59
Goldman [&] Berkman [v.] United States: Brief [for Plaintiffs] 1917 Nov. 30 59
Goldman [&] Berkman v. United States...: Brief for the United States, 1917 Dec. 10 [excerpt] 60
[Goldman & Berkman v. United States: Petition for] Rehearing [1918 Jan. (draft)] 60
Goldman [&] Berkman [v.] United States: Motion to File Supplemental Brief [1918 Jan. 2] 60
Goldman [&] Berkman [v.] United States: Supplemental Brief [1918 Jan. 3] 60
[Goldman & Berkman v. United States: Mandate] 1918 Jan. 14 60
Goldman [&] Berkman v. United States: [Slip Opinion] 1918 Jan. 14 60
Goldman [&] Berkman v. United States: [Affirmation of Judgment] 1918 Jan. 14 60
Goldman [&] Berkman [v.] United States: Affidavit and Notice of Motion [to extend mandate, 1918 Jan. 18 (cover page)] 60
Goldman [&] Berkman [v.] United States: [Notice of motion to extend mandate] 1918 Jan. 18 60
Goldman [&] Berkman [v.] United States: [Affidavit in support of motion for rehearing] 1918 Jan. 18 60
Goldman [&] Berkman [v.] United States: Affidavit in Opposition to Motion [to issue mandate] 1918 Jan. 18 60
Goldman [&] Berkman [v.] United States: Affidavit and Notice of Motion [to extend mandate, 1918 Jan. 18 (cover page)] 60
Goldman [&] Berkman [v.] United States: [Affidavit in support of motion for rehearing] 1918 Jan. 18 60
Goldman [&] Berkman [v.] United States: [Notice of motion to extend mandate] 1918 Jan. 18 60
Goldman [&] Berkman [v.] United States: Affidavit in Opposition to Motion [to issue mandate] 1918 Jan. 18 60
Goldman [& Berkman] v. United States: Motion for an Order enlarging time for issuing mandate, 1918 Jan. 21 [cover page] 60
Goldman [&] Berkman [v.] United States: Petition for Rehearing [1918 Jan. 23?] 60
Goldman [& Berkman] v. United States: Petition for Rehearing, 1918 Jan. 28 [cover page] 60
Goldman [&] Berkman v. United States: [Order to Issue Mandate] 1918 Jan. 28 60
Goldman [& Berkman] v. United States: [Petition for Rehearing denied] 1918 Jan. 28 . . 60
Goldman [&] Berkman v. United States: Mandate, 1918 Jan. 29 [cover page] 60

Goldman Case Not Postponed. *In* [(Rochester) Democrat and Chronicle (Oct. 15, 1919)] . 63
Goldman et al. v. United States. *In* United States Reports. —Vol. 245 (Jan. 14, 1918) . . 60
Goldman v. Reyburn et al. : [Opinion of Judge Willson, Philadelphia, Pa., 1909 Oct. 14]. *In* The Legal Intelligencer (Nov. 5, 1909) 56
Good Riddance. *In* Hudson Dispatch (Dec. 23, 1919) 65
Le Gout Du Sang. *In* Le Drapeau (Sept. 16 [19]01) 67
Hard-Boiled Secret Service Tactics Banished By Hoover. *In* [Baltimore Evening Sun (Dec. 30, 1924)] 66
Haywood Is Pathetic Outcast in Moscow. *In* The Detroit [Free Press (Jan. 5, 1923)] . . . 66
[History of Military Intelligence Division, Central Department, 1919 July? 15? (excerpts)] . 62
Hotel Cancels the Anarchist Reception. *In* [Philadelphia Record (Nov. 14, 1919)] 64
In Russia She Longs For Jail. *In* [Los Angeles] Daily Times (March 29,1922) 65
In the Matter of Alexander Berkman, 1919 Sept. 29 [transcript of deportation hearing, held on Aug. 13, Sept. 20, Sept. 25, 1919] 63
In the Matter of the Application Made on Behalf of Thomas J. Mooney for a Pardon, 1932 April 21 [excerpt] 66
In the Matter of the Application of Thomas J. Mooney for a Pardon [1918? June? (excerpts)] 56
Instead of a Magazine— New York : [Mother Earth Publishing Ass'n.] June 29, 1918 . . . 61
Introduction and Historical Review of Conditions and Agencies Tending to Create the Present Tendency Toward Radicalism [1920? Jan.?] 65
[Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.] 1919 Sept. 22 [excerpt, draft] 63
[Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., 1919 Nov. 17? (excerpt, draft)] 64
Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice [excerpt]. *In* Senate Documents, 66th Congress, 1st Session. — Vol. 12, no. 153 (Nov. 17, 1919). 64
[Investigation Activities of the Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., 1919 Nov. 17? (excerpt, draft)] 64
Investigation of Communist Propaganda [excerpt]. *In* Hearings before a Special Committee...of the House of Representatives (Dec. 5, 1930) 66
Investigation of Communist Propaganda [excerpt]. *In* [Hearings before a Special Committee...of the House of Representatives (Dec.? 5? 1930?)] 66
Investigation of Communist Propaganda. *In* [Hearings before a Special Committee...of the House of Representatives (Dec.? 5? 1930?)] 66
[Investigation of] Un-American Propaganda Activities [in the United States]. *In* [Hearings before a Special Committee...House of Representatives (Aug. 17, 1938)] . . 66
Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States. *In* [Hearings before a Special Committee...House of Representatives (Oct. 25, 1938)] 66
Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States. *In* [Hearing before a Special Committee...House of Representatives] (Nov. 15, 1938) 66

Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States. *In* Hearings before a Special Committee...House of Representatives (Dec. 14, 1938) 66
Is It Unprofessional for a Lawyer to Defend "Radicals" in Court? [1920 Jan? 19?] 65
J. E. Hoover Given W. J. Burns' Place. *In* [Washington Star (Dec. 30, 1924)] 66
J. E. Hoover, 30, Chief U.S. Sleuth. *In* [(New York) World (Dec. 21, 1924)] 66
Japanese Radicals Condemned to Die. *In* New York Call (Nov. 12, 1910) 56
Le jugement de Czolgosz. *In* [Le Journal] (Sept. 17 [1901]) 56
[Kotoku Protest Letter]. *In* Zaibei Shakai Shugisha Museifu Shugisha Enkaku — Tokyo [Nov. 12, 1910] 56
[Kotoku Protest Meeting in New York]. *In* Zaibei Shakai Shugisha Museifu Shugisha Enkaku — Tokyo [Dec. 12, 1910] 56
Law Clerk Gains High Distinction. *In* [Detroit Free Press (Dec. 27, 1924)] 66
Law on Conspiracy [1917 between July and Dec.] 57
League Is Formed to Seek Freedom of War Resisters. *In* [Washington Post (April 10, 1918)] 61
[Let Emma Goldman Return]. *In* [Charleston? News? and? Courier? (1922? Jan.? 2?, fragment)] 65
[A Letter from Emma Goldman]. *In* Revolutionary Radicalism...— Albany : J. B. Lyon Co., 1920 April 24. 65
[Letter to Miss Emma Goldman]. *In* Soviet Russia. —Vol. I, no. 29 (Dec. 20, 1919) . . . 64
List of Aliens brought to Ellis Island [on] Nov. 8, 1919 64
[List of Anarchists Proposed for Expulsion] Paris, 1900 [Dec.?] 24 [excerpt] 67
[List of Buford Deportees Who Could Not Pay for the Fee Stamp, 1920 March 12?] . . . 65
[List of Delegates to the Congress of the Third International in Moscow, 1920 Sept. 21? London] 65
[List of Deported Russian Radicals, 1920? Feb.?] 65
List of Deportees Whose Photographs are Missing [1920 Feb. 18?] 65
[List of Deportees on Board the Buford, 1920 Feb. 12?] 65
[List of Exhibits, 1908 May 27, in re: Jacob Kersner denaturalization] 56
[List of Mail Received by Goldman, Paris, 1900 May 22?] 67
[List of Mother Earth Articles Censored by Post Office, July 1917] 57
[List of] Mother Earth Subscribers [1919? Feb.? (fragment)] 62
[List of Mother Earth Subscribers in New York City, 1919? Feb.? (fragment)] 62
[List of Mother Earth Subscribers, 1918 July?] 61
[List of Names and Addresses of Buford Deportees' Correspondents] 1920 Jan. 31 65
[List of Names from Berkman's Address Book, en route to U.S.S.R.] 1919 Dec. 21 [government transcript] 64
[List of Names from Berkman's Address Book, between 1919 Dec. to 1921 Dec. (government transcript)] 65
[List of Names in Goldman's Address Book, 1922 March? 17? (government transcript)] . . 65

[List of Non-Mailable Publications, 1918? Jan.? (excerpt)] 60
[List of Non-Mailable Publications] 1919 Jan. 11 [excerpt] 62
[List of Non-Mailable Publications, 1919 Jan. 16? (excerpt)] 62
[List of People to Receive Goldman & Berkman Legal Brief] 1917 Dec. 4 60
[List of Questions, 1920 March 13? Moscow? to V. I. Lenin, Chairman of the Soviet Republic of People's Commissars, Moscow] 65
[List of Radical Literature, 1920-1930? (excerpt)] 65
[List of] Russian Radicals Held at Ellis Island [N.Y., 1919 between Dec. 5 and 21] 64
List of United States Addresses of Suppressed Publications, 1919 April 1 [excerpt] 62
Liste des Anarchistes Italiens...proposés pour être Expulsés... [Paris, 1901? March? 19?] . 56
Liste des anarchistes habitant ou ayant habité les Etats-Unis [Paris] 1902 May 8 56
Lopez v. Howe: Brief for Relator-Appellant [1918? Nov.?] 63
Lozovsky Lets the Cat out of the Bag— Berlin, 1924 March [government transcript] . . . 66
[Margaret M. Scully, 1919 Oct.? (cover page?)] 63
Marriage and Love— 2nd. ed. —New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1916 [excerpt] . . 67
Marshal Stops Meeting of 1,000 War "Objectors." *In* The [New York] World (Sept. 10, 1917) 59
Martens Wants Reds for Russia. *In* [New York Post (Dec. 15, 1919)] 64
Martens' Deportation. *In* [Washington Post (Dec. 18, 1920)] 65
Mason Made Chief of Investigation. *In* [Fellowship Forum (Dec. 27, 1924)] 66
Massen Versammlung [1900] May 19 [advertisement] 67
McKinley als Opfer der Lockspizelei! *In* [unknown periodical (Oct. 1, 1901)] 56
[Memorandum] Re: Prospective Application of Emma Goldman for Permission to Enter the Country Temporarily..., Washington [D.C.] 1933 Dec. 4 [fragment?] 66
[Memorandum] Re: Rex [v]s. B[o]rtol[o]tti, et al. [Toronto, 1939 Oct.? 26?] 66
Memorandum Upon Activities of the Radical Division, 1920 May 1 [Washington, D.C.] . 65
Memorandum Upon Work of Radical Division, Aug. 1, 1919 to Oct. 15, 1919 [Washington, D.C.] 1919 Oct. 18 63
[Memorandum in re:] Anarchists and Hindoo Conspirators, 1918 Feb. 25 [Washington, D.C.?] 61
[Memorandum in re: Guillotine Club, Washington, D.C.?, 1917? Dec.? 31? 60
[Memorandum in re: Guillotine Club, 1918 Jan.? Washington, D.C.?] 60
[Memorandum in re:] International Bolshevist Congress of Moscow [1921? Jan.?] 65
[Memorandum in re: Mother Earth Bulletin, 1917? Dec.?] 60
[Memorandum in re:] Mother Earth Bulletin censorship, 1918 Feb. 15 [Washington, D.C.] . 61
[Memorandum in re: Mother Earth Bulletin censorship, 1918 Feb. 15? Washington, D.C.] . 61
Memorandum [in re:] Mother Earth Bulletin censorship, 1918 Feb. 27 [Washington, D.C.] . 61
[Memorandum in re:] Mother Earth Bulletin [censorship] 1918 Feb. 28 [Washington, D.C.] 61

[Memorandum in re:] Mother Earth Bulletin censorship, 1918 March 25 [Washington, D.C.?] . . . 61
[Memorandum in re:] Mother Earth Bulletin censorship, 1918 March 30 [Washington, D.C.?] . . . 61
[Memorandum in re:] Mother Earth Bulletin [1918 April?] . . . 61
[Memorandum in re: Mother Earth Bulletin address change, Washington, D.C.? 1918 April 18?] . . . 61
[Memorandum in re:] Mother Earth Bulletin [censorship] 1918 April 23, [Washington, D.C.?] . . . 61
[Memorandum in re: Mother Earth Bulletin censorship] 1918 Aug. 21 . . . 61
[Memorandum in re:] Mother Earth Bulletin [19]18 Aug. 22 . . . 61
[Memorandum in re: Mother Earth Bulletin censorship] 1918 Oct. 14 [Washington, D.C.] . 62
[Memorandum in re: Mother Earth Bulletin, 1918 Oct. 15 (cover page)] . . . 62
[Memorandum in re: Mother Earth Publishing Association, 1918?] . . . 60
[Memorandum in re:] Mother Earth Publishing Company, Washington [D.C.] 1918 June 8 . 61
[Memorandum in re: Mother Earth, 1916 June? 26?] . . . 56
[Memorandum in re:] Mother Earth [1918?] . . . 60
[Memorandum in re: Mother Earth, 19]18 Jan. 17 . . . 60
[Memorandum in re: Proclamation on Anarchists, 1903?] . . . 56
[Memorandum in re:] Selected Works of Voltairine de Cleyre [1918 April, Washington, D.C.?] . . . 61
Memorandum of Conference with Commissioner General of Immigration, 1919 Sept. 12 [Washington, D.C.] . . . 63
[Memorandum] of an interview with Emma Goldman, Niagara Falls, Canada, 1934 Oct. 4 . 66
[Memorandum on Activities of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, The Hague, Netherlands, 1922 Feb. 6?] . . . 65
[Memorandum on Amnesty for Political Prisoners] 1920 April 18 [Washington, D.C.] . . 65
[Memorandum on] Bolshevism in the United States [1919? June? 2?] . . . 62
Memorandum [on Emma Goldman's Return to United States, 19]34 Oct. 26 . . . 66
Memorandum [on Emma Goldman's Return to United States, 19]37 Oct. 21 . . . 66
[Memorandum on Goldman Trial] 1918 Jan. 14, Washington, D.C. . . . 60
[Memorandum on Military Intelligence Reports, 19]20 May 28 [Washington, D.C.] . . . 65
[Memorandum on William Buwalda] 1908 June 10, Washington, D.C. . . . 56
[Memorandum on William Buwalda] 1908 June 30 [San Francisco] . . . 56
[Memorandum on William Buwalda] 1908 July 7 [Washington, D.C.] . . . 56
[Memorandum on William Buwalda] 1908 July 21 [Washington, D.C.?] . . . 56
[Memorandum on William Buwalda] 1909 Jan. 16 [Washington, D.C.?] . . . 56
[Memorandum on William Buwalda] 1909 April 14, Washington, D.C. . . . 56
Memorandum re Conference with Confidential Informant 836, 1919 Oct. 8 [Washington, D.C.] . . . 63

[Memorandum re: Draft Cases, Washington, D.C.? 19]18 Jan. 15 60
[Memorandum re: Emma Goldman] 1921 Oct. 1 65
[Memorandum re: Emma Goldman, 1921 Oct. 1] 65
[Memorandum in re: Emma Goldman, et al.] Washington, D.C. [1917? Nov.?] 59
[Memorandum re:] Emma Goldmann, Rome, 1907 Dec. 18 56
[Memorandum:] Case of Private William Buwalda, 1908 July 3, Washington, D.C. 56
Miss Emma Goldmann et Miss Loïe Fuller. *In* Le Figaro (Sept. 25 [19]01) 67
Miss Goldman Free: Anarchist Queen Crosses International Boundary. *In* [St. Paul Pioneer Press] (April 8, 1908) 56
Miss Goldman in Pulpit Talk. *In* [unknown periodical (Feb. 11? 1934)] 66
Miss Goldman, Noted Radical, Resided Here. *In* [(Rochester) Democrat and Chronicle (May 14, 1940)] 66
A Month's Respite. *In* Washington Herald [Jan. 14, 1922 (government transcript)] 65
Monthly General Intelligence Report No. 8, 1921 Nov. 16 to Dec. 15 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] 65
Monthly General Intelligence Report No. 10, 1922 March 15 [Washington, D.C. (excerpt)] 65
Mother Earth Bulletin— Vol. 1, no. 4 — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., Jan. 1918. . 60
Mother Earth Bulletin— Vol. 1, no. 5—New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., Feb. 1918. . 61
Mother Earth Bulletin— Vol. 1, no. 6— New York : [Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n.] March 1918. 61
Mother Earth Bulletin— Vol. 1, no. 7— New York : Bulletin Ass'n., April 1918. 61
[Mother Earth Concert and Ball] 1907 Nov. 22 [advertisement] 56
Mother Earth— Vol. 4, no. 11 — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., Jan. 1910. 67
Mother Earth— Vol. 9, no. 5 — New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., July 1914 67
My Year and a Half Among the Bomb Throwers, 1920 65
[Names of] Committee Sponsoring Return of Emma Goldman, Feb. 1934 66
Names of Deported Reds. *In* [New York Times (Dec. 23, 1919, fragment)] 65
[Naturalization Petition] 1884 Oct. 18 [government transcript] 56
[Naturalization Petition, 1884 Oct. 18, copy certified on July 21, 1919] 62
New Secret Service Head at Washington. *In* [Omaha World-Herald (Dec. 30, 1924)] . . . 66
New Type Secret Service Watched By "Old Sleuths". *In* [Scranton Republican (Dec. 30, 1924)] 66
New Type of Detectives. *In* [Charleston Post (Dec. 30, 1924)] 66
New York Contributers to Emma Goldman Fund: They Gave Up $6,075. *In* The [New York] Evening World (Oct. 31, 1919) 63
New York Contributers to Emma Goldman Fund; They Gave Up $6,075. *In* [The (New York)] Ev[ening] World [Oct. 31, 1919] 63
[News Briefs]. *In* Der Arme Konrad [Berlin (Sept. 2, 1899)] 56
[News Briefs]. *In* Neues Leben [Berlin (Oct. 19, 1901)] 56
[Newspaper items in re: McKinley assassination, compiled 1919 Oct.?] 63

No Conscription!— New York : No-Conscription League [1917 May?] 57
No-Conscription Mass Meeting [leaflet]— [New York, 1917] June 4 57
Nordamerika. Emma Goldmann. *In* [unknown periodical (Oct. 3, 1901)] 56
Nos Depeches De Londres: L'anarchiste Czolgosz. *In* [L'Echo de Paris (Sept. 8, 1901)] . . 56
[Notes in re: Bail Law, 1917?] 57
[Notes in re: Goldman & Berkman Deportation, 1919 Oct.?] 63
[Notes in re: Goldman & Berkman's 1917 Appeal, 1917 (fragments)] 57
[Notes in re: Goldman's Citizenship, 1919 Oct.?] 63
[Notes in re:] Habeas Corpus [1919 Dec.?] 63
[Notes in re: Habeas Corpus, 1919 Nov.?] 63
[Notes in re: Rules of Supreme Court Procedure, 1917? July?] 57
[Notes in re: Supreme Court Jurisdiction, 1917? July?] 57
[Notes on Criminal Record of Emma Goldman, 1919 Sept.? New York?] 63
[Notes on Criminal Record of Emma Goldman: Committee of 5, 1919 Sept.? New York?] . 63
[Notes on Criminal Record of Emma Goldman, 1919 Sept.? Chicago?] 63
[Official Minutes of Andra Kammaren] 1922 Jan. 18 [Stockholm (excerpts)] 65
One Patrolman Stops Anarchist Procession. *In* New York Daily Tribune (Jan. 30, 1911) . . 56
[Order Repealing Expulsion Decree] 1930 March 12 [for Emma Goldman] 67
Order to Turn over Assets of Decedent to Administrator Affirmed. *In* [New York Law] Journal [June? 1918] 63
Palmer Bares Be[r]kman and Goldman Acts. *In* [New York American (Nov. 17, 1919)] . . 64
Palmer Brands Miss Goldman Riot Breeder. *In* [New York Tribune (Nov. 17, 1919)] . . . 64
Palmer Is Scorned By Emma Goldman. *In* [(New York) World (Nov. 18, 1919)] 64
Palmer Says Emma Goldman Knew McKinley Slayer. *In* [New York Illustrated News (Nov. 17, 1919)] 64
Passenger Manifest, 1885 Dec. 29 [of the steamer *Gellert*] 56
[Patriotism: A Menace to Liberty]— [New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n, 1908? (excerpt)] 67
People of New York [v.] Emma Goldman: [Grand Jury Indictment] 1893 [Aug.? 21?] . . . 56
[People of New York v. Emma Goldman: Affidavit] 1893 Aug. 25 56
People [of New York] v. Emma Goldman: [cover page] 1893 [Sept. 6 to Nov. 12] 56
People [of New York] v. Emma Goldman: [Trial Transcript] 1893 Oct. 4 56
People [of New York] v. Emma Goldman: [cover page] 1893 Sept. 6 to Nov. 13 56
People [of New York] v. Emma Goldman: [cover page] 1893 Sept. 6 to Nov. 14 56
People of New York [v.] Emma Goldman: Information [1916 May?] 56
[People of New York v. Emma Goldman: Affidavit] 1916 May 23 [in support of indictment]. 56
People of New York [v.] Emma Goldman: [Affidavit] 1916 Nov. 2 [in support of motion for grand jury indictment] 56

People of New York [v.] Emma Goldman: [Notice of Motion] 1916 Nov. 4 [for grand jury indictment] 56
People of New York [v.] Emma Goldman: Affidavit & Notice of Motion [1916 Nov.? 4? (cover page)] 56
People of New York [v.] Emma Goldman: [Affidavit] 1916 Dec. 1 [in support of motion for postponement]. 56
People of New York [v.] Goldman, Berkman, and [Coryell: hearing transcript] 1907 Jan. 11 [excerpt] 56
People of New York [v.] William Gordon [*et al.*: Affidavit] 1906 Nov. 2 56
[People of New York v. William Gordon, *et al.*: Answer to Charges] 1906 Nov. 2 56
People [of New York] v. William Gordon [*et al.*: cover page] 1906 Nov. 5 56
People of the State of California v. Earne[st] E. Kirk: Affidavit, 1912 May 18, in support of removal 56
People v. Byrne. *In* N[ew] Y[ork] Law Journal (Dec. 5, 1916) 56
People v. Jacob Kersner: Minutes of Session, 1894 June 12 [government transcript] . . . 56
Persecutions of Syndicalists and Anarchists in Russia— Arbetaren (Jan. 10, 192[2]) [government transcript] 65
Philosophy of Atheism and The Failure of Christianity— 2nd. ed. —New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1916 [excerpt] 67
[Photograph] Battle With Police Rages Half an Hour in Anti-Registration Riot, New York, 1917 June 16 57
[Photograph] Berkman and Emma Goldman When They Reported at Ellis Island. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 5? 1919)] 64
[Photograph] Famous Anarchists Ordered Deported and Their Counsel. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 21? 1919)] 64
[Photograph of Alexander Berkman] 1917 June 16 57
[Photograph of Arthur Svensson, Stockholm? 1922 May? 26?] 66
[Photograph of Emma Goldman, 1895?] 56
[Photograph of Emma Goldman, 1901? Sept.?] 56
[Photograph of Emma Goldman, 193-?]. 67
[Photograph of] Emma Goldman [Ellis Island, N.Y.] 1919 Dec. 5 64
[Photograph of Emma Goldman, Ellis Island, N.Y., 1919 Dec. 5] 64
[Photographs] Leading Personages on the Buford's Passenger-List. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 21? 1919)] 64
[Photographs Taken On Board the Buford, between 1919 Dec. 21 and 1920 Jan. 16] . . . 64
[Photographs of Emma Goldman]. *In* [Photographs of Prominent Radicals, 1920?] . . . 65
[Photographs of Emma Goldman and Hippolyte Havel] 1900 April 17 [Berlin?] 67
[Photographs of Emma Goldman, 1901? Sept.?] 56
[Photographs of Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and Alexander Schapiro, Riga, Latvia, 1921 Dec.] 65

Photographs of Prominent Radicals [1920? (cover page)] 65
[Pinkerton Report In re: Guillotine Plot, 1917 Dec. 10?] 60
Plan of Organization [of the Guillotine Club, 1917? Dec.?] 60
[Police Record of Emma Goldman]. *In* [The New York World (Sept. 15, 1901)] 56
Police Turn Kotoku Protest March into an Awful "Riot." *In* [New York] Call (Jan. 30, 1911) 56
[Political Cartoon] 249 Reds to Russia. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 22? 1919)] 64
Political Defense Fund, Oct. 16 to Dec. 31, 1917 60
[Power of Attorney] 1919 Dec. 19 [naming Stella Ballantine] 64
Preparedness, the Road to Universal Slaughter— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n. [1917? (excerpt)] 67
[Press Release on Deportation of Goldman and Berkman, 1919 Dec. 10] 64
[Press Release?, 1934 Jan. 9, notice of Goldman's admission to the United States] 66
Le Procès de Czolgosz. *In* [Le] Français (Sept. 25, 1901) 56
Proclamation and War Program— Chicago : Socialist Party [U.S.] 1917 May 57
[Proof of Service] 1917 Nov. 28 [of plaintiffs' brief in Goldman & Berkman v. United States] 59
Propaganda by Cartoon and Essay. *In* Propaganda in its Military and Legal Aspects — [Washington, D.C.?, 1918?] 60
[Property Tax Record] 1916 April 15, Chappaqua, N.Y. 56
[Property Tax Records] Draguignan [France, 1930 (cover page and index)] 66
[Property Tax Records, Draguignan, France] 1930 [for Emma Goldman] 66
Provisional [Agenda] 1921 Dec., Berlin [government transcript] 65
Radical Writings of Emma Goldman Are Made Public. *In* [Washington Star (Dec. 22, 1919)] 64
Radicals Refused Goldman Articles. *In* [(New York) World (March 22, 1922)] 65
Rapports du Congrès Antiparlementaire International de 1900. *In* Les Temps Nouveaux Supplément Littéraire. —Vol. III, nos. 23 and 31 [Nov.? 1900 (excerpts)] 56
[Receipt for bonds from Harry Weinberger for release of Emma Goldman] 1919 Oct. 27 . 63
[Receipt for filing fee] 1917 Sept. 25 [to Harry Weinberger] 59
[Recipient of Prohibited Literature] Rome, 1911 Nov. 1 56
Recognition and Amnesty for Political Prisoners [leaflet]— New York [1918 May?] . . . 61
"Red Emma's" Visit. *In* St. Louis Post-Dispatch (May 7, 1934) [transcript] 66
"Red Emma," Noted Anarchist, Dies. *In* [Calgary Herald (May 14, 1940)] 66
"Red Emma" Comes Back, Bearing Torch of Old. *In* [unknown periodical (Feb. 24, 1934)] 66
Reds U.S. Deported Attempt to Blow Up Soviet Government. *In* [Washington Post (Dec. 12, 1920)] 65
Reds' Fear Seen Behind Hoover Attack. *In* [New York Journal and American (March 2, 1940, excerpt)] 66

"Reds" Not Going on the Buford. *In* [The New York World (Dec. 16, 1919)] 64
"Reds" of Various Hue Light Up Emma Goldman's Cheery 'Coming Out' Party. *In* [New York] Evening World (Oct. 28, 1919) 63
A Referendum to the Men and Women of America— [1917 Oct.?]. 59
Reisebriefe aus Amerika. *In* Der Arme Konrad [Berlin (Feb. 5, 1898)] 56
Reisebriefe aus Amerika. *In* Der Arme Konrad [Berlin (March 5, 1898)] 56
Reisebriefe aus Amerika. *In* Der Arme Konrad [Berlin (March 12, 1898)] 56
Reisebriefe aus Amerika. *In* Der Arme Konrad [Berlin (March 26, 1898)] 56
Reisebriefe aus Amerika. *In* Der Arme Konrad [Berlin (April 2, 1898)] 56
[Report In re:] S.S. Oleum [New York] 1917 Nov. 21 59
[Report In re:] Socialists in Winnipeg, 1908 May 2, Winnipeg 56
Report Upon New York Trip, October 8, 9, 1919 [Washington, D.C.] 1919 Oct. 10 63
[Report from New York re:] Emma Goldman, Rome, 1938 Jan. 18 66
[Report from Stanton]. *In* Der Freie Arbeiter [Berlin (April 22, 1911)] 56
[Report in re:] Berkman & Goldman, U.S. Anarchists [London? 1918 April 2 (cover page)] 61
[Report in re: F. Sako article in Mother Earth, February 1911]. *In* Zaibei Shakai Shugisha Museifu Shugisha Enkaku — Tokyo [Feb. 1911] 56
[Report in re: Hippolyte Havel article in Mother Earth, February 1911]. *In* Zaibei Shakai Shugisha Museifu Shugisha Enkaku — Tokyo [Feb. 1911] 56
Report of Maurits Hymans, Special Immigrant Inspector, 1907 Nov. 20 [excerpt] 56
Report of Radical Movement and Propaganda, New York, 1918 Dec. 30 [excerpt] 62
Report of Radical Section for week ending September 12, 1919 [Washington, D.C.] . . . 63
Report of Radical Section for week ending September 26, 1919 [Washington, D.C.] 1919 Sept. 30 [fragment] 63
Report of Radical Section for week ending October 3, 1919 [Washington, D.C.] 63
Report of Radical Section for week ending October 10, 1919 [Washington, D.C.] 63
[Report on] Abraham Schneider [St. Louis? Mo.?] 1919 Dec. 13 [excerpt?] 64
[Report on Activity of Dusseldorf Spartacist Group] Treves [France?] 1919 March 1 [excerpt] 62
[Report on] Alexander Berkman [Washington, D.C.?, between 1920 and 1936] 65
[Report on Alexander Berkman's Deportation Hearing at Atlanta Penitentiary on] 1919 Sept. 25 [Washington, D.C., 1919 Sept. 26?] 63
[Report on American Anarchist-Communist Party] Chicago, 1920 Feb. 24-26 65
[Report on American Civil Liberties Union, 193-? (excerpt)] 66
[Report on Anarchist Bomb Plot, Chicago? 1919] June 17-30 [fragment] 62
[Report on Anarchist Bomb Plot, Chicago? 1919] June 17-30 62
[Report on] Anarchist Bomb Plot, Chicago, 1919 June 25 62
[Report on] Anarchist Bomb Plot, Chicago, 1919 June 28 62
[Report on the Anarchist Congress] Paris, 1900 Aug. 20 67

[Report on the Anarchist Congress] Paris, 1900 Oct. 15 67
[Report on Arthur Svensson, Stockholm, 19]22 May 26 66
[Report on attentat against the king of Italy] Milan [Italy] 1900 Aug. 13 56
[Report on Avanti! Article] 1920 Feb. 21 65
[Report on] Bee Shaustack, Washington [D.C.] 1918 March 12 61
[Report on] Bolsheviki and I.W.W. Meeting, Brooklyn, N.Y., 1918 Nov. 7 62
[Report on] Bolshevist Propaganda [Berne, Switzerland] 1920 Feb. 27 65
[Report on] Communist Convention and Communist Labor Party Convention, Chicago, 1919 Sept. 5 63
Report on the Communist Press, Nov. 15 to Dec. 15, 1924 [excerpt] 66
[Report on the Congrès International des Oeuvres et Institutions Feminines] Paris, 1900 June 19 56
[Report on Dimer] Paris, 1900 Oct. 9 67
[Report on] Dinner for Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman [at the Hotel Brevoort, New York] 1919 Oct. 27 63
[Report on Edward Morgan, San Francisco, 1917 Dec.? 6?] 60
[Report on Emma Colton, Paris?] 1929 Dec. [12?] 67
[Report on Emma Colton] Paris, 1930 Feb. 28 67
[Report on Emma Colton] Paris, 1930 March 1 67
[Report on Emma Goldman] Meeting, Nov. 30, 1919, West Side Auditorium, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 2 64
[Report on Emma Goldman] Paris, 1900 May 22 67
[Report on Emma Goldman] Paris, 1900 July 31 67
[Report on Emma Goldman] Paris, 1900 Aug. 6 67
[Report on Emma Goldman] Paris, 1900 Aug. 7 67
[Report on Emma Goldman] Paris, 1900 Oct. 9 67
[Report on Emma Goldman] Paris, 1901 Sept. 10 67
[Report on Emma Goldman] Paris, 1930 April 4 67
[Report on] Emma Goldman [Washington, D.C.?] 1919 Sept. 19 63
[Report on Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman] Meeting, Nov. 29th—Street Car Men's Hall, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 2 64
[Report on Emma Goldman and Hippolyte Havel] Paris, 1900 April 12 67
[Report on Emma Goldman and Hippolyte Havel] Paris, 1900 May 18 67
[Report on Emma Goldman and Hippolyte Havel] Paris, 1900 Nov. 1 [fragment] 67
[Report on Emma Goldman and Hippolyte Havel, Paris?] 1900 Nov. 1 67
[Report on Emma Goldman and Hippolyte Havel, Paris? 1900] Nov. 1 67
[Report on Emma Goldman and Hippolyte Havel] Paris, 1900 Nov. 1 67
[Report on Emma Goldman and McKinley Assassination] Paris, 1901 Sept. 9 67
[Report on Emma Goldman and McKinley Assassination] Paris, 1901 Sept. 13 67

[Report: Emma Goldman in Copenhagen] 1932 Feb. 15 66
[Report on Emma Goldman in London] 1895 Sept. 12 67
[Report on Emma Goldman in London] 1899 Nov. 11 67
[Report on Emma Goldman in London] 1899 Nov. 17 67
[Report on Emma Goldman in London] 1899 Nov. 21 67
[Report on Emma Goldman in London] 1899 Nov. 28 67
[Report on Emma Goldman in London] 1900 Jan. 22 67
[Report on Emma Goldman in London] 1900 Feb. 27 67
[Report on Emma Goldman's Activities in New York, 1917 Nov. 13?] 59
[Report on Emma Goldman's Activities in New York, 1919 Nov.? 1? (fragment?)] 64
[Report on Emma Goldman] Paris, 1902 March 26 67
[Report on Emma Goldman] Paris, 1907 Sept. 25 67
[Report on Emma Goldman] Paris, 1907 Oct. 6 67
[Report on Guillotine Club] San Francisco, 1917 Nov. 28 59
[Report on Guillotine Club—Lilly Winner, New York, 1918 Jan.? 22?] 60
[Report on] Gustave Stiller [San Francisco?] 1919 May 26 62
[Report on Harry Rappaport, Washington, D.C.?] 1919 May 6 62
[Report on Harry Weinberger, New York? 1919 Dec. 9?] 64
[Report on Hippolyte Havel] Paris, 1900 May 10 67
[Report on Hippolyte Havel] Paris, 1900 July 31 67
[Report on Hippolyte Havel] Paris, 1908 Nov. 14 67
[Report on] Hugh Cimore McClellan [Washington, D.C.?] 1918 Feb. 2 61
[Report on] I.W.W. Anarchists, San Diego [Calif.] 1918 Jan. 11 60
[Report on] I.W.W. Anarchists—Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1917 Oct. 22 59
[Report on] I.W.W. Anarchists[—Pacific Coast] Los Angeles [19]17 Nov. 6 59
[Report on I.W.W. Anarchists—Pacific Coast] Los Angeles, 1917 Nov. 7 59
[Report on] I.W.W. Anarchists—Pacific Coast, San Francisco, 1917 Nov. 9 59
[Report on] I.W.W. Anarchists[—Pacific Coast] Los Angeles [19]17 Nov. 10 59
[Report on] I.W.W. Anarchists [—Pacific Coast] Los Angeles [19]17 Nov. 15 59
[Report on I.W.W. Anarchists—Pacific Coast] Los Angeles, 1917 Nov. 18-23 59
[Report on I.W.W. Anarchists—Pacific Coast] Los Angeles, 1917 Nov. 23 59
[Report on] I.W.W. Anarchists [—Pacific Coast] Los Angeles [19]17 Dec. [2?] 60
[Report on I.W.W. Anarchists—Pacific Coast] Los Angeles, 1917 Dec. 9 60
[Report on I.W.W. Anarchists—Pacific Coast] Los Angeles [19]17 Dec. 13 60
[Report on I.W.W.] Anarchists[—Pacific Coast] Los Angeles, 1918 Jan. 2 60
[Report on] I.W.W. Anarchists[—Pacific Coast] San Diego, Calif., 1918 Jan. 6 60
[Report on] I.W.W. Anarchists[—Pacific Coast] Los Angeles, 1918 Jan. 18 60
[Report on] I.W.W. Anarc[hists—Pacific Coast] Los Angeles [1918 Feb.] 61
[Report on] I.W.W. Anarchists[—Pacific Coast] Los Angeles [1918 Feb.] 61

[Report on] I.W.W. Anarchists[—Pacific Coast] Los Angeles, 1918 Feb. 6 61
[Report on I.W.W. Organizing Among Negroes] Chicago, 1919 Oct. 24 63
[Report on International Anarchist Congress] Berlin, 1922 Jan. 25 65
[Report on International Anarchist Congress] Berlin, 1922 Feb. 21 65
[Report on International Workers Defense League Banquet] Chicago, 1919 Dec. 2 64
[Report on Katz] Paris, 1908 March 31 67
[Report on Kotoku Protest Meeting in New York]. *In* Zaibei Shakai Shugisha Museifu Shugisha Enkaku — Tokyo [Jan. 29, 1911] 56
[Report on Kotoku Protest in New York]. *In* Zaibei Shakai Shugisha Museifu Shugisha Enkaku — Tokyo [Jan. 30, 1911] 56
[Report on Kotoku Protests in United States]. *In* Zaibei Shakai Shugisha Museifu Shugisha Enkaku — Tokyo [Nov. 29, 1910] 56
[Report on Louise Michel] Paris, 1895 Nov. 14 56
[Report on Louise Michel] Paris, 1900 Oct. 31 56
[Report on Ludwig Martens, Washington, D.C.?, 1920? April? (excerpt)] 65
[Report on Max Baginski] Paris, 1900 [June?] 67
[Report on] Meeting Held at the Office of the New Majority, Chicago, 1919 Nov. 12 . . . 64
Report on the meeting at the Hotel Brevoort [New York] 1919 Oct. 27 63
[Report on Mr. and Mrs. Harry Rappaport, Washington, D.C.? 19]18 Oct. 8 62
[Report on] No Conscription League, 1917 June 15 [fragment] 57
[Report on] Organization of the Marine Transport Workers... [San Francisco?] 1918 Sept. 4 62
[Report on Pinkerton's investigation of Goldman, Chicago? between 1920 and 1940] . . . 65
[Report on Prince Hopkins] 1918 Sept. 18 [cover page] 62
[Report on Radical Activities] Chicago, 1919 Oct. 25 63
[Report on Radical Activities in New York City] Chicago, 1919 Nov. 17-23 64
[Report on Radical Activities in New York City] 1920 Feb. 20 65
Report on the Radical Press, Oct. 15 to Nov. 15, 1924 [excerpt] 66
Report on the Radical Press, March 15 to April 15, 1925 [excerpt] 66
[Report on] Radicalism and Race Riots, Chicago, 1919 Oct. 28 [fragment] 63
[Report on] Reactions [from] Russia, 1920 Oct. 4 65
[Report on] Richard J. Verhagen, Chicago, 1920 Jan. 20 65
[Report on Robert Minor, Washington, D.C.? 1919 Oct.? (draft)] 63
[Report on Roger Baldwin, San Francisco? 1917 Nov. 20? (excerpt)] 59
[Report on Roger Baldwin, New York] 1918 Jan. 5 60
[Report on Ruedebusch] Paris, 1900 Sept. 4 67
[Report on] Russia in Flames [Chicago? 1919 April 16? (excerpt)] 62
[Report on] "Russia in Flames," Moline, Ill., 1919 April 16 62

[Report on Russian Agitation in England and United States, Copenhagen] 1920 June 9 [excerpt] 65
[Report on] Russian Communists in Sweden [London, 1922 Feb. 21? (cover page)] . . . 65
[Report on] Russian Communists in Sweden [London] 1922 May 2 [cover page] 66
[Report on Russian Group] Paris, 1904 May 29 67
[Report on Russian Group] Paris, 1906 May 9 67
[Report on] Russian Propaganda, 1920 April 14 [Washington, D.C.] 65
[Report on Russians at the Communist Party Congress in Marseille] Paris, 1921 Dec. 23 . 67
[Report on] Russians in Sweden [London, 1922 Jan. 24 (cover page)] 65
[Report on Sadakichi Hartmann, New York] 1919 Oct. 30 63
[Report on] Sophia Markovich [Detroit? Mich.?] 1919 Sept. 1[2?] 63
[Report on] Speech By Emma Goldman at Pittsburgh, Pa. on April 11, 1934 66
[Report on Stella] Ballantine, New York City [Washington, D.C.?] 1920 June 26 65
[Report on] Theodore Schroeder—President of the Free Speech League [1917?] 57
[Report on V.A. Hajek, 1920?] 65
[Report on William D. Haywood] Chicago, 1919 Dec. 4 64
[Report on] William Thurston Brown [New York? 19]18 Dec. 1 [excerpt] 62
[Report on] Young Peoples Socialist League, Chicago, 1919 Dec. 6 64
Report re Lecture on Russia in London, Ontario by Emma Goldman, London [Canada] 1927 Jan. 11 66
Report re Sacco-Vanzetti Memorial Meeting, Toronto, 1927 Sept. 2 66
[Report re: David Goldman] Houston, Texas, 1918 Jan. 15 60
[Report re: Death of Emma Goldman] Rome, 1940 June 24 66
[Report re:] Emilio Strafelini, Trento, Italy, 1940 Aug. 9 66
[Report] re: Emma Goldman (Mrs. E.G. Colton) Anarchist, Toronto, 1940 Sept. 11 66
[Report re: Emma Goldman, Dr. F. Galasso, in London] Rome, 1938 May 29 66
Report re Emma Goldman, Edmonton [Canada] 1927 March 8 66
Report re Emma Goldman, Edmonton [Canada] 1927 March 9 66
Report re Emma Goldman, Edmonton [Canada] 1927 March 14 66
[Report] re Emma Goldman, Montreal, 1926 Nov. 2 66
[Report re: Emma Goldman, Planned Attentat, Rome?] 1939 Jan. 23 66
[Report re: Emma Goldman, Planned Attentat] Rome, 1939 Feb. 10 66
[Report] re Emma Goldman, Regina [Canada] 1926 Dec. 14 66
[Report re Emma Goldman] Rome, 1928 June 17 66
[Report re:] Emma Goldman, Russian Anarchist [London?, 1908 March 9? (cover page)] . 56
Report re Emma Goldman, Toronto, 1927 Sept. 28 66
Report re Emma Goldman, Toronto, 1927 Dec. 13 66
Report re Emma Goldman, Toronto, 1928 Feb. 8 66
[Report re:] Emma Goldman [Washington, D.C.? 19]34 Feb. 20 66

Report re Emma Goldman, Winnipeg, 1926 Oct. 21 66
Report re Emma Goldman, Winnipeg, 1927 Feb. 3 66
[Report re:] Emma Goldman, anarchica, Buenos Aires, Argentina, 1903 May 8 56
[Report re:] Emma Goldman, anarchica, Rome, 1903 June 9 56
[Report re: Emma Goldmann] Berlin, 1907 Nov. 11 56
[Report re: Emma Goldmann] London, 1907 Oct. 26 56
Report re: Industrial Workers of the World—Emma Goldman speaker, Winnipeg, 1939 Dec. 12 66
Report re: Industrial Workers of the World—Emma Goldman meeting, Winnipeg, 1939 Dec. 12 66
Report re: Industrial Workers of the World—Emma Goldman, Winnipeg, 1939 Dec. 15 . . 66
[Report] re: Mrs. E.G. Colton [or] Emma Goldman (Anarchist), Toronto [19]40 Feb. 24 . . 66
[Report] re: Mrs. E.G. Colton, alias Emma Goldman, Toronto, 1934 Nov. 29 66
Report re: Mrs. Emma Goldman Colton [or] Emma Goldman (Anarchist), Winnipeg, 1939 Dec. 6 66
[Reports on Hugh Cimore McClellan, Washington, D.C.? 19]17 Dec. 10 [cover page] . . 60
[Request Form for Pamphlet, "The Trial and Speeches of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman," July?] 1917 57
[Request for Reimbursement of Expenses in Goldman-Berkman Hearing] 1920 Jan. 5, New York 65
Resume of Deportation Proceedings instituted against Emma Goldman [Washington, D.C.? 1920 Jan.?] 65
Resume of Deportation Proceedings instituted against Alexander Berkman [Washington, D.C.? 1920 Jan.?] 65
[Review of the Danish Press, Copenhagen, 1932 April 1-15 (excerpt)] 66
Revolution in U.S. Detective Methods Effected By Stone. *In* [The Telegram (Dec. 30, 1924)] 66
Russia in Hands of Ruthless Dictator, Says Emma Goldman. *In* [London Ontario Free Press (Jan. 8, 1927)] 66
Russian Soviet "Rotten," Emma Goldman Says. *In* [Chicago Tribune (June 18, 1920)] . . 65
Sails With 249 Reds. *In* [Washington Post (Dec. 22, 1919)] 64
Says Emma Goldman Misjudges The Soviet. *In* [New York Times (April 17, 1922)] . . . 66
Says Hitler Needs Stalin. *In* [New York Times (Sept. 20, 1939)] 66
Gli scioperi colossali di America. *In* Avanti! (Jan. 20, 1920) 65
See C.I.O. Drive as Communist in Its Objects. *In* [Chicago Daily Tribune (March 28, 1937, excerpt)] 66
Seek Information on Emma Goldman. *In* [New York Illustrated News (Sept. 24, 1919)] . 63
Le séjour d'Emma Goldman à Paris. *In* Le Rappel (Sept. [15? 19]01) 67
The Selective Draft Act Held Constitutional. *In* New York Law Journal. —Vol. 58, no. 21 (Oct. 25, 1917) 59

The Selective Draft Act Held Valid. *In* New York Law Journal. — Vol. 58, no. 93 (Jan. 22, 1918) 60
Selective Draft Law Cases. *In* United States Reports. —Vol. 245 (Jan. 7, 1918) 60
S[enate] Res[olution] 206, 1919 Oct. 6 [regarding Goldman deportation hearing] 63
Situation Survey Report [for] May 7, 1920 [Chicago (excerpt)] 65
Sixth Corps Area Situation Survey, week ending Jan. 21, 1922 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt, transcript)] 65
Some Aspects of the Constitutional Questions Involved in the Draft Act...[excerpt]— New York and Washington, D.C. : Civil Liberties Bureau of the American Union Against Militarism [1917] 57
Soviet Ark to Sail in 10 Days. *In* [New York Globe (Dec. 12, 1919)] 64
Soviet Invasion Fails to Surprise "Red Emma." *In* [Winnipeg Tribune (Nov. 30, 1939)] . . 66
"Sovietization" in U.S. Pleases Emma Goldman. *In* [unknown periodical (Feb. 2?, 1934)] . 66
Speakers of Seven Nations in Protest. *In* New York Call (Dec. 13, 1910) 56
Special Report [of Radical Activities, New York] 1922 Feb. 18 [excerpt] 65
Special Report [on Radical Activities, New York] 1923 Sept. 1 [excerpt] 66
Special Report [of Radical Activities, New York] 1923 Nov. 3 [excerpt] 66
Special Report of Radical Activities, New York, 1923 Dec. 8 [excerpt] 66
Special Report [of Radical Activities, New York] 1924 April 26 [excerpt] 66
Special Report of Radical Activities, week ending July 26, 1924, New York [excerpt] . . . 66
[Speech Against Conscription] Forward Hall [New York]— 1917 June 14 [government transcript] 57
[Speech Against Conscription, Forward Hall, New York]— [1917 June 14] 57
Speech [against conscription] Harlem River Casino, New York— 1917 May 18 [government transcript] 57
[Speech on] Amnesty for Political Prisoners, Autoworkers' Union Hall, Detroit, Mich.— 1919 Nov. 23 [government transcript] 64
[Speech on Amnesty for Political Prisoners] Autoworkers' Hall, Detroit, Mich.— 1919 Nov. 23 [government transcript]. 64
[Speech on Political Deportations] Hall of Local 127, United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers of America [Detroit] — 1919 Nov. 26 [government transcript] 64
[Speech on Political Deportations, Hall of Local 127, United Automobile, Aircraft and Vehicle Workers of America, Detroit]— [1919 Nov. 26 (government transcript)] . . . 64
[Speech on Political Prisoners] Automobile Workers' Union Hall, Detroit, Mich.— 1919 Nov. 23 [government transcript] 64
[Speech, Clinton Hall, New York]— 1907 Jan. 6 [excerpt, government transcript] 56
[Speeches before Mass] Meeting of No Conscription League, Hunts Point Palace, New York— 1917 June 4. 57
Stalin is Likened to Judas Iscariot. *In* [Winnipeg Free Press (Dec. 4, 1939)] 66
Stalin's Party Split, Says Emma Goldman. *In* [Winnipeg Free Press (Dec. 7, 1939)] . . . 66

Statement at the Federal hearing in re deportation, 1919 Oct. 27, New York 63
[Statement in re:] Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman Deportation [1919 Dec.? (fragment?)] 64
[Statement in re: Deportation] 1919 Sept. 18, Atlanta, Ga. 63
[Statement] in re: Deportation, 1919 Sept. 18, Atlanta, Ga. 63
[Statement in re: Deportation, 1919 Dec. 12?] 64
Statement [in re: Deportation of Emma Goldman, 1919 Dec. 12?] 64
[Statement in re: trial and imprisonment of Goldman and Berkman and Berkman's indictment in the Mooney case, 1918 Jan.?] 60
Statement [on Political Deportations, 1919 Dec. 5] 64
[Statement on Revolutionary Moslem Movements, 1920 May? 11?, Moscow] 65
[Status of Anarchist Cases, Ellis Island, N.Y., 1919 Nov. 16?] 64
Stone and Mellon Announce Selection of 2 Bureau Chiefs. *In* [Washington Post (Dec. 23, 1924)] 66
Succeeds Burns in Justice Department. *In* [Dallas News (Dec. 28, 1924)] 66
Succeeds Burns in Justice Department. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 30, 1924)] 66
Successor to Burns. *In* [Boston Transcript (Dec. 26, 1924)] 66
Summary of Evidence and Charges Against Robert J. Minor [Washington, D.C., 1920? Jan.? (excerpt)] 65
[Summary of Harry Weinberger's Legal Work for Goldman, Berkman, et al., 1917? Dec.? (draft, fragment)] 60
[Summary of William Haywood's letter to Emma Goldman in] Folkets Dagblad Politiken, 1922 July 26 [Stockholm] 66
Summary of the Intelligence Situation as of March 1, 1934 [Baltimore, Md.] 66
Supplementary Report in re: Emma Goldman, 1919 Sept. 26 [Washington, D.C.?] 63
Sus Aux Anarchos. *In* [Le Petit Sou] (Oct. [5, 1901]) 56
Suspect List [1918] Feb. 4-5 61
Synopsis of the Case of Santeri Nuorteva [1919 July? (excerpt)] 62
Telephone Memorandum [in re: Goldman's Boston Speeches] 1907 Dec. 11 56
[Testimony at Court Martial of Robert Minor, 1919 June? (excerpt)] 62
That "Red" Army at Ellis Island Dwindles to 63. *In* [The (New York) World (Jan. 28, 1920)] 65
They Want to Hang Alexander Berkman! [leaflet]— [Aug.? 1917] 57
T[h]ou Shalt Not Kill [leaflet]— [Aug. 1917] 57
The Tragedy of Woman's Emancipation— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n [1910? (excerpt)] 67
Trial and Speeches of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman In the United States District Court, in the City of New York, July, 1917 [excerpts]— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n. 57

Trial and Speeches of Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman In the United States District Court, in the City of New York, July, 1917— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n. 57
The Truth about the Boylsheviki— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n. [1917 (excerpt)] . 67
Unabridged Free Speech— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1910 56
The Undesirable. *In* [Los Angeles Times (May 1922)] 66
U[nited] S[tates] Postal Censorship [Form] 1918 Feb. 28 61
U[nited] S[tates] Postal Censorship [Form] 1918 March 1 61
U[nited] S[tates] Postal Censorship [Form] 1918 March 4 61
U[nited] S[tates] Postal Censorship [Form] 1918 March 6 61
U[nited] S[tates] Postal Censorship [Form] 1918 March 22 61
U[nited] S[tates] Postal Censorship [Form] 1918 April 11 61
U[nited] S[tates] Postal Censorship [Form] 1918 April 24 61
[United States Postal Censorship Form, 1918 June? 12?] 61
U[nited] S[tates] Postal Censorship [Form] 1918 Aug. 19, New York 61
U[nited] S[tates] Postal Censorship [Form] 1918 Aug. 31, New York 61
[United States Protest Movement Against Kotoku Trial]. *In* Zaibei Shakai Shugisha Museifu Shugisha Enkaku — Tokyo [March? 1911?] 56
United States ex rel Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus, 1919 Dec. 5 64
United States ex rel Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Writ of Habeas Corpus, 1919 Dec. 5 64
[United States ex rel Goldman v. Caminetti: Writ of Habeas Corpus] 1919 Dec. 5 64
United States ex rel Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus and Writ of Habeas Corpus [1919 Dec. 5 (cover page)] 64
[United States ex rel Goldman v. Caminetti: Petition for Writ of Habeas Corpus] 1919 Dec. 5 64
United States ex rel Goldman v. Caminetti: [Docket Sheet] 1919 Dec. 5 to 1920 Jan. 9 . . 64
United States [ex rel] Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Return, 1919 Dec. 8 [to Goldman's petition for writ of habeas corpus] 64
United States [ex rel] Goldman v. Caminetti: Stenographer's Minutes, 1919 Dec. 8 [of oral arguments before the District Court] 64
United States [ex rel] Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Order Dismissing Writ of Habeas Corpus, 1919 Dec. 9 64
United States ex rel Goldman [v.] Caminetti: [Order Dismissing Writ of Habeas Corpus] 1919 Dec. 9 [draft] 64
United States [ex rel] Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Allowance of Appeal [1919 Dec. 10?] . . . 64
United States [ex rel] Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Petition for Writ of Error and Appeal, 1919 Dec. 10 64
United States [ex rel] Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Assignment of Errors, 1919 Dec. 10 . . . 64

United States ex rel Goldman [v.] Caminetti: Motion [to Dismiss Writ of Error, 1919 Dec. 16?] 64
[United States ex rel] Goldman v. Caminetti: [Memorandum Decision, Dec. 18, 1919]. *In* [United States Reports]. — Vol. 251 [1920] 64
[United States ex rel Goldman v. Caminetti: Order to Return Exhibits] 1920 Jan. [9?] . . . 65
United States [v.] Berkman and Goldman: [Notice of Motion] 1918 Feb. [2?, to apply bail to pay fines] 61
United States v. Berkman and Goldman: [Affidavit] 1918 Feb. 2 61
United States v. Berkman and Goldman: affidavit and notice of motion, 1918 Feb. 2 [cover page] 61
United States [v.] Berkman and Goldman: [Stipulation to postpone argument] 1918 Feb. 18 61
United States [v.] Berkman and Goldman: [Affidavit] 1918 March 7 [opposing motion to use bail to pay fines] 61
United States [v.] Berkman and Goldman: Memorandum for Defendants [1918 March 7?] . 61
United States [v.] Berkman and Goldman: [Opinion] 1918 March 11 [denying motion to apply bail to pay fines] 61
United States [v.] Berkman and Goldman: [Affidavit] 1918 March 13 61
United States [v.] Berkman and Goldman: [Affidavit] 1918 March [15?] 61
United States [v. Berkman and Goldman]: [Order to refund bail] 1918 March [15?] . . . 61
[United States v. Berkman and Goldman: Writ of Error] 1919 Jan. 17 61
United States [v.] Berkman and Goldman: [Order] 1919 Jan. 17 [to refund clerk's fees (fragment)] 61
United States [v.] Berkman and Goldman: [Petition for Writ of Error] 1919 Jan. 17 61
United States [v.] Goldman [&] Berkman [et al.]: [Order to Show Cause] 1917 July 24 [in re: bail] 57
United States [v.] Goldman [&] Berkman [et al.]: Affidavit and Order to Show Cause [1917 July 24 (cover page)] 57
United States [v.] Goldman [&] Berkman [et al.]: [Affidavit] 1917 July 24 [in re: bail] . . 57
United States v. Goldman & Berkman: [Docket Sheet] 1917 June 21 to 1921 Feb. 18 . . . 57
United States v. Goldman & Berkman: Indictment, 1917 [June 21?] 57
United States v. Goldman & Berkman: Stenographer's Minutes [1917 June 27 to July 9] . 58
[United States v. Goldman & Berkman:] Subpoena Duces Tecum, 1917 July 3, to the President of the Municipal Civil Service Commission, New York 57
U[nited] S[tates] v. Goldman [&] Berkman: Testimony, 1917 July 5 [excerpt] 57
United States v. Goldman [& Berkman: Summary of Proceedings] 1917 July 9 57
U.S. v. Goldman & Berkman: [Closing Argument] 1917 July 9 58
U.S. v. Goldman & Berkman: [Jury Instructions] and Sentence, 1917 July 9 58
United States [v.] Goldman [&] Berkman: [Affidavit] 1917 July 10 [in support of motion to return bail] 57

United States [v.] Goldman [&] Berkman: Affidavit & Notice of Motion, 1917 July 10 [for return of bail (cover page)] 57
United States [v.] Goldman [&] Berkman: [Notice of Motion] 1917 July 10 [for return of bail] 57
United States [v.] Goldman [&] Berkman: Petition for Writ of Error, 1917 July 17 [draft] . 57
[United States v. Goldman & Berkman:] Supersedeas, 1917 July 19 [draft] 57
United States [v.] Goldman [&] Berkman: Petition for Writ of Error and Supersedeas [1917 July 19? (cover page)] 57
United States [v.] Goldman [&] Berkman: Writ of Error, 1917 July 19 57
United States [v.] Goldman [&] Berkman: Notice of Motion, 1917 Aug. 2 [in re: bail and return of exhibits] 57
United States [v.] Goldman and Berkman: Order, 1917 Aug. 6 [to return defendants' property] 57
United States v. Goldman [&] Berkman: Order on Mandate, 1918 Feb. 1 61
United States [v.] Goldman [&] Berkman: [Affidavit] 1918 May 9 [regarding clerk's fees] . 61
United States [v.] Goldman [&] Berkman: [Order to Refund Clerk's Fees] 1918 May 10 . . 61
United States [v.] Goldman [&] Berkman: Affidavit and Order [to Refund Fees, 1918 May 10 (cover page)] 61
United States [v.] Goldman [&] Berkman: [Notice of Motion] 1918 Dec. 18 [to refund clerk's fees] 61
United States [v.] Goldman [&] Berkman: [Affidavit] 1918 Dec. 18 [for refund of clerk's fees] 61
United States [v.] Goldman [&] Berkman: Affidavit and Notice of Motion [1918 Dec. 18, to refund clerk's fees (cover page)] 61
United States [v.] Goldman [&] Berkman: Memorandum in Support of Motion [1918 Dec. 20?, to refund clerk's fees] 61
United States [v.] Goldman [&] Berkman: [Memorandum Opinion, 1918 Dec. 20?, denying motion to refund clerk's fees] 61
United States v. Goldman & Berkman: Stenographer's Minutes [1919 Oct. 1 (cover page)] 63
United States v. Goldman & Berkman: [Summary of Sentencing, 1919 Oct. 1?] 63
United States v. Goldman & Berkman: [Stenographer's Minutes, 1919 Oct. 1? (excerpt)] . 63
[United States v. Goldman & Berkman: Certificate of Accuracy] 19[19 Oct.] 1 [of trial transcript] 63
United States v. Goldman & Berkman: [Certificate of Accuracy] 1919 Oct. 1 [of trial transcript excerpt] 63
United States v. Jacob A. Kersner: Bill of Complaint [1908 Sept. 24 (draft?)] 56
United States v. Jacob A. Kersner: Bill of Complaint, 1908 Sept. 24 56
[United States v. Jacob A. Kersner: Affidavit] 1908 Sept. 24 56
United States v. Jacob [A.] Kersner: Docket Page, 1908 Sept. 28 to 1909 April 9 [transcript] 56

[United States v. Jacob A. Kersner: Subpoena and Return] 1908 Oct. 12 [for Jacob Kersner (transcript)] 56
United States v. Jacob A. Kersner: [Affidavit] 1908 Oct. 16 [in support of motion for notice by publication] 56
United States v. Jacob A. Kersner: Order of Service by Publication & Affidavits, 1908 Oct. 17 [cover page] 56
United States v. Jacob A. Kersner: [Order of Service by Publication] 1908 Oct. 17 56
United States v. Jacob A. Kersner: [Affidavit] 1908 Oct. 17 [in support of motion for notice by publication] 56
United States v. Jacob A. Kersner: [Subpoena and Return] 1908 Oct. 23 [for Jacob A. Kersner (transcript)] 56
[United States v. Jacob Kersner: Proof of Publication] 1908 Dec. 7 56
[United States v. Jacob Kersner: Proof of Publication] 1908 Dec. 29 56
[United States v. Jacob A. Kersner: Subpoena] 1909 Jan. 19 [for Simon Goldstein and Samuel Cohen (transcript)] 56
United States v. Jacob A. Kersner: Praecipe for Subpoena, 1909 Jan. 19 56
United States v. Jacob A. Kersner: [Notice of Service] 1909 Jan. 22 [of Simon Goldstein and Samuel Cohen] 56
United States v. Jacob A. Kersner: Praecipe for Subpoena, 1909 April 5 56
[United States v. Jacob A. Kersner: Subpoena] 1909 April 5 [to Abraham and Bessie Kersner (transcript)] 56
United States v. Jacob A. Kersner: [Decree Cancelling Certificate of Naturalization] 1909 April 8 56
United States v. Jacob A. Kersner: Clerk's Minutes, 1909 April 8 56
United States v. Jacob A. Kersner: Findings, 1909 April 8 56
United States v. Jacob A. Kersner: Decree Cancelling Certificate of Naturalization, 1909 April 8 56
United States v. Jacob A. Kersner: Testimony, 1909 April 8 56
United States v. Jacob A. Kersner: [Notice of Service] 1909 April 9 [of Samuel Cohen and Simon Goldstein] 56
[United States v. Jacob A. Kersner: Decree Cancelling Certificate of Naturalization] 1919 Oct. 1 [certificate of accuracy] 63
Vereinigte Staaten. *In* Der freie Arbeiter [Berlin (June 8, 1907)] 56
Vereinigte Staaten. *In* Der freie Arbeiter [Berlin (Oct. 12, 1907)] 56
Vereinigte Staaten. *In* Der freie Arbeiter [Berlin (April 10, 1909)] 56
Victims of Morality and The Failure of Christianity— New York : Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n., 1913 [excerpt] 67
Wants Facts of Kotoku Trial. *In* [New York Tribune (Nov. 29, 1910)] 56
[Warrant] 1907 Nov. 14 [for arrest of Emma Goldman] 56
[Warrant] 1917 July 20 [for arrest of Emma Goldman] 57

[Warrant] 1917 July 21 [for arrest of Alexander Berkman] 57
[Warrant] 1919 Dec. 1 [for deportation of Emma Goldman] 64
[Warrant] 1919 Sept. 5 [for the arrest of Emma Goldman] 63
[Warrant] 1919 Sept. 5 [for the arrest of Alexander Berkman] 63
Washington Man Appointed New Head of Secret Service. *In* [Pittsburgh Sun (Dec. 26, 1924)] 66
Weekly Intelligence Report, Seattle, Washington District, week ending Dec. 12, 1921 [excerpt] 65
Weekly Intelligence Report, week ending June 10, 1922, Seattle, Wash. [excerpt] 66
Weekly Intelligence Report, week ending Feb. 2, 1924, Seattle, Wash. [excerpt] 66
Weekly [Intelligence] Report—Anarchist, Socialist, I.W.W. & Bolsheviki, 1918 May 18 . 61
Weekly [Intelligence] Report—Anarchist, Socialist, I.W.W. & Bolsheviki, 1918 May 25 [excerpt] 61
[Weekly Intelligence Report? 1924? (excerpt)] 66
Weekly Intelligence Summary No. 14, San Francisco, 1917 Nov. 10 59
Weekly Report of Japanese Activities, week ending April 1, 1922 [San Francisco? (excerpt)] 66
Weekly Situation Report for week ending September 24, 1919 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] 63
Weekly Situation Report for week ending October 1, 1919 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] . 63
Weekly Situation Survey for week ending November 5, 1919 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] 64
Weekly Situation Survey for week ending November 19, 1919 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] 64
Weekly Situation Survey for week ending November 26, 1919 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] 64
Weekly Situation Survey for week ending December 3, 1919 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] 64
Weekly Situation Survey for week ending December 10, 1919 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpt)] 64
Weekly Situation Survey for week ending January 7, 1920 [Washington, D.C.? (excerpts)] . 65
[Weekly Situation Survey, week ending Oct. 29, 1921 (excerpt)] 65
Welcome Home Tour of Emma Goldman [Feb.? 1934] 66
Welcome Home Tour of Emma Goldman, Feb. 1934 [advertisement] 66
When Emma Goldman's lawyer says.... *In* [Philadelphia Inquirer (Nov. 19, 1919)] . . . 64
Whitman Asked To Aid Mooney. *In* [New York Call (Sept. 2, 1917)] 59
Who's Who in The Day's News: John Edgar Hoover. *In* [unknown periodical (Dec. 21? 1924)] 66
Why Go To War? Refuse To Kill Or Be Killed[leaflet]— [New York?] : [Mother Earth Pub. Ass'n, April? 1917]. 57

Will Be Rearrested As Prison Terms End. *In* [Washington Evening Star (Sept. 18, 1919)] . 63
[Will of Abraham Goldman:] Petition [for probate] 1909 Feb. 16 56
[Will of Abraham Goldman: Petition for Probate and Waiver of Citation] 1919 Oct. 17 [certified copies] 63
[Will of Abraham Goldman: Waiver of Citation] 1909 Jan. 25 [transcript] 56
Woman Anarchist Leader is Jailed. *In* [San Francisco Examiner (Jan. 15, 1909)] 56
Woman Without a Country Retains Nimble Wit and Fiery Views. *In* Washington Herald [Feb. 24? 1934] 66
World's Woman Anarchist Emma Goldman Dies Here. *In* [Toronto Star (May 14, 1940)] . 66
Would Banish Emma Goldman. *In* [St. Louis Times (Feb. 28, 1908)] 56
You Cannot Break Our Movement! [leaflet]— [Aug.? 1917] 57
Young Man Gets Highest Detective Post in America. *In* [Louisville Courier-Journal (Dec. 26, 1924)] 66
Youth Honored in U.S. Service. *In* [Washington Herald (Dec. 23, 1924)] 66

The Emma Goldman Papers
Government Documents Series
Index by Subject

Subject
Date . . . . . *Reel*

Abrams-Steimer Case
1918 Oct. 22 62
1918 Oct. 25 62
1919 Oct. 3 63
1919 Oct. 6 63
[1919 Nov. 13] 64
1921 Nov. 16 65
ACLU—History
[193-?] 66
Addams, Jane
1920 April 17 65
Addresses
1919 Dec. 21 64
[1921 Dec.] 65
[1922 March? 17?] 65
1922 March 17 65
Admission of Nonimmigrant
1922 Feb. 15 65
Agent Provocateurs
1918 Sept. 4 62
1919 Oct. 24 63
1919 Dec. 15 64
Aliases
1900 May 18 67
Aliens, Investigation
1908 Dec. 2 56
1908 Dec. 7 56
1908 Dec. 14 56
1917 May 30 57
1917 July 18 57
1917 Nov. 23 59
[1918] Feb. 4-5 61
1918 Feb. 20 61
1918 March 7 61
1918 July 20 61
1918 Aug. 24 61
1918 Aug. 28 61
Alsberg, Henry—Investigation
[19]20 Sept. 12 65

Subject
Date . . . . . *Reel*

1938 Dec. 2 66
1938 Dec. 14 66
[19]39 Sept. 15 66
Americans & Radicalism
1919 Dec. 7 64
1919 Dec. 7 64
Amnesty, Post-W.W.I, U.S.
1920 April 18 65
1920 Sept. 20 65
1922 Jan. 17 65
Anarchism and Free Speech
1908 April 10 56
[1909 Oct. 14] 56
Anarchism and Law
[1909 Oct. 14] 56
Anarchism and Marriage
[1908? Feb. 24] 56
[1908 Feb. 28] 56
Anarchism and Violence
1908 April 10 56
1914 July 67
1914 July 24 56
Anarchism vs. Communism
[1920] June 26 and July 3 . . . 65
Anarchism, Repression of
[19]01 Sept. 20 56
[1901] Oct. [5] 56
[1903?] 56
1908 May 2 56
Anarchism—Definition
1907 Jan. 6 56
[1908 Feb. 28] 56
[1916 Sept.?] 56
[1919 Sept.?] 63
[1925 Oct.? 5?] 66
[1939 Nov. 30] 66
Anarchism—History
[1900 Nov.?] 56
[19]01 Sept. 16 56

Anarchist Bomb Plot, 1919—Investigation
[19]19 Jan. 7 62
1919 May 1 62
1919 June 2 62
[1919] June 17-30 62
[1919] June 17-30 62
1919 June 25 62
1919 June 25 62
1919 June 28 62
1919 Sept. 30 63
1919 Oct. 10 63
[1919 Nov. 14] 64
1920 65
1920 March 1-13 65
Anarchist Congress, Amsterdam 1907
[1907 June 8] 56
[1907 Aug.] 67
1907 [Aug.] 56
Anarchist Congress, Berlin 1921
1921 Nov. 7 65
1921 Nov. 7 65
1921 Dec. 65
1921 Dec. 6 65
1921 Dec. 8 65
1921 Dec. 12 65
1922 Jan. 18 65
[1922? Jan.? 20?] 65
1922 Jan. 20 65
1922 Jan. 25 65
1922 Feb. 21 65
[19]22 March 24 65
Anarchist Congress, Paris 1900
1900 March 12 67
1900 July 31 67
1900 Aug. 6 67
1900 Aug. 7 67
1900 Aug. 20 67
1900 Sept. 4 67
1900 Sept. 4. 67
1900 Oct. 9 67
1900 Oct. 15 67
[1900 Nov.?] 56
[19]01 Sept. [15?] 67
Anarchist Literature
[1917 Aug.?] 57
[1918 March? 14?] 61
1922 Oct. 5 66
Anarchist Press
[19]19 Oct. 3 63
1938 May 19 66
1938 Nov. 28 66
Anarchists, Chicago—Investigation
1907 Nov. 22 56
1917 June 22 57
1917 July 17 57
1917 July 18 57
[19]17 Aug. 10 57
1917 Aug. 14 57
1917 Aug. 15 57
1918 Jan. 4 60
1918 March 4 61
1918 March 17 61
[1919 July? 15?] 62
1919 July 15 62
[1919 Sept.?] 63
Anarchists, Detroit—Investigation
1917 Sept. 6 59
1917 Sept. 6 59
1918 Jan. 17 60
1918 March 14 61
1918 [May 21] 61
1918 May 21 61
Anarchists, Investigation
1901 Oct. 1 56
1902 Jan. 6 56
1902 May 8 56
1907 Oct. 19 56
1917 Dec. 28 60
1918 May 2 61
1918 May 13 61
1918 May 18 61
1918 Aug. 24 61
1919 Nov. 17 64
1919 Dec. 10 64
[btw. 1920 and 1940] 65
1920 Feb. 24-26 65
1920 April 10 65
[1920? May?] 65
Anarchists, Los Angeles—Investigation
[19]17 Nov. 6 59
1917 Nov. 7 59
[19]17 Nov. 10 59
[19]17 Nov. 15 59
1917 Nov. 16 59
1917 Nov. 18-23 59

Anarchists, Los Angeles— Investigation (cont'd.)
[19]17 Dec. [2?] 60
1917 Dec. 9 60
[19]17 Dec. 13 60
1918 Jan. 2 60
1918 Jan. 6 60
1918 Jan. 14 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 22 60
1918 Jan. 22 60
1918 Jan. 26 60
[1918 Feb.] 61
[1918 Feb.] 61
1918 Feb. 6 61
1918 Feb. 15 61
1918 Feb. 20 61
1918 March 12 61
1918 March 30 61
1918 May 8 61
[19]18 May 13 61
1918 June 11 61
1922 March 6 65
[19]24 Jan. 22 66

Anarchists, New Jersey— Investigation
[1900 Aug.? 13?] 56
1900 Aug. 13 56
1901 Sept. 17 56
1919 Sept. 29 63

Anarchists, San Francisco— Investigation
1917 Oct. 22 59
1917 Nov. 9 59

Anarchists, St. Louis—Investigation
1901 Sept. 19 56
1917 Dec. 29 60
1918 Jan. 2 60
1918 Jan. 4 60

Anarcho-Syndicalism
1919 July 21 62

Anti-Conscription
[1917 April?] 57
[1917 May?] 57
1917 May 57
1917 May 18 57
1917 May 25 57
1917 May 25 57
[1917 Aug.] 57
1917 Aug. 28 57

Anti-Semitism
[19]01 Sept. 16 67
1919 Oct. 28 63
1920 Jan. 30 65
1927 Sept. 2 66
1934 Jan. 9 66
1934 Jan. 15 66
[1934 March?] 66
1936 Feb. 18 66
[19]39 Dec. 6 66
[1939 Dec. 12?] 66

Appellate Procedure
[1919 Oct.] 63

Appellate Procedure, Supreme Court
[1917?] 57
[1917?] 57

Arrest (Police Methods)
[1898 Feb. 5] 56
1908 Feb. 28 56
1917 May 29 57
1919 Oct. 2 63

Assassination
1902 Jan. 6 56

Asylum, Political
1922 Jan. 5 65
1922 Jan. 5 65

Attorney and Client
1917 Oct. [9?] 59
[1918 May 20?] 61

Australia, Immigration Law
1911 Nov. 4 56
1911 Nov. 4 56
1911 Nov. 6 56
1911 Nov. 17 56
1911 Nov. 17 56

Baginski, Max—Investigation
1900 [June?] 67
1907 Oct. 26 56
1907 Nov. 20 56
1907 Nov. 22 56

Bail
[1917?] 57
1917 July 19 57
1920 April 13 65

Baldwin, Roger—Investigation
[1917? Nov.?] 59

Baldwin, Roger—Investigation (cont'd.)
[1917 Nov. 20?] 59
[1917 Nov.? 27?] 59
1918 Jan. 5 60
Bales, William—Arrest
1918 July 2 61
1918 July 2 61
1918 July 5 61
1918 July 12 61
[1918 July 25] 61
1918 July 25 61
1918 July 25 61
Ballantine, Stella—Investigation
1908 March 24 56
1908 March 24 56
1908 March 26 56
1908 March 27 56
1908 March 28 56
1908 March 30 56
1908 March 31 56
1908 March 31 56
1908 March 31 56
1908 April 2 56
[1908 April 14?] 56
1908 April 24 56
1918 Jan. 3 60
1918 June 11 61
1918 June 11 61
1920 Jan. 5 65
1920 Jan. 22 65
1920 Feb. 4 65
1920 June 2 65
1920 June 2 65
1920 June 16 65
1920 June 22 65
1920 June 26 65
1922 March 22 65
1922 March 23 65
1922 May 2 66
1922 May 3 66
1922 May 4 66
Balls (Parties)
[1917 Dec. 8?] 60
Bank Deposits
1940 Feb. 22 to June 17 66
Beautiful Ideal, The
[1908? Feb. 24] 56
1920 Jan. 16 65
Becker-Kramer Case
1917 June [8?] 57
[1917? Dec.?] 60
[19]18 Jan. 15 60
Berkman as Theorist
[btw. 1920 and 1936] 65
Berkman Associates—Investigation
1917 July 30 57
1917 July 30 57
1917 Aug. 14 57
1919 Nov. 4 64
1919 Dec. 21 64
[1922 March? 17?] 65
1932 Feb. 26 66
1932 Feb. 26 66
Berkman, Arrests
1917 July 21 57
1917 July 21 57
1917 July 21 57
1919 Sept. 5 63
Berkman, Assassination Attempt on Frick
[18]97 Dec. 17 67
1901 Sept. 11 56
1901 Sept. 18 56
[19]17 April 26 57
1917 Nov. 23 59
1919 Sept. 22 63
1919 Dec. 7 64
Berkman, Bail
1917 Sept. 6 59
1917 Sept. 6 59
1917 Sept. 6 59
1917 Sept. 6 59
Berkman, Deportation
[1918 Feb. 2] 61
1919 Sept. 5 63
1919 Sept. 5 63
1919 Sept. 10 63
1919 Sept. 11 63
1919 Sept. 16 63
[1919 Sept. 18] 63
1919 Sept. 18 63
1919 Sept. 18 63
1919 Sept. 18 63
1919 Sept. 20 63
1919 Sept. 22 63
1919 Sept. 22 63

Berkman, Deportation (cont'd.)
1919 Sept. 23 63
1919 Sept. 23 63
1919 Sept. 23 63
1919 Sept. 24 63
1919 Sept. 25 63
1919 Sept. 25 63
[1919 Sept. 26?] 63
1919 Sept. 26 63
1919 Sept. 29 63
[1919 Sept. 30?] 63
1919 Sept. 30 63
1919 Oct. 15 63
1919 Oct. 15 63
1919 Nov. 7 64
[1919 Nov. 17?] 64
[1919 Nov. 17?] 64
[1919 Nov. 17?] 64
1919 Nov. 17 64
1919 Nov. 18 64
1919 Nov. 24 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
[1919 Nov. 26] 64
1919 Nov. 26 64
[1919 Dec.?] 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 3 64
1919 Dec. 3 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 5 64
1919 Dec. 5 64
1919 Dec. 6 64
1919 Dec. 15 64
1919 Dec. 26 65
[1920 Jan.?] 65
[btw. 1920 and 1936] 65

Berkman, Family
1919 Dec. 23 65

Berkman, Prison
1918 Jan. 5 60
[19]19 Jan. 7 62
1919 Jan. 9 62
1919 Jan. 14 62
1919 Jan. 15 62
1919 Aug. 27 63
1919 Nov. 23 64
1919 Dec. 2 64

Berkman, Prison Censorshp
1917 July 14 57
1917 July 18 57
[1917 July 30?] 57
1917 July 30 57
1917 July 30 57
1917 July 30 57
1917 Aug. 14 57
1917 Aug. 14 57
1917 Aug. 16 57
1918 March 3 61
1918 March 5 61
1918 March 9 61
1918 April 11 61
1918 June 12 61
1918 July 29 61
1918 Oct. 22 62
1918 Oct. 25 62
1919 April 14 62
1919 April 15 62
1919 Aug. 21 63

Berkman, U.S. Reentry Investigation, 1927
1927 Oct. 1 66
1927 Oct. 3 66
[19]27 Oct. 17 66
1927 Nov. 23 66

Berkman-Fitzgerald Relationship
1918 Jan. 2 60
1920 Jan. 25 65
1920 June 30 65
1920 June 30 65
1921 July 26 65
1921 July 26 65

Berkman—Extradition Case
[1917? July?] 57
1917 July 18 57
[1917 btw. July 25 and Nov. 14] . 57
[1917 Aug.?] 57
1917 Aug. 22 57
[1917 Sept. 2] 59
1917 Sept. 12 59
1917 Sept. 13 59
1917 Sept. 13 59
1917 Oct. 3 59
1917 Oct. 3 59

Berkman—Extradition Case (cont'd.)
1917 Oct. 4 59
1917 Oct. 7 59
1917 Oct. 19 59
1917 Oct. 19 59
1917 Oct. 20 59
[19]17 Nov. 10 59
[1917? Dec.?] 60
1917 Dec. 15 60
[1918 Jan.?] 60
Bible as Literature
1918 March 8 61
Bill Drafting
[1920 Jan. 27] 65
Birth Control
1915 Sept. 11 56
[1917?] 57
Blackwell, Alice Stone—Investigation
1922 March 7 65
1922 March 9 65
Bolshevik Agitation in U.S., Investigation
1917 Dec. 27-28 60
1918 Feb. 6 61
1918 Feb. 20 61
1918 Feb. 26 61
1918 Feb. 28 61
1918 March 1 61
1918 March 4 61
1918 March 7 61
1918 March 14 61
1918 March 17 61
1918 March 19 61
1918 April 25 61
1918 May 11 61
1918 May 13 61
1918 [May 21] 61
1918 May 21 61
1919 Jan. 10 62
[1919? June? 2?] 62
[1919? June? 2?] 62
[1919 July? 15?] 62
1919 July 21 62
1919 Oct. 25 63
1919 Nov. 12 64
1919 Dec. 13 64
1920 Jan. 30 65
1920 Feb. 24-26 65
1920 Feb. 27 65
1920 April 3 65
1920 April 3 65
1920 April 14 65
1920 April 15 65
1920 April 16 65
1920 April 20 65
1920 April 24 65
1920 June 9 65
1920 June 9 65
1920 Nov. 9 65
1920 Nov. 9 65
Bolsheviks, Corruption
[1921 Oct. 19?] 65
Bolshevism vs. Fascism
[1927 Jan. 8] 66
Bolshevism, Goldman's Opposition
1920 Aug. 5 65
1920 Oct. 4 65
1922 67
192[2] Jan. 10 65
1922 Jan. 20 65
1922 Feb. 13 65
1922 Feb. 15 65
1922 March 16 65
[19]22 March 24 65
1922 April 1 66
1922 July 26 66
1922 Dec. 19 66
1923 May 8 66
1924 March 66
1924 March 66
[1924 April? 1?] 66
[1924] April 12 66
1924 April 16 66
1924 April 16 66
1924 April 16 66
1924 April 26 66
[193-?] 66
Bolshevism, Goldman's Opposition—U.S. Press
1920 June 18 65
1920 June 30 65
1920 June 30 65
1920 Oct. 11 65
1921 April? 23? 65
[1922 Jan. 14] 65
1922 Jan. 14 65
1922 Jan. 17 65

Bolshevism, Goldman's Opposition—U.S. Press (cont'd.)
1922 March 1 65
[19]22 March 2 65
[1922 March 22] 65
1922 March 22 65
1922 March 22 65
1922 March 25 65
[19]22 March 27 65
1922 March 27 65
1922 March 29 65
1922 March 29 65
1922 March 30 65
[1922 April 17] 66
[19]22 April 19 66
1922 Oct. 5 66
1922 Oct. 5 66
1923 Nov. 30 66
1924 Feb. 2 66
1924 April 4 66
1924 Dec. 15 66
1925 March 15 to April 15 . . . 66

Bolshevism, Goldman's Support
1918 Jan. 60
1918 Jan. 8 60
1918 Jan. 11 60
1918 Jan. 11 60
1918 Jan. 16 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 25 60
1919 Dec. 4 64
1920 March 30 65
[1920] June 26 and July 3 . . . 65
1929 Nov. 19 67

Bon Esprit, Sale
[1930] 66
1930 66
1930 66
1930 66

Book Advertising
1918 June 18 61
1918 June 18 61

Book Contracts
1929 Aug. 21 66
1929 Aug. 27 66

Books, Prohibited
1920 Sept. 18 65

Bortolotti, Anti-Deportation Campaign
[1939 Oct.? 26?] 66
1939 Dec. 6 66
1939 Dec. 6 66

Bresci, Assassination of Umberto
1900 Aug. 13 56

Buford Deportees, Investigation
[1919 Dec. 23] 65
1919 Dec. 23 65
1919 Dec. 23 65
1919 Dec. 24 65
1920 Jan. 12 65
1920 Jan. 20 65
1920 Jan. 21 65
1920 Jan. 28 65
1920 Jan. 31 65
[1920? Feb.?] 65
1920 Feb. 6 65
1920 Feb. 9 65
1920 Feb. 10 65
[1920 Feb. 12?] 65
1920 Feb. 12 65
1920 Feb. 16 65
[1920 Feb. 18?] 65
1920 Feb. 18 65
1920 Feb. 24 65
1920 March 8 65
1920 March 11 65
[1920 March 12?] 65
1920 March 12 65
1920 March 16 65
1920 March 17 65
1920 March 22 65
1920 March 23 65
1920 March 26 65
1920 April 14 65
1920 April 14 65
1920 April 14 65
1920 May 26 65
1920 June 16 65
1920 June 16 65
1920 July 26 65
1920 Dec. 12 65

Buford, Voyage of
1919 Dec. 1 64
[1919 Dec. 5?] 64
[1919? Dec.? 16?] 64
[1919 Dec. 16] 64

Buford, Voyage of (cont'd.)
1919 Dec. 16 64
[1919 Dec. 21] 64
[1919 Dec. 21?] 64
[1919 Dec. 21 and 1920 Jan. 16] . 64
[1919 Dec. 21 and 1920 Jan. 16] . 64
[1919 Dec.? 22?] 64
[1919 Dec. 22?] 64
[1919 Dec. 22] 64
[1919 Dec. 22] 64
[1919 Dec. 22] 64
1919 Dec. 24 65
1919 Dec. 24 65
1919 Dec. 24 65
1919 Dec. 31 65
[1920] Jan. 3 65
1920 Jan. 3 65
1920 Jan. 7 65
1920 Jan. 10 65
1920 Jan. 10 65
1920 Jan. 10 65
1920 Jan. 10 65
1920 Jan. 13 65
1920 Jan. 16 65
1920 Jan. 24 65
1920 Jan. 25 65
1920 Jan. 27 65
1920 Jan. 29 65
1920 Feb. 6 65
1920 Feb. 7 65
1920 Feb. 11 65
1920 March 2 65
1920 March 12 65
1920 June 16 65

Bureau of Immigration— Deportation Procedure
[1919 Oct.] 63

Bureau of Immigration—Legal Opinion
1907 Nov. 17 56
1908 March 9 56
1909 Feb. 5 56
1909 Feb. 8 56
1909 Feb. 11 56
1919 April 25 62
[1919] Aug. [26] 63
1919 Nov. 18 64
1919 Nov. 29 64
[19]19 Dec. 2 64
1920 Feb. 6 65
1920 Feb. 21 65
1920 Feb. 21 65
1920 April 14 65
1933 Nov. 8 66

Buwalda, Court-Martial
1908 May 22 56
1908 June 10 56
1908 June 10 56
1908 June 15 56
1908 June 19 56
1908 June 22 56
1908 June 24 56
1908 June 30 56
1908 June 30 56
1908 June 30 56
1908 July 3 56
1908 July 7 56
1908 July 7 56
1908 July 15 56
1908 July 21 56
1909 Jan. 8 56
[1909 Jan. 15] 56
1909 Jan. 16 56
[1909? May?] 56

C.I.O.—History
[1937 March 28] 66
1938 Nov. 15 66

Canada, Anarchists
1927 Sept. 7 66
1927 Sept. 28 66
[19]27 Sept. 29 66

Canada, Exile
1928 Oct. 13 66
1928 Oct. 17 66
1934 Jan. 19 66
1934 May 3 66
1934 Nov. 29 66
[19]34 Nov. 30 66
[1939 April 22] 66
[1939 Nov. 30] 66
[19]39 Dec. 15 66
1939 Dec. 15 66
[1940 Feb. 20] 66
[19]40 Feb. 24 66
[19]40 March 29 66

Canada, Immigration Law
1908 April 9 56
1908 May 4 56

Canada, Immigration Law (cont'd.)
1908 Dec. 15 56
1926 Nov. 3 66
1926 Nov. 23 66
Canada, Lecture Tours
[19]39 Dec. 6 66
Canada, Lectures
1927 Dec. 13 66
[19]27 Dec. 16 66
1934 Nov. 29 66
[19]39 Dec. 6 66
1939 Dec. 6 66
[1939 Dec. 7] 66
[1939 Dec. 12?] 66
[19]39 Dec. 12 66
1939 Dec. 12 66
1939 Dec. 12 66
Canada, Political Character
1908 May 2 56
[1927 March 24] 66
Canada, Postal Censorship
[1916 June? 26?] 56
Censorship of Press
1917 Nov. 17 59
1918 March 3 61
1918 March 22 61
[1918 April] 61
1918 Aug. 19 61
1918 Nov. 6 62
1918 Nov. 13 62
[19]22 Jan. 2 65
1922 Feb. 13 65
[1922 March 22] 65
1922 March 30 65
Censorship of Speech
1917 Oct. 31 59
1918 Jan. 12 60
[19]18 April 16 61
1920 Sept. 18 65
Chicago, Revolutionary Character
[1898 March 12] 56
Chinese Revolution
[1939 Dec. 4] 66
Cipher & Telegraph Codes
1901 Sept. 9 56
1908 March 27 56
1917 June 2 57
1919 Sept. 16 63
1919 Oct. 11 63
1919 Oct. 11 63
1919 Oct. 17 63
1919 Oct. 23 63
1919 Nov. 22 64
1919 Nov. 22 64
1919 Nov. 24 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
1919 Nov. 26 64
1919 Nov. 26 64
1919 Nov. 28 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 3 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
Citizenship, Loss of
1909 Jan. 16 56
1909 Feb. 2 56
1909 Feb. 11 56
1909 April 8 56
1919 Dec. 8 64
1923 Sept. 20 66
Civil Rights
[193-?] 66
Classified Documents, Disclosure
1917 Oct. 19 59
1917 Oct. 20 59
1917 Nov. 2 59
[1917 Nov.? 27?] 59
1918 Jan. 5 60
Commins, Saxe—Investigation
1917 June 4 57
1918 March 30 61
1918 May 18 61
1918 May 25 61
[1918 June? 1?] 61
1918 June 11 61
1918 Sept. 9 62
[19]22 March 15 65
Communist Attacks against Goldman
[19]22 March 2 65
1922 April 7 66
[1922 April 17] 66
[19]22 April 19 66
1922 July 26 66
1922 July 26 66
1922 July 26 66
1922 Aug. 31 66

Communist Attacks against Goldman (cont'd.)
1922 Aug. 31 66
[1924?] 66
1926 Dec. 14 66
[1927 Jan. 31] 66
1927 Feb. 3 66
[19]27 Feb. 4 66
1927 March 9 66
1927 March 9 66
Communist Labor Party, U.S.
[19]19 Oct. 14 63
[19]19 Oct. 14 63
Communist Party, U.S.
1919 Nov. 12 64
1930 Dec. 5 66
1936 Oct. 28 66
[1937 March 28] 66
Congratulations
1917 July 16 57
Conscription, Constitutionality
[1917] 57
1917 July 17 57
1917 July 17 57
1917 Oct. [2] 59
1917 Oct. 25 59
1917 Oct. 25 59
1917 Nov. 29 59
1917 Nov. 30 59
1917 Dec. 10 60
1917 Dec. 15 60
1917 Dec. 22 60
[1918 Jan. 2] 60
[1918 Jan. 3] 60
1918 Jan. 7 60
1918 Jan. 7 60
1918 Jan. 9 60
[1918 Jan. 15] 60
1918 Jan. 22 60
1918 Feb. 7 61
1918 Feb. 8 61
Conspiracy
[1917] 57
[1917 Aug. 4?] 57
Constitutional Law
[1918 Jan. 3] 60
Cook, Cassius—Investigation
1917 June 22 57
1917 June 26 57
1917 June 28 57
1917 July 2 57
1922 March 7 65
Costs (Law)
[1918 Dec. 20?] 61
Cover Sheet
[1908 March 19 to 1934 May 18] 56
[1917 May 29 to Dec. 26] . . . 57
1917 June 8 57
1917 Sept. 25 59
1917 Oct. [2] 59
[1917 Nov. 13 to 1918 March 19] 59
[1917 Dec. 6 to 1918 March 6] . 60
[1917 Dec. 10 to 1918 Feb. 2] . . 60
[1917 Dec. 29 - 1919 April 23] . 60
[1918 Feb. 20 to May 21] 61
[1918 June 4 to 1933 April 18] . 61
1919 Oct. 27 63
1919 Oct. 28 63
1919 Oct. 29 63
1919 Nov. 1 64
1919 Nov. 11 64
[1920 March 30] 65
1922 May 2 66
Crime, Citizen Reports
1919 Dec. 6 64
Criminal Anarchy, New York
1906 Nov. 2 56
1906 Nov. 2 56
1906 Nov. 5 56
1907 Jan. 7 56
1907 Jan. 11 56
Czechoslovakia, Exile
1922 April 28 66
1922 April 28 66
1922 April 28 66
[1922 April 29] 66
[1922 May] 66
1922 May 1 66
Czolgosz, Defense
1919 Oct. 18 63
Defense Funds, Contributions
1916 Nov. [6?] 56
1916 Nov. 14 56
1917 [July?] 57
1917 July 2 57
1917 July 28 57

Defense Funds, Contributions (cont'd.)
[1917 Aug.?] 57
[1917 Aug.?] 57
1917 Aug. 1 57
1917 Aug. 25 57
[1918] 60
1918 Feb. 4 61
1918 D[ec.] to 1920 April . . . 62
1919 Jan. 16 62
[1919 Oct. 31] 63
[19]19 Oct. 31 63
1919 Oct. 31 63
1919 Dec. 11 64
[19]19 Dec. 17 64
[19]19 Dec. 17 67
Demonstrations
[1911 Jan. 30] 56
1911 Jan. 30 56
1911 Jan. 30 56
1917 June 16 57
Denmark, Lectures
1932 Feb. 15 66
1932 March 28 66
[1932 April 1-15] 66
1932 April 18 66
Department of Justice—Finances
1909 Jan. 2 56
1909 Jan. 6 56
1909 Jan. 7 56
1917 June 21 57
1917 June 26 57
1920 Jan. 5 65
1920 March 23 65
Department of Justice—Legal Opinion
1901 Sept. 23 56
1908 Aug. 4 56
1908 Aug. 7 56
1909 Jan. 16 56
1909 Feb. 2 56
1909 Feb. 16 56
1910 Jan. 26 56
1910 Jan. 28 56
1917 May 17 57
1917 May 21 57
1917 May 29 57
1917 June 1 57
1917 June 2 57
1917 June 4 57
1917 July 12 57
1917 July 12 57
[1917 Aug. 4?] 57
1917 Aug. 16 57
1917 Sept. 12 59
1917 Sept. 13 59
1917 Oct. 15 59
1917 Oct. 27 59
1917 Oct. 28 59
1917 Oct. 31 59
1917 Nov. 2 59
1917 Nov. 2 59
1917 Nov. 5 59
1917 Nov. 19 59
1918 Jan. 10 60
1918 Feb. 4 61
1918 April 13 61
1918 April 18 61
[1918 May 20?] 61
[1918 May 24?] 61
1919 Jan. 4 61
1919 Oct. 8 63
1919 Oct. 13 63
[1919 Nov. 17] 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 5 64
1919 Dec. 5 64
1919 Dec. 6 64
1919 Dec. 13 64
1920 April 18 65
Deportation & Family Separation
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 5 64
1919 Dec. 5 64
1919 Dec. 6 64
[1920] Jan. 3 65
1920 Jan. 7 65
1920 Jan. 10 65
1920 Jan. 10 65
1920 Jan. 13 65
1920 Feb. 6 65
1920 March 2 65

Deportation Grounds, Advocacy of Violence
1919 Sept. 26 63
1919 Oct. 16 63
1919 Oct. 18 63
1919 Oct. 20 63
[1919 Nov. 17?] 64
Deportation Grounds, Anarchism
1908 April 9 56
[1916 Sept.?] 56
1919 Sept. 26 63
1919 Sept. 29 63
[1919 Oct.] 63
1919 Oct. 27 63
[1919 Nov. 17?] 64
[1919 Nov. 17?] 64
[1919 Nov. 17?] 64
1919 Nov. 18 64
[1919 Nov. 26] 64
1919 Dec. 5 64
1919 Dec. 5 64
1919 Dec. 8 64
1919 Dec. 10 64
1920 Oct. 2 65
Deportation, Effect on Reentry
1920 Feb. 21 65
[1921 Feb. 26] 65
1926 Nov. 17 66
1930 March 26 67
1930 April 17 67
1930 April 28 67
1933 Nov. 8 66
1934 Jan. 9 66
Deportation, U.S. Law
1907 Nov. 14 56
1907 Nov. 14 56
[1930? Dec.? 5?] 66
1938 Dec. 14 66
Detective Agency, Government Use
1901 Sept. 9 56
1917 May 22 57
1917 May 22 57
1917 Dec. 10 60
[1917? Dec.? 31?] 60
1919 Oct. 2 63
1919 Oct. 2 63
1919 Oct. 10 63
[19]19 Dec. 12 64
[btw. 1920 and 1940] 65
Dinners and Dining
[1919 Oct. 27] 63
Dinners, Investigation
[19]19 Oct. 3 63
[19]19 Oct. 4 63
[19]19 Oct. 6 63
[19]19 Oct. 7 63
[19]19 Oct. 7 63
[19]19 Oct. 14 63
[19]19 Oct. 14 63
[19]19 Oct. 25 63
1919 Oct. 27 63
1919 Oct. 27 63
1919 Oct. 27 63
1919 Oct. 27 63
1919 Oct. 27 63
[19]19 Oct. 28 63
1919 Oct. 28 63
1919 Oct. 28 63
1919 Oct. 29 63
[19]19 Oct. 30 63
1919 Oct. 31 63
[1919 Nov. 5] 64
1919 Nov. 5 64
1919 Nov. 17-23 64
1919 Nov. 20 64
1919 Nov. 20 64
1919 Nov. 21 64
1919 Nov. 21 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
Direct Action
1901 Sept. 10 67
1901 Sept. 13 67
1907 Nov. 19 56
1907 Dec. 12 56
Discrimination, Sex
1901 Sept. 15 56
1901 Sept. 15 56
Document Authentication
1920 Jan. 1 65
1920 Oct. 30 65
1920 Nov. 9 65
1920 Nov. 9 65
Draft Act, Conspiracy to Violate
1917 May 29 57
1917 May 29 57

Draft Act, Conspiracy to Violate (cont'd.)
1917 May 31 57
1917 June 4 57
1917 July 9 58
1917 July 18 57
1917 July 21 57
1918 Jan. 29 60
1918 Feb. 1 61
1918 April 18 61
Draft Registration, U.S.
1917 May 29 57
1917 June 4 57
1917 June 16 57
1917 July 5 57
1917 Sept. 13 59
1917 Sept. 13 59
1917 Sept. 29 59
1917 Oct. 13 59
1917 Dec. 4 60
Duncan, Isadora
1917 Dec. 9 60
Ellis Island, Conditions
[19]19 Oct. 14 63
[1919 Dec. 9?] 64
1919 Dec. 9 64
1919 Dec. 9 64
[1919 Dec. 12?] 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
1919 Dec. 13 64
1919 Dec. 13 64
1919 Dec. 13 64
1919 Dec. 15 64
1919 Dec. 15 64
1919 Dec. 16 64
1919 Dec. 19 64
1919 Dec. 19 64
1920 Jan. 9 65
1920 Feb. 21 65
Emigration & Immigration Law
[1919 Oct.?] 63
1920 Feb. 7 65
Employees, Dismissal
[19]19 Nov. 5 64
1919 Nov. 5 64
Enclosures
1920 April 14 65
1920 April 21 65
1921 June 4 65
1921 July 30 65
1921 Aug. 13 65
1921 Sept. 26 65
Ends and Means
1922 Oct. 5 66
England, Anarchists
[1899 Sept. 2] 56
[btw. 1901 and 1914] 56
1920 June 2 65
1920 June 2 65
1920 June 16 65
1920 June 26 65
England, Exile
1922 July 26 66
1922 Aug. 10 66
1922 Aug. 10 66
1924 Sept. 6 66
England, Government Investigation of Goldman
1908 Feb. 28 56
1908 Feb. 28 56
[1908 March 9?] 56
1920 May 28 65
England, Lectures
[18]95 Sept. 17 56
[1899 Sept. 2] 56
1899 Nov. 21 67
1899 Nov. 28 67
1907 Oct. 11 56
England, Visas
1924 July 26 66
Envelopes
[1915 Oct. 20] 56
[1915 Oct. 25] 56
1917 July 11 57
1918 Feb. 23 61
1918 March 14 61
[1919 Sept. 1] 63
1922 Jan. [2] 65
Equality before the Law
1901 Sept. 15 56
1901 Sept. 15 56
1917 June 30 57

Europe—Conditions, 1920s
1927 March 8 66
Executive Pardon
1908 June 24 56
Executive Power
1917 May 11 57
Exile and Lecturing
[1922 Feb. 6?] 65
Eyestrain
1918 April 6 61
Family News
[1919 Sept.?] 63
Family, Investigation
1894 Oct. 13 56
[19]17 Oct. 2 59
1918 March 12 61
1919 Oct. 6 63
1919 Oct. 17 63
1919 Oct. 18 63
1919 Oct. 18 63
1919 Oct. 18 63
1919 Oct. 23 63
1919 Oct. 30 63
[19]22 March 15 65
Farewell Banquets
1900 Jan. 22 67
1928 Feb. 8 66
1928 Oct. 17 66
Farmers, U.S.
[1898 March 26] 56
Fascism
1934 Jan. 19 66
Fingerprints
[1919 Dec.?] 64
First Amendment Rights
[1917] July 6 57
1919 Sept. 18 63
1919 Sept. 18 63
1919 Sept. 29 63
[1919 Oct.] 63
1919 Dec. 5 64
Fitzgerald, M. E.—Investigation
1917 Nov. 21 59
1918 Jan. 2 60
1918 Jan. 16 60
1918 April 18 61
1918 April 18 61
1918 April 18 61
1918 April 20 61
1918 May 8 61
1918 June 8 61
1918 June 11 61
1918 July 2 61
1918 July 2 61
1918 July 5 61
1918 July 8 61
1918 July 8 61
1918 Aug. 11 61
1918 Aug. 31 61
1918 Oct. 7 62
1918 Oct. 22 62
1919 May 13 62
1919 July [25?] 62
1920 March 13 65
1920 March 18 65
1921 July 23 65
1922 Feb. 18 65
France, Anarchists
[18]95 Sept. 17 56
1895 Nov. 14 56
[1899? Nov.?] 67
1900 Oct. 31 56
1901 Sept. 10 67
1901 Sept. 13 67
1904 May 29 67
1906 May 9 67
1908 March 31 67
France, Anarchists—Expulsion
1900 [Dec.?] 24 67
1900 [Dec.?] 24 67
[1901? March? 19?] 56
1901 March 19 67
1901 March 26 67
1901 March 26 67
1901 March 26 56
1902 March 4 67
1902 March 7 67
1902 March 26 67
1930 Feb. 5 67
1930 Feb. 28 67
[1930? March?] 67
1930 March 1 67
1930 March 11 67
1930 March 12 67
1930 April 4 67

France, Anarchists—Expulsion (cont'd.)
[19]30 April 10 67
1930 April 10 67
France, Censorship
[19]18 Jan. 17 60
1918 May 8 61
France, Exile
1934 Jan. 27 67
France, Immigration Law
1920 Jan. 19 65
France, Real Estate Laws
1926 Oct. 30 66
1926 Nov. 4 66
Free Speech—Lawyers
1910 56
[1917?] 57
French Government Investigation of Goldman
1895 Sept. 12 67
[1899? Nov.?] 67
1899 Nov. 11 67
1899 Nov. 17 67
1899 Nov. 21 67
1899 Nov. 28 67
1900 Jan. 22 67
1900 Feb. 27 67
1900 March 26 67
1900 March 27 67
1900 March 29 67
1900 April 17 67
1900 April 19 67
1900 April 24 67
1900 May 10 67
1900 May 18 67
[1900 May 22?] 67
1900 May 22 67
1900 May 22 67
1900 May 26 67
1900 [June?] 67
1900 June 19 56
1900 July 31 67
1900 Aug. 6 67
1900 Aug. 7 67
1900 Aug. 20 67
1900 Sept. 7 67
1900 Oct. 9 67
1900 Oct. 9 67
1900 Oct. 9 67
1900 Oct. 15 67
[1900] Nov. 1 67
1900 Nov. 1 67
1900 Nov. 1 67
1900 Nov. 1 67
1900 Nov. 1 67
190[1 Sept.?] 67
1901 Sept. 9 67
[1901? Sept.? 11?] 67
[1901? Sept.? 11?] 67
[19]01 Sept. 14 67
[1901] Sept. 17 56
1902 March 12 67
1902 March 26 67
1902 May 8 56
1904 May 29 67
1906 May 9 67
1907 Sept. 25 67
1907 Oct. 6 67
[1908 March 30] 67
1908 March 31 67
1921 Dec. 23 67
1921 Dec. 24 67
1929 Nov. 19 67
1929 Dec. [12?] 67
1929 Dec. 12 67
1929 Dec. 27 67
1930 Feb. 5 67
1930 Feb. 28 67
[1930? March?] 67
1930 March 18 67
1933 Dec. 26 67
1934 Jan. 27 67
1934 Feb. 2 67
1934 Feb. 2 67
Fundraising Events
[1916 Nov. 7] 56
[1917 Dec. 8?] 60
1917 Dec. 18 60
General Strike
[1919] Sept. 1 63
[19]19 Oct. 2 63
German Government Investigation of Goldman
1895 to 1917 67
1895 Sept. 25 56
1895 Sept. 25 56
1895 Oct. 4 56

German Government Investigation of Goldman (cont'd.)
1895 Oct. 9 56
[1898?] 56
[1898 Feb. 5] 56
1900 March 12 67
1901 Sept. 23 56
[1907 Oct. 12] 56
1907 Nov. 11 56
[1909 April 10] 56
Germany, Anarchism
1922 Feb. 21 65
Germany, Exile
[1923 March 10] 66
[1923 April?] 66
1923 Sept. 1 66
1924 April 26 66
Germany, Political Condition, 1919
1919 March 1 62
Goldman & Chicago Police
1909 Jan. 2 56
1909 Jan. 15 56
1919 Oct. 1 63
1919 Oct. 11 63
1919 Oct. 11 63
1919 Oct. 11 63
1919 Dec. 1 64
Goldman & German Police
1895 to 1917 67
1895 Sept. 20 56
1895 Sept. 25 56
1895 Oct. 4 56
1895 Oct. 9 56
Goldman & New York Police
1918 Jan. 5 60
[1919 Sept. 24] 63
[19]19 Sept. 24 63
[1919 Sept. 30] 63
Goldman & San Francisco Police
[1909 Jan. 15] 56
1919 Oct. 1 63
Goldman and Berkman, Prison—Protests
1918 April 22 61
1919 Jan. 15 62
Goldman as German Agent
[1917 Nov. 13?] 59
1917 Nov. 20 59
1918 Jan. 5 60
1918 Feb. 9 61
1918 Feb. 25 61
1918 Feb. 26 61
1918 Feb. 28 61
1918 March 13 61
1918 March 13 61
1918 March 13 61
[1918 April 2] 61
Goldman as Inspiration
1917 Aug. 14 57
1918 March 8 61
[193-?] 66
[193-?] 66
1934 Feb. [15?] 66
Goldman as Profiteer
[1919 Dec. 5?] 64
Goldman as Publisher
1924 Sept. 6 66
1924 Nov. 13 66
Goldman as Radical Apostate
1922 March 22 65
1922 July 26 66
Goldman as Russian Agent
[1901 Oct. 1] 56
[1901 Oct. 3] 56
[1901 Oct. 19] 56
[1911 Aug. 15] 56
Goldman Associates, Investigation
1901 Sept. 19 56
1901 Sept. 20 56
[btw. 1901 and 1914] 56
[1917?] 57
1917 June 28 57
1917 June 29 57
1917 July 2 57
1917 July 10 57
1917 July 14 57
1917 July 17 57
1917 July 18 57
1917 July 18 57
1917 Aug. 11 57
1917 Aug. 14 57
1917 Aug. 31 57
1917 Oct. [9?] 59
[19]17 Dec. 13 60
1917 Dec. 28 60
1918 Jan. 11 60

Goldman Associates, Investigation (cont'd.)
1918 Jan. 14 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 21 60
1918 Jan. 22 60
1918 Jan. 22 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
[19]18 Jan. 24 60
1918 Jan. 26 60
1918 May 2 61
[19]18 May 13 61
1918 June 25 61
1918 Aug. 7 61
1918 Aug. 24 61
1918 Aug. 28 61
1918 Aug. 30 61
1918 Aug. 30 61
[19]18 Sept. 2 62
1918 Sept. 17 62
1918 Sept. 18 62
[19]18 Oct. 8 62
1918 Nov. 7 62
1918 Nov. 22 62
[19]18 Dec. 1 62
1918 Dec. 30 62
[1919? Jan.?] 62
[19]19 Feb. 6 62
1919 March 17 62
[1919 April 16?] 62
1919 April 16 62
1919 April 17 62
1919 May 1 62
1919 May 1 62
1919 May 1 62
1919 May 6 62
1919 May 26 62
[19]19 June 17 62
1919 June 25 62
[1919 July?] 62
[19]19 July [14?] 62
1919 Sept. 5 63
1919 Sept. 12 63
1919 Sept. 15 63
1919 Sept. 20 63
1919 Sept. 20 63
[19]19 Sept. 30 63
[1919 Oct.?] 63
1919 Oct. 1 63
1919 Oct. 1 63
[19]19 Oct. 2 63
1919 Oct. 11 63
[19]19 Oct. 14 63
1919 Oct. 23 63
[19]19 Oct. 25 63
1919 Oct. 25 63
1919 Oct. 27 63
1919 Oct. 27 63
[1919 Oct. 29] 63
1919 Oct. 29 63
1919 Oct. 30 63
[1919 Oct. 31] 63
[19]19 Oct. 31 63
1919 Oct. 31 63
[1919 Nov.? 1?] 64
[19]19 Nov. 1 64
1919 Nov. 1 64
1919 Nov. 5 64
1919 Nov. 7 64
1919 Nov. 28 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
[19]19 Dec. 12 64
1919 Dec. 13 64
[19]19 Dec. 17 67
[19]19 Dec. 17 67
1919 Dec. 21 64
[19]19 Dec. 29 65
[btw. 1920 and 1940] 65
[1920?] 65
1920 Jan. 20 65
1920 Feb. 5 65
1920 Feb. 20 65
1920 Feb. 26 65
[19]20 May 6 65
1920 May 28 65
1920 Sept. 20 65
1921 Jan. 8 65
1921 Jan. 15 65
1921 Feb. 1 65
[19]21 Oct. 25 65
[1921 Dec.] 65
1921 Dec. 15 65
[1922? Jan.? 20?] 65
1922 Jan. 20 65

Goldman Associates, Investigation (cont'd.)
19[22] March [2?] 65
[19]22 March 6 65
1922 March 6 65
1922 March 6 65
1922 March 7 65
1922 March 7 65
[19]22 March 8 65
[19]22 March 9 65
[19]22 March 9 65
1922 March 9 65
[19]22 March 11 65
[1922 March? 17?] 65
[19]22 March 17 65
1922 March 17 65
1922 March 17 65
1922 March 22 65
[19]22 March 23 65
[19]22 March 25 65
1922 April 11 66
1922 April 11 66
1922 April 15 66
1922 April 21 66
1922 April 21 66
1922 June 20 66
1922 July 13 66
[19]23 Jan. 29 66
1923 Feb. 26 66
1923 April 2 66
1923 Sept. 20 66
[1925?] 66
1927 March 8 66
1927 July 19 66
[19]27 Oct. 17 66
[193-?] 66
[193-?] 66
[193-?] 66
[193-?] 66
[193-?] 66
[193-?] 66
[193-?] 66
[193-?] 66
1930 July 10 66
[1937 March 28] 66
1938 July 26 66
1938 Nov. 15 66
1939 Sept. 29 66

Goldman at Third International
[1920 Sept. 21?] 65
1920 Sept. 21 65
[1921? Jan.?] 65
1921 Dec. 23 67
Goldman at Women's Congress of 1900, Paris
1900 June 19 56
Goldman Citizenship, Investigation
1884 Oct. 18 56
1907 Sept. 23 56
1907 Sept. 24 56
1907 Nov. 17 56
1907 Nov. 19 56
1907 Nov. 21 56
1907 Dec. 28 56
1908 March 4 56
1908 March 9 56
1908 March 16 56
1908 April 4 56
1908 April 8 56
1908 April 8 56
1908 April 23 56
1909 Jan. 2 56
1909 Jan. 25 56
1909 Feb. 16 56
1909 April 8 56
1909 April 8 56
1917 July 12 57
1917 July 12 57
1917 July 21 57
1917 July 21 57
1919 April 25 62
1919 July 15 62
[1919 July 21] 62
1919 Aug. 19 63
1919 Aug. 23 63
[1919] Aug. [26] 63
1919 Aug. 29 63
1919 Sept. 19 63
1919 Sept. 19 63
1919 Sept. 20 63
1919 Sept. 23 63
1919 Sept. 30 63
1919 Sept. 30 63
[1919 Oct. 1?] 63
[1919 Oct. 1?] 63
1919 Oct. 1 63

Goldman Citizenship, Investigation (cont'd.)
1919 Oct. 1 63
1919 Oct. 13 63
1919 Oct. 15 63
1919 Oct. 15 63
[1919 Oct. 16] 63
[1919 Oct. 16] 63
1919 Oct. 16 63
1919 Oct. 17 63
1919 Oct. 17 63
[19]19 Oct. 18 63
1919 Oct. 18 63
1919 Oct. 18 63
1919 Oct. 20 63
1919 Oct. 22 63
1919 Oct. 2[3?] 63
1919 Oct. 23 63
1919 Oct. 23 63
1919 Oct. 25 63
[1919 Oct. 27?] 63
1919 Nov. 12 64
1919 Nov. [13?] 64
[1919 Nov. 17?] 64
[1919 Nov. 17?] 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
[19]19 Nov. 26 64
[19]19 Nov. 29 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1923 March 23 65

Goldman Deportation
1918 Feb. 25 61
1918 March 26 61
[1919] April 2[6?] 62
1919 Aug. 25 63
1919 Sept. 6 63
1919 Sept. 12 63
1919 Sept. 19 63
[1919 Sept. 24] 63
1919 Sept. 24 63
[1919 Nov. 17?] 64
[1919 Nov. 17?] 64
191[9] Nov. 17 64
1919 Nov. 17 64
1919 Nov. 19 64
1919 Nov. 24 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
1919 Nov. 26 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 3 64
1919 Dec. 5 64
1919 Dec. 11 64
1919 Dec. 15 64
[1920 Jan.?] 65
[1920 Jan.?] 65
1920 Jan. 28 65
1920 Jan. 29 65

Goldman Deportation, Arrest
1907 Nov. 14 56
1907 Nov. 14 56
1907 Nov. 19 56
1908 Feb. 28 56
1908 March 2 56
1917 July 20 57
1917 July 20 57
1917 July 21 57
1917 July 21 57
[1919] Aug. [26] 63
1919 Aug. 29 63
1919 Sept. 4 63
1919 Sept. 5 63
1919 Sept. 5 63
1919 Sept. 5 63
1919 Sept. 5 63
1919 Sept. 5 63
1919 Sept. 8 63
1919 Sept. 12 63
1919 Sept. 15 63
[19]19 Sept. 18 63

Goldman Deportation, Bail
1919 Sept. 10 63
1919 Sept. 11 63
[1919 Sept. 18] 63
1919 Sept. 18 63
1919 Sept. 18 63
1919 Sept. 20 63
[19]19 Sept. 22 63

Goldman Deportation, Bail (cont'd.)
[19]19 Sept. 22 63
1919 Sept. 22 63
1919 Sept. 23 63
1919 Sept. 23 63
1919 Sept. 23 63
[1919 Sept. 24] 63
1919 Sept. 24 63
1919 Sept. 24 63
1919 Sept. 24 63
1919 Sept. 25 63
1919 Sept. 25 63
1919 Sept. 25 63
1919 Sept. 25 63
1919 Sept. 27 63
1919 Oct. 27 63
1919 Nov. 1 64
1919 Nov. 12 64

Goldman Deportation, Defense
[1908] Dec. 20 56
[1909? Jan.?] 56
1909 Jan. 8 56
1919 April 26 62
1919 May 13 62
1919 May 15 62
1919 June 9 62
1919 July 6 62
1919 July 15 62
[1919 July 21] 62
[1919 Aug. 15] 63
1919 Aug. 15 63
[1919 Sept.?] 63
[1919 Oct.?] 63
[1919 Oct.?] 63
[1919 Oct.?] 63
[1919 Oct.] 63
[1919 Oct.] 63
[1919 Oct.] 63
[1919 Oct.] 63
[1919 Oct.] 63
1919 Oct. 8 63
[19]19 Oct. 14 63
1919 Nov. 12 64
[1919 Nov. 13] 64
1919 Nov. 13 64
1919 Nov. 13 64
[1919 Nov. 18] 64
[1919 Nov. 18] 64
1919 Nov. 24 64
1919 Nov. 24 64
[1919 Nov. 26] 64
1919 Nov. 26 64
[1919 Dec.?] 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 8 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
[19]19 Dec. 19 64
1919 Dec. 29 65
1920 Jan. 2 65

Goldman Deportation, Habeas Corpus
1919 Sept. 5 63
1919 Sept. 5 63
[1919 Oct.?] 63
[1919 Oct.] 63
[1919 Oct.] 63
1919 Nov. 26 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 3 64
1919 Dec. 3 64
[1919 Dec. 4] 64
[1919 Dec. 4] 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 5 to 1920 Jan. 9 . . . 64
1919 Dec. 5 64
1919 Dec. 5 64
1919 Dec. 5 64
1919 Dec. 5 64
1919 Dec. 5 64
1919 Dec. 5 64
1919 Dec. 5 64
1919 Dec. 6 64
1919 Dec. 6 64
1919 Dec. 6 64
1919 Dec. 8 64
1919 Dec. 8 64
1919 Dec. 8 64
1919 Dec. 8 64
1919 Dec. 8 64
[1919 Dec. 9] 64
[1919 Dec. 9] 64
1919 Dec. 9 64
1919 Dec. 9 64
1919 Dec. 9 64

Goldman Deportation, Habeas Corpus (cont'd.)
[1919 Dec. 10?] 64
[1919 Dec. 10] 64
1919 Dec. 10 64
1919 Dec. 10 64
1919 Dec. 11 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
1920 Jan. 6 65
1920 Jan. [9?] 65
1920 Jan. [9?] 65
1920 Jan. 13 65
Goldman Deportation, Negotiations
[1919 Sept. 12] 63
1919 Sept. 12 63
1919 Sept. 30 63
1919 Oct. 10 63
1919 Oct. 18 63
[1919 Nov. 26] 64
[1919 Dec.?] 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
[1919 Dec. 2] 64
[19]19 Dec. 2 64
[19]19 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 3 64
1919 Dec. 3 64
[1919 Dec. 4] 64
[1919 Dec. 4] 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 5 64
[19]19 Dec. 6 64
1919 Dec. 6 64
[1919 Dec. 12?] 64
[1919 Dec. 12?] 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
1919 Dec. 13 64
1919 Dec. 13 64
1919 Dec. 13 64
1919 Dec. 13 64
1919 Dec. 13 64
1919 Dec. 15 64
1919 Dec. 15 64
1919 Dec. 15 64
[1919 Dec. 16?] 67
1919 Dec. 18 64
1919 Dec. 18 64
Goldman Deportation, Press Reports
[1919 Nov. 17] 64
[1919 Nov. 17] 64
[1919 Nov. 17] 64
[1919 Nov. 17] 64
[1919 Nov. 18] 64
[1919 Dec. 5?] 64
[1919 Dec. 9] 64
1919 Dec. 9 64
[1919 Dec. 10] 64
[1919 Dec. 12] 64
[1919 Dec. 12] 64
[1919 Dec. 13] 64
[1919 Dec. 22] 64
[1919 Dec. 22] 64
[1919 Dec. 22] 64
[1919 Dec. 22] 64
1920 Jan. 5 65
1920 Jan. 22 65
Goldman Deportation, Protests
1919 Sept. 17 63
1919 Sept. 23 63
1919 Oct. 27 63
[1919 Oct. 28] 63
1919 Oct. 28 63
1919 Nov. 1 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 3 64
[1919 Dec. 5] 64
1919 Dec. 10 64
[1919 Dec. 12?] 64

Goldman Deportation, Protests (cont'd.)
[1919 Dec. 12] 64
1919 Dec. 13 64
Goldman Deportation, Public Approval
1917 Aug. 4 57
1919 Sept. 27 63
1919 Sept. 28 63
1919 Oct. 4 63
[1919 Oct. 6] 63
1919 Oct. 6 63
[1919] Oct. 15 63
[1919] Nov. [2?] 64
[1919] Nov. 17 64
[1919 Nov. 18] 64
1919 Nov. 18 64
[1919 Nov. 19] 64
[1919 Nov. 20] 64
1919 Nov. 24 64
[1919 Dec. 5?] 64
[1919 Dec. 6] 64
[19]19 Dec. 7 64
1919 Dec. 7 64
[1919 Dec. 9] 64
1919 Dec. 9 64
1919 Dec. 11 64
[19]19 Dec. 13 64
[19]19 Dec. 15 64
[1919 Dec.? 22?] 64
[1919 Dec.? 22] 64
[1919 Dec. 22?] 64
[1919 Dec. 22?] 64
1919 Dec. 23 65
1919 Dec. 23 65
1919 Dec. 29 65
1920 Jan. 2 65
[1920 Jan. 27] 65
Goldman Deportation, Supreme Court Appeal
1919 Dec. 9 64
1919 Dec. 9 64
1919 Dec. 9 64
[1919 Dec. 10?] 64
[1919 Dec. 10] 64
1919 Dec. 10 64
1919 Dec. 11 64
1919 Dec. 11 64
1919 Dec. 11 64
[1919 Dec. 12?] 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
1919 Dec. 13 64
1919 Dec. 13 64
1919 Dec. 15 64
1919 Dec. 15 64
1919 Dec. 15 64
[1919 Dec. 16?] 64
[1919 Dec. 16?] 67
1919 Dec. 16 64
1919 Dec. 16 64
[1919 Dec. 18] 64
1919 Dec. 19 64
Goldman Lectures Investigated
[1907 Nov. 12] 56
1907 Nov. 12 56
1907 Nov. 13 56
1907 Nov. 19 56
1907 Nov. 21 56
1907 Dec. 11 56
1907 Dec. 12 56
1907 Dec. 12 56
1907 Dec. 14 56
1907 Dec. 24 56
1907 Dec. 28 56
1908 April 9 56
1917 May 18 57
1917 May 26 57
1917 June 2 57
1917 June 4 57
1917 June 6 57
[19]17 [June] 7 57
1917 June 12 57
1917 June 12 57
[1917 June 14] 57
1917 June 14 57
1917 Aug. 15 57
1917 Aug. 25 57
1917 Aug. 27 57
1917 Aug. 28 57
[19]17 Nov. 6 59
[19]17 Dec. 21 60
1918 Jan. 2 60
191[8] Jan. 4 60
1918 Jan. 8 60

Goldman Lectures Investigated (cont'd.)
1918 Jan. 8 60
1918 Jan. 11 60
1918 Jan. 11 60
1918 Jan. 11 60
1918 Jan. 14 60
1918 Jan. 16 60
1918 Jan. 16 60
[19]18 Jan. 17 60
1918 Jan. 17 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 22 60
1918 Jan. 25 60
1918 Jan. 28 60
1918 Feb. 2 61
1919 Oct. 15 63
1919 Oct. 20 63
1919 Oct. 20 63
[1919] Oct. 23 63
[19]19 Oct. 24 63
[1919] Oct. 30 63
[19]19 Oct. 31 63
[1919 Nov.? 1?] 64
1919 Nov. 2 64
1919 Nov. 6 64
1919 Nov. 7 64
1919 Nov. 12 64
1919 Nov. 14 64
1919 Nov. 18 64
1919 Nov. 18 64
1919 Nov. 20 64
1919 Nov. 22 64
1919 Nov. 22 64
1919 Nov. 22 64
1919 Nov. 22 64
1919 Nov. 23 64
1919 Nov. 2[4?] 64
1919 Nov. 24 64
1919 Nov. 24 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
1919 Nov. 26 64
1919 Nov. 26 64
1919 Nov. 28 64
1919 Nov. 29 64
1919 Nov. 29 64
1919 Nov. 29 64
1919 Nov. 30 64
[19]19 Dec. 1 64
[19]19 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 3 64
1919 Dec. 3 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 8 64
1920 Jan. 24 65
1920 Jan. 26 65
1920 Jan. 26 65
1920 Jan. 27 65
1920 Jan. 28 65
1920 Jan. 28 67
1920 Jan. 29 65
1926 Oct. 25 66
1926 Nov. 2 66
1927 Jan. 11 66
1927 March 8 66
1927 March 10 66
1927 March 14 66
1927 March 28 66
1927 Sept. 2 66
1927 Dec. 13 66
1928 Feb. 8 66
[19]28 Feb. 10 66
1934 May 4 66
1934 May 11 66

Goldman Lectures Prevented
1909 May 15 56
[1911 April 22] 56
1917 June 6 57
1919 Nov. 18 64

Goldman Trial, 1917, Japanese Interest
1918 May 29 61
1918 May 31 61
1918 June 4 61

Goldman Trial, 1917, Protests
1917 June 24 57
1917 June 24 57
1917 June 24 57

Goldman Trial, 1917, Protests (cont'd.)
1917 June 24 57
1917 June 25 57
1917 June 26 57
1917 June 27 57
1917 June 27 57
1917 June 27 57
1917 June 30 57
[1917] July 6 57
1917 July 17 57
1917 July 18 57
1917 July 19 57
[19]17 Aug. 25 57
1917 Aug. 27 57
1917 Aug. 28 57
[1918 Feb.] 61
[1918 Feb.] 61
[1918 Feb. 2] 61
1918 Feb. 2 61
1918 Feb. 6 61
1918 March 17 61
1918 March 19 61
Goldman Trial, 1917, Russian Interest
1918 Jan. 14 60
1918 Jan. 14 60
1918 Jan. 25 60
1918 Jan. 31 60
[1918 Feb. 2] 61
1918 Feb. 9 61
1918 April 22 61
Goldman, 1893 Trial—New York
1893 [Aug.? 21?] 56
1893 Aug. 25 56
1893 Aug. 25 56
1893 Aug. 25 56
1893 [Sept. 6 to Nov. 12] 56
1893 Oct. 4 56
1893 Sept. 6 to Nov. 13 56
1893 Sept. 6 to Nov. 14 56
[1901 Sept. 15] 56
Goldman, 1907 Return to U.S.
[1907 Sept. 22] 56
1907 Sept. 24 56
1907 Sept. 25 56
1907 Oct. 11 56
[1907 Oct. 12] 56
1907 Oct. 19 56
1907 Oct. 26 56
1907 Nov. 13 56
1907 Nov. 13 56
1907 Nov. 21 56
1907 Nov. 23 56
[1908? Feb. 24] 56
Goldman, 1907 Trial—New York
1907 Jan. 6 56
1907 Jan. 7 56
1907 Jan. 11 56
1907 Nov. 21 56
1907 Nov. 23 56
Goldman, 1908 Campaign to Deport
1907 Nov. 14 56
1907 Nov. 14 56
1907 Nov. 17 56
1907 Nov. 21 56
1907 Nov. 23 56
[1908 Feb. 28] 56
1908 Feb. 28 56
1908 Feb. 28 56
1908 Feb. 28 56
1908 Feb. 28 56
1908 Feb. 28 56
1908 March 2 56
1908 March 4 56
[1908 March 9?] 56
1908 March 9 56
1908 March 16 56
1908 March 31 56
1908 March 31 56
1908 April 6 56
1908 April 8 56
1908 April 8 56
1908 April 8 56
1908 April 8 56
1908 April 11 56
1908 April 14 56
1908 April 20 56
1919 June 9 62
Goldman, 1909 Trial—San Francisco
[1909 April 10] 56
Goldman, 1917 Arrest and Office Raid
1917 May 31 57
1917 May 31 57
1917 May 31 57
1917 June 15 57
1917 June 17 57
1917 June [21?] 57

Goldman Trial, 1917 Arrest and Office Raid (cont'd.)
1917 June [21?] 57
1917 June 21 57
1917 June 21 57
1917 June 29 57
1917 June 29 57
1917 June 29 57
1917 Aug. 2 57
1917 Aug. 6 57
1917 Aug. 9 57
1917 Aug. 18 57
1917 Oct. 28 59
1917 Oct. 31 59
1917 Oct. 31 59
1917 Nov. 2 59
1917 Nov. 5 59
1918 Feb. 7 61
1918 Nov. 22 62
1930 March 9 66
1930 March 11 66
1930 March 12 66
1930 March 18 66
1930 March 21 66
1930 March 24 66
1930 March 25 66
1930 April 7 66
1930 April 7 66
1930 April 8 66
1930 April 9 66
1930 April 14 66
1930 April 24 66
[1930] April 28 66
1933 April 13 66
1933 April 18 66

Goldman, Abraham—Death
1909 Jan. 25 56
1909 Feb. 16 56

Goldman, Anticonscription Appeal
[1917] 57
[1917] 57
[1917? July?] 57
1917 July 19 57
1917 Aug. 1 57
1917 Aug. 7 57
1917 Aug. 7 57
1917 Aug. 8 57
1917 Aug. 8 57
1917 Aug. 9 57
1917 Aug. 11 57
1917 Aug. 15 57
1917 Aug. 16 57
1917 Aug. 22 57
1917 Sept. 10 59
1917 Sept. 15 59
1917 Sept. 22 59
1917 Sept. 24 59
1917 Sept. 25 59
1917 Sept. 25 59
1917 Sept. 26 59
1917 Oct. 9 59
1917 Oct. 10 59
1917 Oct. 25 59
1917 Nov. 28 59
1917 Nov. 30 59
1917 Dec. 12 60
1917 Dec. 14 60
[191]7 Dec. 24 60
1917 Dec. 24 60
1918 Jan. 9 60
[1918 Jan. 15] 60
[1918 Jan. 15] 60
1918 Jan. 25 60
1918 Feb. 4 61
1918 Feb. 7 61
1918 March 4 61
1918 March 4 61
1918 March 7 61
1918 March 9 61

Goldman, Anticonscription Appeal—Briefs
1917 Nov. 19 59
1917 Nov. 20 59
1917 Nov. 22 59
1917 Nov. 23 59
1917 Nov. 28 59
1917 Nov. 28 59
1917 Nov. 28 59
1917 Nov. 28 59
1917 Nov. 28 59
1917 Nov. 28 59
1917 Nov. 30 59
1917 Nov. 30 59
1917 Nov. 30 59
1917 Nov. 30 59
1917 Dec. 1 60

Goldman, Anticonscription Appeal—Briefs (cont'd.)
1917 Dec. 4 60
1917 Dec. 4 60
1917 Dec. 4 60
1917 Dec. 6 60
1917 Dec. 10 60
1917 Dec. 14 60
1917 Dec. 15 60
1917 Dec. 18 60
1917 Dec. 18 60
1917 Dec. 18 60
1917 Dec. 19 60
1917 Dec. 22 60
1917 Dec. 26 60
1917 Dec. 29 60
1918 Jan. 5 60
1918 Jan. 5 60
1918 Jan. 19 60
1918 Jan. 31 60
1918 Aug. 21 61
1918 Aug. 27 61
1918 Sept. 3 62

Goldman, Anticonscription Appeal—Finances
1917 July 28 57
1917 Aug. 8 57
1917 Aug. 8 57
1917 Aug. 9 57
1917 Sept. 25 59
[1918 Feb. 2?] 61
1918 Feb. 2 61
1918 Feb. 6 61

Goldman, Anticonscription Appeal—Legal Representation
[1917 Sept.? 25?] 59
[1917 Oct. 2?] 59
1917 Nov. 17 59
1917 Nov. 30 59
[1917? Dec.?] 60

Goldman, Anticonscription Appeal—Petition for Rehearing
[1917] 57
[1918 Jan.] 60
191[8] Jan. 14 60
1918 Jan. 14 60
[1918 Jan. 18] 60
[1918 Jan. 18] 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
[1918 Jan. 23?] 60
[1918 Jan. 23?] 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
[1918 Jan. 24] 60
1918 Jan. 25 60
1918 Jan. 25 60
1918 Jan. 28 60
1918 Jan. 28 60
1918 Jan. 28 60
1918 Jan. 29 60

Goldman, Anticonscription Appeal—Preliminary Motions
1917 Aug. 16 57
1917 Aug. 17 57
1917 Aug. 17 57
1917 Sept. 8 59
1917 Sept. 17 59
1917 Sept. 19 59
1917 Sept. 20 59
1917 Sept. 21 59
1917 Sept. 22 59
1917 Sept. [26] 59
1917 Sept. 26 59
1917 Sept. 27 59
1917 Sept. 27 59
1917 Sept. 27 59
1917 Sept. 28 59
1917 Sept. 29 59
1917 Sept. 29 59
1917 Oct. [2] 59
1917 Oct. [2] 59
1917 Oct. 4 59
1917 Oct. 5 59
1917 Oct. 9 59
1917 Oct. 10 59

Goldman, Anticonscription Appeal—Supplemental Brief
1917 Dec. 15 60
1917 Dec. 22 60
1917 Dec. 22 60
1917 Dec. 26 60
1917 Dec. 29 60

Goldman, Anticonscription Appeal—Supplemental Brief (cont'd.)
1917 Dec. 31 60
[1918 Jan. 2] 60
1918 Jan. 2 60
1918 Jan. 2 60
[1918 Jan. 3] 60
1918 Jan. 4 60
1918 Jan. 5 60
1918 Jan. 7 60
Goldman, Anticonscription Appeal—Supreme Court Mandate
[1918 Jan. 14?] 60
[1918 Jan. 14?] 60
1918 Jan. 14 60
1918 Jan. 14 60
[1918 Jan. 15?] 60
1918 Jan. 15 60
[1918 Jan. 18] 60
[1918 Jan. 18] 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 19 60
1918 Jan. 21 60
1918 Jan. 28 60
1918 Jan. 28 60
[1918 Jan. 29?] 60
[19]18 Jan. 29 60
1918 Jan. 29 60
1918 Jan. 29 60
1918 Jan. 29 60
1918 Jan. 30 60
1918 Jan. 30 60
1918 Jan. 30 60
1918 Feb. 1 61
1918 Feb. 2 61
Goldman, Anticonscription Appeal—Supreme Court Opinion
1918 Jan. 7 60
[1918 Jan. 8?] 60
1918 Jan. 8 60
1918 Jan. 9 60
191[8] Jan. 14 60
1918 Jan. 14 60
1918 Jan. 14 60
1918 Jan. 14 60
1918 Jan. 14 60
1918 Jan. 14 60
1918 Jan. 15 60
1918 Jan. 15 60
1918 Jan. 15 60
1918 Jan. 16 60
Goldman, Anticonscription Appeal—Writ of Error
[1917?] 57
1917 July 17 57
1917 July 17 57
1917 July 17 57
[1917 July 19?] 57
1917 July 19 57
1917 July 19 57
1917 July 19 57
1917 July 19 57
1917 July 19 57
1917 Aug. 8 57
1917 Aug. 11 57
Goldman, Anticonscription Trial
1917 June 16 57
1917 June 21 to 1921 Feb. 18 . . 57
1917 [June 21?] 57
1917 June [21?] 57
1917 June [21?] 57
1917 June 21 57
1917 June 21 57
1917 June 22 57
[1917 June 23] 57
1917 June 2[3?] 57
1917 June 23 57
1917 June 25 57
1917 June 25 57
[1917 June 27 to July 9] 58
1917 June 29 57
1917 June 29 57
1917 June 29 57
1917 June 29 57
1917 June 29 57
1917 June 30 57
1917 June 30 57
1917 June 30 57
1917 June 30 57
1917 June 30 57

Goldman, Anticonscription Trial (cont'd.)
[1917 July?] 57
1917 July 57
1917 July 57
1917 July 3 57
1917 July 5 57
1917 July 6 57
1917 July 9 58
1917 July 9 58
1917 July 9 57
1917 July 10 57
1917 July 11 57
1917 July 11 57
1917 July 14 57
1917 July 16 57
[1917 July 18] 57
1917 July 19 57
1917 Aug. 4 57
1917 Aug. 6 57
1917 Aug. 9 57
1917 Sept. 25 59
1917 Dec. 21 60
[1918 Jan.?] 60
1918 Jan. 14 60
[19]18 Jan. 15 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 19 60
1918 Jan. 22 60
1918 Jan. 29 60
1918 Feb. 1 61
1918 Feb. 1 61
1918 Feb. 5 61
1918 Feb. 23 61
[1919 Oct. 1?] 63
[1919 Oct. 1?] 63
1919 Oct. 1 63
1919 Nov. 17 64

Goldman, Anticonscription Trial—Evidence
1917 May 18 57
1917 May 25 57
[1917] June 4 57
1917 June 4 57
1917 June [8?] 57
1917 June 8 57
1917 June 1[0?] 57
1917 June 12 57
1917 June 14 57
1917 June 29 57
1917 June 29 57
1917 June 29 57
1917 July 1 57
1917 July 2 57
1917 July 14 57
1917 July 17 57
1917 Oct. 23 59
1917 Nov. 14 59

Goldman, Anticonscription Trial—Record
1917 Aug. 2 57
1917 Aug. 14 57
1917 Aug. 16 57
1917 Aug. 23 57
1917 Sept. 10 59
1917 Sept. 24 59
1917 Sept. 25 59
1917 Sept. 25 59
1917 Sept. 27 59
1917 Oct. 3 59
1917 Oct. 4 59
1917 Oct. 5 59
1917 Oct. 10 59
1917 Oct. 13 59
1917 Oct. 15 59
1919 Sept. 22 63
1919 Oct. 7 63
1919 Oct. 8 63
1919 Oct. 15 63

Goldman, Anticonscription Trial—Sentencing
1917 July 9 58
1917 July 10 57
1917 July 11 57
1917 July 12 57
1917 July 12 57
1917 July 12 57
1917 Sept. 26 59
1917 Sept. 2[8?] 59
1917 Sept. 28 59
1917 Sept. 28 59

Goldman, Bail
1906 Nov. 5 56
[1917?] 57
1917 July 10 57
1917 July 10 57
1917 July 10 57

Goldman, Bail (cont'd.)
1917 July 20 57
1917 July 23 57
[1917 July 24] 57
1917 July 24 57
1917 July 24 57
1917 July 26 57
1917 July 26 57
1917 Aug. 2 57
1917 Aug. 6 57
1917 Aug. 7 57
1917 Aug. 8 57
1917 Aug. 8 57
1917 Aug. 8 57
1917 Aug. 8 57
1917 Aug. 9 57
1917 Aug. 18 57
1917 Aug. 24 57
1917 Sept. 19 59
1917 Sept. 21 59
1917 Oct. 4 59
1917 Oct. [9?] 59
1918 March 22 61
1919 Dec. 3 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 6 64
1919 Dec. 6 64
1919 Dec. 6 64
1919 Dec. 8 64
1919 Dec. 8 64
1919 Dec. 9 64
1920 April 13 65

Goldman, Bail Case
1917 June 21 to 1921 Feb. 18 . . 57
1918 Feb. [2?] 61
1918 Feb. 2 61
1918 Feb. 2 61
1918 Feb. 4 61
1918 Feb. 18 61
[1918 March 7?] 61
1918 March 7 61
1918 March 11 61
1918 March 13 61
1918 March 13 61
1918 March [15?] 61
1918 March [15?] 61
1918 March 16 61
1918 March 18 61
1918 March 18 61

Goldman, Bank Account Seizure
1917 July 14 57
1917 Aug. 2 57
[1917 Aug.? 16?] 57
1917 [Aug.? 16?] 57
1917 Aug. 16 57
1917 Aug. 22 57
1917 Aug. 24 57
1917 Nov. 5 59
1917 Nov. 14 59
1917 Nov. 15 59
1917 Nov. 19 59
1917 Nov. 22 59

Goldman, Birth Control Case, 1915—Portland
[19]15 Aug. 5 56
1915 Aug. 6 56
1915 Aug. 7 56
1915 Aug. 7 56
1915 Aug. 9 56
1915 Aug. 9 56
1915 Aug. 9 56
[1915 Aug. 10] 56
1915 Aug. 10 56
1915 Aug. 13 56
1915 Sept. 10 56

Goldman, Birth Control Case, April 1916—New York
[1916] April 7 56
1916 April 7 56
[1916 April 20] 56
1916 April 20 56

Goldman, Birth Control Case, May 1916—New York
[1916 May?] 56
1916 May 23 56
1916 Nov. 2 56
[1916 Nov.? 4?] 56
1916 Nov. 4 56
1916 Nov. 20 56
1916 Dec. 1 56
1916 Dec. 5 56
1916 Dec. 26 56
1916 Dec. 26 56
1916 Dec. 26 56
1916 Dec. 27 56

Goldman, Birth Control Case, May 1916—New York (cont'd.)
1916 Dec. 30 56
1916 Dec. 30 56
Goldman, Citizen Complaint to Canadian Government
1908 Dec. 15 56
1926 Nov. 3 66
1926 Nov. 23 66
1934 Jan. 15 66
1934 Jan. 19 66
Goldman, Citizen Complaint to U.S. Government
[19]15 Aug. 5 56
[19]17 April 26 57
191[7] May 27 57
1917 May 29 57
1917 June 6 57
1917 June 13 57
1917 June 15 57
1917 July 21 57
1917 Oct. 26 59
1917 Nov. 19 59
[1918 Feb. 3] 61
1918 Feb. 12 61
1918 March 22 61
1919 Nov. 12 64
1919 Nov. 20 64
1919 Nov. 21 64
1919 Dec. 6 64
1920 March 23 65
1920 April 15 65
1920 Sept. 18 65
1920 Oct. 5 65
1922 March 25 65
1922 Sept. 22 66
192[3] Feb. 16 66
1923 Feb. 16 66
1923 Dec. 31 66
1925 Oct. 5 66
1925 Nov. [8?] 66
[193-?] 66
[193-?] 66
[193-?] 66
[1931 Oct.?] 66
1931 Nov. 30 66
1931 Dec. 7 66
1933 Aug. 14 66
1934 Jan. 9 66
[1934 March?] 66
1934 June 3 66
1934 June 7 66
1934 July 13 66
1935 May 28 66
1938 March 14 66
1938 March 22 66
[1940 May? 14?] 66
Goldman, Clerk's Fees Case
1917 June 21 to 1921 Feb. 18 . . 57
[1918 May?] 61
1918 May 9 61
1918 May 10 61
1918 May 10 61
[1918 Dec. 18] 61
1918 Dec. 18 61
1918 Dec. 18 61
[1918 Dec. 20?] 61
[1918 Dec. 20?] 61
1918 Dec. 21 61
1918 Dec. 23 61
1918 Dec. 24 61
1918 Dec. 26 61
1919 Jan. 3 61
1919 Jan. 4 61
1919 Jan. 17 61
1919 Jan. 17 61
1919 Jan. 17 61
1919 Jan. 17 61
1919 Jan. 17 61
1919 March 11 61
1919 May 19 61
1919 May 19 61
Goldman, Criminal Record
[1901 Sept. 15] 56
1906 Nov. 2 56
1906 Nov. 2 56
1906 Nov. 5 56
1907 Sept. 23 56
1907 Nov. 21 56
[1907? Dec.?] 56
[1909 Jan. 15] 56
1915 Aug. 7 56
[1919 Sept.?] 63
1919 Sept. 2 63
1919 Sept. 19 63
[19]19 Sept. 24 63

Goldman, Criminal Record (cont'd.)
[19]19 Sept. 24 63
1919 Sept. 29 63
[1919 Sept. 30] 63
[19]19 Sept. 30 63
1919 Sept. 30 63
1919 Sept. 30 63
1919 Sept. 30 63
1919 Sept. 30 63
[1919 Oct.?] 63
1919 Oct. 1 63
1919 Oct. 1 63
1919 Oct. 2 63
1919 Oct. 4 63
1919 Oct. 4 63
1919 Oct. 25 63
[193-?] 67
Goldman, Death
[1940 May? 14?] 66
[1940 May 14?] 66
[1940 May 14?] 66
[1940 May 14] 66
[1940 May 14] 66
[1940 May 14] 66
[1940 May 14] 66
[1940 May 14] 66
194[0] May 14 66
1940 June 24 66
1940 Sept. 11 66
[19]40 Sept. 21 66
Goldman, Deportation Hearing
[1919 Oct. 27?] 63
1919 Oct. 27 63
1919 Oct. 27 and Nov. 12 . . . 63
[1919 Oct. 28] 63
1919 Oct. 28 63
1919 Oct. 28 63
1919 Nov. 1 64
[1919 Nov. 5] 64
1919 Nov. 12 64
1919 Nov. 14 64
1919 Nov. 14 64
1919 Nov. 29 64
1919 Nov. 29 64
Goldman, Deportation Hearing—Continuance
1919 Oct. 28 63
1919 Nov. 2 64
1919 Nov. 7 64
1919 Nov. 7 64
1919 Nov. 8 64
1919 Nov. 8 64
1919 Nov. 12 64
[1919 Nov. 13] 64
1919 Nov. 13 64
1919 Nov. 13 64
1919 Nov. 14 64
1919 Nov. 14 64
1919 Nov. 29 64
1919 Nov. 29 64
1919 Nov. 29 64
Goldman, Deportation Hearing—Evidence
1894 Oct. 13 56
1908 April 8 56
1908 April 8 56
1909 Jan. 25 56
1909 Feb. 16 56
1909 April 8 56
[1909? April 9?] 56
[1916 Sept.?] 56
1917 July 57
1919 Aug. 27 63
[1919 Sept.?] 63
1919 Sept. 2 63
1919 Sept. 18 63
1919 Sept. 18 63
1919 Sept. 18 63
1919 Sept. 19 63
1919 Sept. 19 63
1919 Sept. 20 63
1919 Sept. 22 63
1919 Sept. 22 63
[19]19 Sept. 24 63
[19]19 Sept. 24 63
1919 Sept. 25 63
1919 Sept. 26 63
[19]19 Sept. 30 63
1919 Sept. 30 63
1919 Sept. 30 63
1919 Sept. 30 63
1919 Sept. 30 63
1919 Sept. 30 63
1919 Sept. 30 63
1919 Sept. 30 63
[1919 Oct. 1?] 63
[1919 Oct. 1?] 63

Goldman, Deportation Hearing—
Evidence (cont'd.)
19[19 Oct.] 1 63
1919 Oct. 1 63
1919 Oct. 1 63
1919 Oct. 1 63
1919 Oct. 1 63
1919 Oct. 1 63
1919 Oct. 1 63
1919 Oct. 1 63
[19]19 Oct. 2 63
1919 Oct. 2 63
1919 Oct. 2 63
1919 Oct. 2 63
[19]19 Oct. 3 63
[19]19 Oct. 3 63
1919 Oct. 4 63
1919 Oct. 4 63
1919 Oct. 4 63
1919 Oct. 6 63
1919 Oct. 7 63
1919 Oct. 7 63
1919 Oct. 8 63
1919 Oct. 8 63
1919 Oct. 9 63
1919 Oct. 10 63
1919 Oct. 10 63
1919 Oct. 10 63
1919 Oct. 11 63
1919 Oct. 11 63
1919 Oct. 11 63
1919 Oct. 11 63
1919 Oct. 11 63
1919 Oct. 15 63
1919 Oct. 15 63
1919 Oct. 15 63
1919 Oct. 15 63
[1919 Oct. 16] 63
[1919 Oct. 16] 63
1919 Oct. 16 63
1919 Oct. 16 63
1919 Oct. 17 63
1919 Oct. 17 63
1919 Oct. 17 63
1919 Oct. 17 63
1919 Oct. 17 63
1919 Oct. 18 63
1919 Oct. 18 63
1919 Oct. 18 63
1919 Oct. 20 63
1919 Oct. 20 63
1919 Oct. 20 63
1919 Oct. 22 63
1919 Oct. 22 63
1919 Oct. 22 63
1919 Oct. 22 63
[1919] Oct. 23 63
1919 Oct. 2[3?] 63
1919 Oct. 23 63
[19]19 Oct. 24 63
[19]19 Oct. 27 63
1919 Oct. 27 63
1919 Oct. 27 and Nov. 12 . . . 63
[1919 Nov. 17?] 64
[1919 Nov. 17] 64
1919 Nov. 17 64
1919 Nov. 21 64
1919 Dec. 9 64
[1919 Dec. 22] 64
[1919 Dec. 22] 64
1920 Jan. 2 65
1920 Jan. 6 65
1920 Jan. [9?] 65
1920 Jan. [9?] 65
1920 Jan. 13 65
1920 Jan. 23 65
1920 Jan. 24 65
1920 Feb. 6 65
1920 Feb. 12 65
1920 Feb. 12 65
1920 Feb. 17 65
Goldman, Deportation Hearing—
Preliminary Negotiations
1919 Sept. 5 63
1919 Sept. 10 63
1919 Sept. 11 63
1919 Sept. 13 63
1919 Sept. 13 63
1919 Sept. 15 63
1919 Sept. 16 63
1919 Sept. 17 63
[1919 Sept. 18] 63
[1919 Sept. 18] 63
1919 Sept. 18 63

Goldman, Deportation Hearing—
Preliminary Negotiations (cont'd.)
1919 Sept. 18 63
[19]19 Sept. 19 63
1919 Sept. 20 63
1919 Sept. 20 63
1919 Sept. 22 63
1919 Sept. 23 63
1919 Sept. 23 63
1919 Sept. 23 63
1919 Sept. 24 63
1919 Sept. 25 63
1919 Sept. 26 63
1919 Sept. 27 63
1919 Oct. 2 63
1919 Oct. 3 63
[1919 Oct. 6] 63
1919 Oct. 6 63
1919 Oct. 9 63
1919 Oct. 13 63
1919 Oct. 13 63
[1919] Oct. 15 63
1919 Oct. 17 63
1919 Oct. 20 63
1919 Oct. 20 63
1919 Oct. 23 63
1919 Oct. 27 63
Goldman, Guillotine Plot
[1917? Nov.?] 59
[1917 Nov.? 27?] 59
[1917 Nov.? 27?] 59
1917 Nov. 27 59
1917 Nov. 28 59
[1917? Dec.?] 60
[1917 Dec. 10?] 60
1917 Dec. 10 60
1917 Dec. 13 60
1917 Dec. 20 60
1917 Dec. 24 60
1917 Dec. 29 60
1917 Dec. 29 60
1917 Dec. 29 60
1917 Dec. 29 60
1917 Dec. 29 60
[1917? Dec.? 31?] 60
1917 Dec. 31 60
[1918 Jan.?] 60
1918 Jan. 4 60
1918 Jan. 4 60
1918 Jan. 5 60
1918 Jan. 5 60
1918 Jan. 5 60
1918 Jan. 7 60
1918 Jan. 11 60
1918 Jan. 12 60
1918 Jan. 13 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 21 60
[1918 Jan.? 22?] 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
1918 Feb. 20 61
1918 Feb. 26 61
1918 Feb. 28 61
1918 March 4 61
1918 April 16 61
1919 June 11 62
[1919] June 17-30 62
[1919] June 17-30 62
1919 July 10 62
1919 July 17 62
[1919 Sept.?] 63
1919 Oct. 25 63
Goldman, Immigration to U.S.
1885 Dec. 29 56
Goldman, Indictments
1917 May 31 57
1917 June 1 57
1917 June 2 57
1917 June 2 57
1917 [June 21?] 57
1918 Jan. 15 60
1918 Jan. 16 60
Goldman, Marriages
1909 April 8 56
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1925 June 27 66
Goldman, Prison
1917 July 11 57
[1917] July 11 57
[1917] July 11 57
1917 July 12 57
1917 July 12 57
1917 July 14 57
1917 July 18 57
[19]17 July 24 57

Goldman, Prison (cont'd.)
1918 Jan. 60
191[8] Jan. 30 60
[19]18 Jan. 30 60
1918 Feb. 61
1918 Feb. 1 61
1918 Feb. 7 61
1918 Feb. 8 61
1918 Feb. 9 61
1918 March 61
1918 March 9 61
1918 March 9 61
1918 April 61
1918 June 11 61
1918 June 11 61
1918 June 29 61
1918 Nov. 13 62
1918 Nov. 14 62
[1918 Dec.?] 62
1919 Jan. 14 62

Goldman, Prison Censorship
1918 Feb. 5 61
1918 March 2 61
1918 March 4 61
1918 March 10 61
1918 March 11 61
1918 March 11 61
1918 March 13 61
1918 March 14 61
1918 March 16 61
1918 March 18 61
1918 March 18 61
1918 March 18 61
1918 March 19 61
1918 March 19 61
1918 March 20 61
1918 March 21 61
1918 March 21 61
1918 March 22 61
1918 March 2[3?] 61
1918 March 25 61
1918 March 26 61
1918 March 27 61
1918 March 30 61
1918 April 2 61
1918 April 5 61
1918 April 6 61
1918 April 6 61
1918 April 9 61
1918 April 11 61
[1918 May 20?] 61
[1918 May 24?] 61
1918 Aug. 11 61
1919 J[an.] 26 62
1919 Jan. 26 62
1919 Jan. 27 62
1919 Feb. 1 62
1919 March 17 62
1919 March 26 62
1919 April 14 62
1919 April 15 62
[1919] May 2 62
1919 May 9 62
[1919 Sept. 1] 63
1919 Sept. 5 63
1919 Sept. 9 63
[1919 Sept. 15?] 63
1919 Sept. 15 63
1919 Sept. 15 63
1919 Sept. 15 63
1919 Sept. 16 63
1919 Sept. 23 63
1919 Sept. 24 63

Goldman, Prison Visits
1917 Sept. 13 59
1918 March 8 61
1919 July 6 62
1919 Dec. 9 64

Goldman, Prison Work
1918 Feb. 7 61
1918 Feb. 8 61
1918 March 8 61
1918 April 2 61
1918 April 6 61
1918 April 9 61
1918 April 13 61
1918 April 13 61
1918 April 15 61
1919 March 4 62
1919 March 5 62
1919 March 5 62
1919 Aug. 24 63

Goldman, Release from Prison
1917 July 19 57
1919 Jan. 23 62
1919 Jan. 27 62

Goldman, Release from Prison (cont'd.)
1919 June 27 62
1919 July 1 62
1919 July 8 62
1919 July 11 62
[1919 July 14?] 62
[1919 July? 31?] 62
1919 July 31 62
1919 Aug. 7 63
1919 Aug. 13 63
1919 Aug. 18 63
1919 Aug. 21 63
1919 Aug. 22 63
1919 Aug. 22 63
1919 Aug. 25 63
1919 Aug. 27 63
1919 Sept. 4 63
1919 Sept. 4 63
[1919 Sept. 5] 63
1919 Sept. 8 63
1919 Sept. 16 63
[1919 Sept. 18] 63
[19]19 Sept. 18 63
1919 Sept. 19 63
1919 Sept. [27?] 63
[1919 Sept. 28] 63
[1919 Sept. 28] 63
[19]19 Sept. 29 63
[19]19 Sept. 30 63
Goldman-Fitzgerald Relationship
[1920 Jan. 28] 65
Goldman-Kersner Relationship
1919 Dec. 6 64
Goldman-Malmed Relationship
[19]22 March 6 65
Goldman-Reitman Relationship
1918 March 10 61
[btw. 1920 and 1940] 65
[1940 May? 14?] 66
Government Correspondence
[1919] Dec. [3] 64
1920 Feb. 24 65
1942 Oct. 16 66
Government Correspondence, Receipt Acknowledged
1917 July 23 57
1917 Aug. 13 57
1917 Nov. 8 59
1918 March 4 61
1918 March 22 61
1919 Oct. 29 63
Government Persecution of Radical Press
[1917] 67
1919 Oct. 11 63
1919 Oct. 16 63
[1920-1930?] 65
1920 Feb. 21 65
[19]22 Feb. 6 65
1922 Feb. 17 65
1924 Nov. 15 66
1924 Dec. 15 66
1924 Dec. 8 66
1925 Jan. 17 66
1925 March 15 to April 15 . . . 66
1925 May 8 66
1938 May 19 66
1938 Nov. 28 66
Government Persecution of Radicals
1917 June 6 57
1922 Feb. 20 65
1923 Sept. 1 66
1923 Nov. 5 66
1924 April 26 66
1924 July 26 66
Great Depression—Conditions
1934 March 1 66
Green, Leon—Investigation
1919 Nov. 2 64
1921 July 23 65
1921 July 26 65
1921 July 26 65
Havel, Hippolyte—Investigation
1900 March 12 67
1900 March 29 67
1900 April 12 67
1900 April 17 67
1900 [April] 26 67
1900 April 27 67
1900 May 10 67
1900 May 18 67
1900 May 22 67
1900 May 22 67
1900 May 26 67
1900 July 31 67
1900 Aug. 20 67

Havel, Hippolyte—Investigation (cont'd.)
1900 Sept. 4 67
1900 Sept. 4. 67
1900 Nov. 1 67
1908 Nov. 14 67
Haymarket Tragedy
[1900 Nov.?] 56
[19]01 Sept. 16 56
Hochstein, David—Death
1919 J[an.] 26 62
Holland, Exile
[1922 Feb. 6?] 65
1933 Dec. 26 67
Homosexuality
[19]15 Aug. 5 56
Hoover, J. Edgar
1919 Aug. 23 63
1919 Oct. 2 63
1919 Oct. 18 63
1919 Nov. 1 64
191[9] Nov. 17 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
1919 Dec. 5 64
[1919 Dec. 22] 64
1920 Jan. 2 65
1920 Jan. 5 65
1920 May 1 65
[1924 Dec. 21?] 66
[1924 Dec. 21] 66
[1924 Dec. 23] 66
[1924 Dec. 23] 66
[1924 Dec. 26] 66
[1924 Dec. 26] 66
[1924 Dec. 26] 66
[1924 Dec. 27] 66
[1924 Dec. 27] 66
[1924 Dec. 28] 66
[1924 Dec. 29] 66
[1924 Dec. 29] 66
[1924 Dec. 29] 66
[1924 Dec. 30] 66
[1924 Dec. 30] 66
[1924 Dec. 30] 66
[1924 Dec. 30] 66
[1924 Dec. 30] 66
[1924 Dec. 30] 66
[1924 Dec. 30] 66
[1924 Dec. 30] 66
1937 Sept. 30 66
[1940 March 2] 66
1940 March 4 66
Hours of Labor
1927 March 10 66
House Un-American Activities Committee
1938 Aug. 17 66
Hunger Strikes
1919 Oct. 27 63
I.W.W., Investigation
1917 June 28 57
1917 July 9 57
1917 Oct. 8 59
1917 Oct. 16 59
1917 Oct. 22 59
[1917? Nov.?] 59
1917 Nov. 2 59
[19]17 Nov. 6 59
1917 Nov. 7 59
1917 Nov. 9 59
[19]17 Nov. 10 59
[1917 Nov. 13?] 59
[19]17 Nov. 15 59
1917 Nov. 15 59
1917 Nov. 16 59
1917 Nov. 16 59
1917 Nov. 18-23 59
1917 Nov. 20 59
1917 Nov. 21 59
1917 Nov. 22 59
1917 Nov. 22 59
1917 Nov. 23 59
1917 Nov. 23 59
[1917 Nov.? 27?] 59
1917 Nov. 28 59
1917 Nov. 30 59
[19]17 Dec. [2?] 60
1917 Dec. 5 60
[1917 Dec.? 6?] 60
1917 Dec. 6 60
1917 Dec. 9 60
1917 Dec. 27 60
[1917? Dec.? 31?] 60
1918 Jan. 2 60
1918 Jan. 6 60
1918 Jan. 10 60

I.W.W., Investigation (cont'd.)
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Feb. 4 61
1918 Feb. 6 61
1918 Feb. 15 61
1918 March 1 61
1918 March 3 61
1918 March 12 61
1918 April 16 61
[19]18 May 13 61
1918 May 18 61
1918 May 25 61
1918 Sept. 4 62
1919 July 10 62
1919 July 15 62
1919 Sept. 5 63
[19]19 Oct. 6 63
[19]19 Oct. 14 63
1919 Dec. 4 64
1921 Nov. 9 65
I.W.W., Organizing Blacks
1919 Oct. 24 63
1919 Oct. 28 63
1919 Dec. 4 64
Illness
[1940 Feb. 20] 66
[19]40 Feb. 24 66
[19]40 March 29 66
India, Independence Movement
1915 Oct. 20 56
1915 Oct. 25 56
1917 June 30 57
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 22 60
1918 Feb. 4 61
1918 Feb. 7 61
1918 Feb. 9 61
1918 Feb. 21 61
1918 Feb. 25 61
1918 Feb. 28 61
1918 March 13 61
1918 March 13 61
1918 March 13 61
[1918 April 2] 61
1919 May 26 62
[1920 May? 11?] 65
1920 June 18 65
1932 Feb. 26 66
1932 Feb. 26 66
Informant, Agent B.B.
[19]19 Oct. 7 63
[19]19 Oct. 7 63
[19]19 Oct. 14 63
[19]19 Oct. 14 63
[19]19 Oct. 14 63
[19]19 Oct. 14 63
1919 Oct. 27 63
[19]19 Oct. 30 63
1919 Nov. 5 64
1919 Nov. 6 64
Informant, Agent C
1917 Nov. 16 59
1917 Nov. 20 59
[1917 Nov.? 27?] 59
1917 Nov. 27 59
[1917 Dec.? 6?] 60
1917 Dec. 6 60
1917 Dec. 29 60
1918 Jan. 5 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
1918 Feb. 6 61
1918 April 18 61
1918 April 18 61
1918 April 18 61
1918 May 10 61
Informant, Hajek
1919 Nov. 4 64
[19]19 Dec. 12 64
1919 Dec. 15 64
1919 Dec. 18 64
[19]19 Dec. 29 65
[1920?] 65
1920 65
1920 Feb. 20 65
1920 Feb. 21 65
1921 Feb. 14 65
[193-?] 66
Informant, Margaret Scully
[1919 Oct.? 27?] 63
1919 Oct. 27 63
1919 Oct. 28 63
[1919 Oct. 29] 63

Informant, Margaret Scully (cont'd.)
[1919] Oct. 30 63
[19]19 Oct. 30 63
1919 Oct. 30 63
[19]19 Oct. 31 63
[19]19 Oct. 31 63
[1919 Nov.? 1?] 64
[19]19 Nov. 1 64
[19]19 Nov. 5 64
1919 Nov. 5 64
1919 Nov. 6 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
Informant, Suspected
1909 Jan. 15 56
1909 Feb. 16 56
1917 Oct. 19 59
1917 Oct. 20 59
1917 Nov. 2 59
[1917 Nov. 13?] 59
1918 Jan. 16 60
[1919 Sept. 12] 63
Informant, Undercover
1901 Sept. 11 56
1902 Jan. 6 56
1907 Oct. 11 56
1907 Oct. 19 56
1907 Nov. 20 56
1907 Nov. 22 56
[1908] Dec. 20 56
[1909? Jan.?] 56
1909 Jan. 8 56
1909 Jan. 15 56
1909 May 3 56
1917 June 19 57
1917 June 22 57
1917 July 18 57
1917 Aug. 14 57
1917 Aug. 15 57
1917 Aug. 29 57
1917 Nov. 7 59
1917 Dec. 10 60
1918 Feb. 2 61
1918 April 16 61
1919 Oct. 3 63
1919 Oct. 8 63
1919 Nov. 17-23 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
1919 Nov. 28 64
1920? April? 65
1927 Oct. 1 66
International Labor Activities
1924 March 66
Italian Government Investigation of Goldman
[19--?] 56
[19--?] 56
1903 May 8 56
1903 June 9 56
1907 Oct. 26 56
1907 Dec. 18 56
1909 Nov. 27 56
1911 Nov. 1 56
1912 April 5 56
1928 June 14 66
1928 June 17 66
1929 June 21 66
[193-] 66
1930 May 28 66
1932 Feb. 15 66
1932 March 28 66
1938 Jan. 18 66
1938 April 22 66
1938 May 29 66
[19]38 Dec. 9-13 66
1939 Jan. 23 66
1939 Feb. 10 66
194[0] May 14 66
1940 June 12 66
1940 June 24 66
Italy, Anarchists
[1900 Aug.? 13?] 56
1901 Oct. 18 56
1919 April 16 62
1919 April 17 62
1920 March 1-13 65
1920 April 10 65
[1920? May?] 65
1938 April 22 66
1938 May 29 66
1939 Jan. 23 66
1939 Feb. 10 66
1940 Aug. 9 66
Italy, Fascism
1923 Feb. 26 66
1932 Feb. 15 66

Italy, Press Censorship
1911 Nov. 1 56
Itinerary
1918 Jan. 21 60
Japanese Anarchists, Investigation
1917 Nov. 16 59
1917 Nov. 23 59
Jews in U.S., Assimilation
1919 Dec. 27 65
Journalism, Labor
[1930? Dec.? 5?] 66
1930 Dec. 5 66
Journalists, Investigation
1920 Jan. 22 65
Jurisdiction, Supreme Court
[1917?] 57
[1917? July?] 57
1918 Feb. 8 61
Kersner, Death
1919 Nov. 12 64
1919 Nov. 12 64
1919 Nov. [13?] 64
1919 Nov. 13 64
1919 Nov. 15 64
1919 Nov. 17 64
1919 Nov. 17 64
1919 Nov. 19 64
1919 Nov. 21 64
1919 Nov. 22 64
1919 Nov. 22 64
[1919 Nov. 25] 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
[1919 Nov. 26?] 64
1919 Nov. 26 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
[19]19 Dec. 3 64
1919 Dec. 3 64
1919 Dec. 3 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 6 64
1919 Dec. 8 64
[19]19 Dec. 19 64
1919 Dec. 29 65
1920 Jan. 2 65
Kersner, Denaturalization
1894 June 12 56
1907 Nov. 6 56
1908 April 4 56
1908 April 6 56
1908 May 21 56
[1908 May 27] 56
1908 June 18 56
1908 Aug. 4 56
1908 Aug. 7 56
[1908 Sept. 24] 56
1908 Sept. 24 56
1908 Sept. 24 56
1908 Sept. 28 to 1909 April 9 . . 56
1908 Oct. 7 56
1908 Oct. 12 56
1908 Oct. 16 56
1908 Oct. 17 56
1908 Oct. 17 56
1908 Oct. 17 56
1908 Oct. 23 56
1908 Dec. 7 56
[1908] Dec. 20 56
1908 Dec. 29 56
1909 Jan. 2 56
1909 Jan. 7 56
1909 Jan. 8 56
1909 Jan. 12 56
1909 Jan. 16 56
1909 Jan. 19 56
1909 Jan. 19 56
1909 Jan. 20 56
1909 Jan. 22 56
1909 Jan. 22 56
1909 Feb. 2 56
1909 Feb. 5 56
1909 Feb. 8 56
1909 Feb. 11 56
1909 Feb. 16 56
1909 April 5 56
1909 April 5 56
1909 April 8 56

Kersner, Denaturalization (cont'd.)
1909 April 8 56
1909 April 8 56
1909 April 8 56
1909 April 8 56
[1909? April 9?] 56
1909 April 9 56
1909 April 22 56
1909 May 3 56
1919 May 13 62
1919 May 15 62
[1919 Oct.?] 63
1919 Oct. 1 63
[19]19 Oct. 3 63
1919 Oct. 8 63
1919 Nov. 19 64
Kotoku Case
[1910 Nov. 12] 56
1910 Nov. 12 56
1910 Nov. 28 56
[1910 Nov. 29] 56
[1910 Nov. 29] 56
[1910 Dec. 12] 56
1910 Dec. 13 56
[1911 Jan. 29] 56
[1911 Jan. 30] 56
1911 Jan. 30 56
1911 Jan. 30 56
[1911 Feb.] 56
[1911 Feb.] 56
[1911 March?] 56
[1911 April?] 56
Kropotkin as Inspiration
[1934 Feb. 11?] 66
[1934 Feb. 12] 66
Law as Means of Social Control
1917 June 2 57
Lectures on Anarchism
[18]97 Dec. 17 67
1899 Nov. 21 67
1907 Jan. 6 56
1907 Dec. 24 56
Lectures on Autobiography
1934 April 11 66
Lectures on Birth Control
1916 Oct. 28 56
1917 June 2 57
1927 March 9 66
Lectures on Communism
1926 Nov. 2 66
Lectures on Labor Unions
1907 Dec. 12 56
Lectures on Literature & Drama
1907 Dec. 14 56
1908 April 9 56
1916 Oct. 28 56
1934 Feb. 13 66
1934 Feb. 16 66
Lectures on Russia
1918 Jan. 8 60
1918 Jan. 11 60
1918 Jan. 11 60
1918 Jan. 11 60
1918 Jan. 16 60
1918 Jan. 28 60
1924 April 26 66
[1927 Jan. 8] 66
1927 Jan. 11 66
[1927 Jan. 31] 66
1939 Dec. 6 66
1939 Dec. 6 66
1939 Dec. 12 66
Lectures on Women
[1900] May 19 67
Lectures, Audience Response
[1898 March 26] 56
1901 Oct. 1 56
Lectures, Censorship
[1898 March 12] 56
1910 Jan. 4 56
[1917 Sept. 2] 59
1917 Sept. 10 59
1917 Sept. 12 59
1917 Sept. 12 59
1917 Sept. 13 59
1917 Sept. 13 59
1917 Sept. 13 59
1917 Sept. 13 59
1917 Sept. 14 59
1917 Sept. 14 59
1917 Oct. 3 59
1917 Oct. 3 59
1917 Oct. 13 59
1917 Oct. 13 59
1917 Oct. 13 59
1917 Oct. 15 59
1917 Oct. 19 59

Lectures, Censorship (cont'd.)
1917 Oct. 24 59
1917 Oct. 24 59
1917 Oct. 25 59
1917 Oct. 25 59
1917 Oct. 27 59
1917 Oct. 27 59
1917 Oct. 28 59
1917 Oct. 31 59
1917 Nov. 2 59
1917 Nov. 2 59
1917 Nov. 2 59
1917 Nov. 2 59
1917 Nov. 3 59
1917 Nov. 3 59
1917 Nov. 5 59
1917 Nov. 5 59
1917 Nov. 5 59
1917 Nov. 6 59
1917 Dec. 7 60
[19]17 Dec. 21 60
1917 Dec. 22 60
1918 Jan. 4 60
1918 Jan. 5 60
1918 Jan. 7 60
1918 Jan. 10 60
1918 Jan. 16 60
[19]18 Jan. 17 60
[19]18 Jan. 24 60
[1919 Nov. 14] 64
1919 Nov. 15 64
1919 Nov. 18 64
1919 Nov. 19 64
[1934 Feb. 19] 66
[1934 March 6?] 66

Lectures, Finances
1919 Oct. 29 63

Lectures, Topics
1918 Jan. 8 60
1918 Jan. 16 60
1927 Oct.-Dec. 66
1934 Feb. 21 66
1934 Feb. 21 66
1934 Feb. 23 66
1934 Feb. 27 66

Lectures, Tours
[1898 Feb. 5] 56
[1898 March 5] 56
[1898 March 12] 56
[1898 March 26] 56
[1898 April 2] 56
[1907 June 8] 56
1917 Dec. 18 60
1917 Dec. 18 60
1917 Dec. 18 60
1917 Dec. 18 60
1919 Nov. 7 64

Legislation, Proposed
1909 May 18 56

Lexington Ave. Bombing
1914 July 67

Liberty of Conscience
1916 Dec. 5 56
[1917 May?] 57
1919 Sept. 18 63
1919 Sept. 18 63

Liberty of Speech
1901 Sept. 23 56
1908 June 30 56
1909 Jan. 8 56
[1909 April 10] 56
1909 May 15 56
1909 May 17 56
1909 May 18 56
1910 56
1910 Jan. 4 56
[1910 Nov. 29] 56
[1911 April 22] 56
1917 June 6 57
1917 July 9 58
1917 Oct. 25 59
1917 Oct. 25 59
[1918 Feb. 3] 61
1919 Oct. 2 63
[1919 Dec. 5] 64
[1927 March 24] 66
1931 Nov. 30 66
1931 Dec. 7 66
1934 Jan. 12 66
1934 Feb. [15?] 66
[1934 March 6?] 66
1934 May 7 66

Liberty of the Press
1917 July 25 57
1918 Feb. 16 61
1919 Oct. 16 63

Liquor Laws
[1932 April 1-15] 66
Loyalty Investigation, Military Personnel
1908 May 22 56
1908 June 19 56
1917 Oct. 10 59
1917 Oct. 15 59
1917 Oct. 25 59
1917 Nov. 15 59
1917 Nov. 22 59
1917 Nov. 30 59
1917 Dec. 5 60
1917 Dec. 5 60
[19]17 Dec. 10 60
1917 Dec. 10 60
1917 Dec. 17 60
1918 Jan. 15 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
1918 Feb. 2 61
[1918] Feb. 4-5 61
1918 May 18 61
1918 Aug. 7 61
1918 Sept. 9 62
[19]18 Oct. 8 62
1919 May 6 62
Margolis, Jacob—Investigation
1917 Sept. 14 59
1917 Nov. 2 59
1919 Oct. 8 63
1919 Nov. 23 64
1920 Jan. 22 65
1920 Jan. 24 65
1920 Jan. 26 65
1920 Jan. 27 65
1920 Jan. 30 65
1923 May 29 66
Markovich, Sophia—Investigation
1917 Sept. 6 59
1917 Sept. 6 59
1918 April 25 61
1918 [May 21] 61
1918 May 21 61
[19]18 June 5 61
[19]19 June 26 62
[19]19 July [14?] 62
[19]19 July 1[4?] 62
1919 July 31 62
1919 Sept. 1[2?] 63
Marriage
1907 Nov. 19 56
1928 Feb. 8 66
Marriage Law
[1926 Nov. 6?] 66
Married Women
[1898 March 5] 56
[1926 Nov. 6?] 66
Martens, Ludwig—Deportation
[1919 July?] 62
1920 March 31 65
1920? April? 65
1920 April 14 65
1920 April 16 65
1920 Oct. 2 65
[1920 Dec. 18] 65
[1921 Feb. 26] 65
McKinley Assassination, Investigation
[1901 Sept. 8] 56
[1901 Sept. 8] 56
1901 Sept. 9 56
1901 Sept. 9 56
1901 Sept. 9 67
[19]01 Sept. 9 56
[19]01 Sept. 9 56
1901 Sept. 10 56
1901 Sept. 11 56
1901 Sept. 11 56
1901 Sept. 13 56
1901 Sept. 13 56
1901 Sept. 14 56
[1901 Sept. 15] 56
[19]01 Sept. 15? 67
[19]01 Sept. 16 56
[1901] Sept. 17 56
1901 Sept. 17 56
1901 Sept. 17 56
1901 Sept. 18 56
1901 Sept. 18 56
1901 Sept. 19 56
1901 Sept. 20 56
1901 Sept. 20 56
1901 Sept. 21 56
1901 Sept. 22 56
1901 Sept. 23 56
1901 Sept. 25 56

McKinley Assassination, Investigation (cont'd.)
1901 Sept. 28 56
1901 Oct. 1 56
1901 Oct. 1 56
1901 Oct. 18 56
[1901 Oct. 19] 56
1919 Sept. 30 63
[1919 Oct.?] 63
1919 Oct. 2 63
1919 Oct. 4 63
1919 Oct. 7 63
1919 Oct. 8 63
1919 Oct. 10 63
1919 Oct. 11 63
1919 Oct. 11 63
1919 Oct. 16 63
1919 Oct. 17 63
1919 Oct. 22 63
[1919 Nov. 17] 64
[1919 Nov. 18] 64
[1919 Nov. 18] 64
[193-?] 66

McKinley Assassination, Public Opinion
1901 Sept. 8 56
1901 Sept. 10 56
1901 Sept. 10 67
1901 Sept. 11 56
1901 Sept. 13 67
[19]01 Sept. 14 67
1901 Sept. 15 56
1901 Sept. 15 56
[19]01 Sept. 16 67
1901 Sept. 17 56
1901 Sept. 18 56
[19]01 Sept. 20 56
1901 Sept. 23 56
[19]01 Sept. 25 67
[1901] Oct. [5] 56
1909 May 15 56

McNamara Case
1919 Oct. 2 63
1919 Oct. 9 63
1919 Oct. 11 63
1919 Oct. 11 63

Menopause
1918 April 9 61

Mexico, Exile
1924 Nov. 13 66

Mexico, Revolutionary Conditions, 1919
1919 Oct. 15 63
1919 Oct. 15 63

Military Discipline
1908 June 19 56

Military Intelligence
1922 April 11 66

Military Intelligence, U.S., History
[1919 July? 15?] 62
1919 July 15 62

Military Intelligence—Goldman Files
1917 May 30 to 1940 May 15 . . 57

Minor, Robert—Investigation
[1917? July?] 57
[1917 July?] 57
1917 Nov. 27 59
1918 May 10 61
1919 March 1 62
[1919 June?] 62
1919 June 17 62
[1919 Oct.?] 63
1919 Oct. 1 63
[1920? Jan.?] 65
1922 Sept. 22 66

Modern School Movement
1919 Nov. 15 64
1920 April 3 65
[1920? May?] 65

Mooney Case
1917 May 11 57
1917 May 11 57
1917 May 14 57
[1917? July?] 57
[1917 July?] 57
1917 Aug. 27 57
1917 Oct. 11 59
1917 Oct. 25 59
1917 Oct. 25 59
[1917? Dec.?] 60
[1917 Dec.? 6?] 60
1917 Dec. 6 60
1917 Dec. 18 60
[1918 Feb.] 61
1918 May 10 61
[1918? June?] 61
1918 Aug. 31 61

Mooney Case (cont'd.)
1918 Aug. 31 61
[1919? Jan.?] 62
1919 Jan. 29 62
1919 Feb. 25 62
1919 Sept. 5 63
1919 Sept. 20 63
1919 Sept. 20 63
1919 Oct. 1 63
1919 Oct. 1 63
1920? April? 65
1922 Sept. 22 66
[1925 Oct.? 5?] 66
1925 Oct. 5 66
[1932 April 16?-29] 66
1932 April 21 66
Mooney Case, Russian Protest
1917 May 11 57
1917 Nov. 27 59
[1918 Jan.?] 60
1918 Jan. 25 60
1918 Jan. 31 60
Mother Earth Ball
[1907 Nov. 12] 56
1907 Nov. 22 56
1907 Nov. 22 56
Mother Earth Book Shop
1918 March 8 61
[1918 March? 14?] 61
1918 March 14 61
1918 March 14 61
Mother Earth Bulletin, Alternate Distribution
1918 March 14 61
1918 March 20 61
1918 June 4 61
1918 June 11 61
1918 June 11 61
1918 June 11 61
1918 June 11 61
1918 June 29 61
1918 July 10 61
1918 July 16 61
1918 July 16 61
1918 Aug. 19 61
1918 Aug. 19 61
1918 Aug. 19 61
1918 Aug. 30 61
Mother Earth Bulletin, as Mother Earth Successor
1917 Sept. 28 59
1917 Nov. 2 59
1917 Nov. 5 59
Mother Earth Bulletin, Censorship
1917 Oct. 26 59
1917 Oct. 27 59
1917 Oct. 30 59
1917 Oct. 31 59
1917 Oct. 31 59
1917 Nov. 5 59
1917 Nov. 5 59
1917 Nov. 5 59
1917 Nov. 10 59
1917 Nov. 15 59
1917 Nov. 15 59
1917 Nov. 15 59
1917 Nov. 20 59
1917 Nov. 23 59
1917 Nov. 26 59
1917 Nov. 27 59
[1917? Dec.?] 60
1917 Dec. 5 60
191[7] Dec. 20 60
[1918? Jan.?] 60
1918 Jan. 60
1918 Jan. 9 60
1918 Jan. 17 60
1918 Jan. 28 60
191[8] Jan. 29 60
191[8] Jan. 29 60
1918 Jan. 30 60
1918 Feb. 61
1918 Feb. 8 61
[1918 Feb. 15?] 61
1918 Feb. 15 61
[1918 Feb.? 23?] 61
1918 Feb. 25 61
1918 Feb. 27 61
1918 Feb. 27 61
1918 Feb. 27 61
1918 Feb. 27 61
1918 Feb. 28 61
1918 March 61
1918 March 1 61
1918 March 4 61
1918 March 4 61

Mother Earth Bulletin, Censorship (cont'd.)
1918 March 4 61
1918 March 4 61
1918 March 4 61
1918 March 4 61
1918 March 6 61
1918 March 6 61
1918 March 8 61
1918 March 8 61
1918 March 8 61
1918 March 12 61
1918 March 16 61
1918 March 19 61
1918 March 20 61
1918 March 22 61
1918 March 22 61
1918 March 22 61
1918 March 22 61
1918 March 25 61
1918 March 25 61
1918 March 26 61
1918 March 30 61
1918 March 30 61
1918 March 30 61
1918 March 30 61
[1918 April?] 61
1918 April 61
1918 April 1 61
1918 April 13 61
1918 April 13 61
1918 April 18 61
1918 April 19 61
1918 April 23 61
1918 April 24 61
1918 April 27 61
1918 April 30 61
1918 May 2 61
1918 May 8 61
1918 June 4 61
1918 June 11 61
1918 June 11 61
[1918 June? 12?] 61
1918 June 13 61
[1918 July?] 61
[1918 July?] 61
1918 July 10 61
1918 Aug. 14 61
1918 Aug. 21 61
1918 Aug. 21 61
[19]18 Aug. 22 61
1918 Aug. 27 61
1918 Aug. 30 61
1918 Sept. 4 62
1918 Sept. 13 62
1918 Oct. 4 62
1918 Oct. 14 62
1918 Oct. 15 62
1918 Oct. 25 62
[1919 Jan. 16?] 62
1919 June 28 62
Mother Earth Bulletin, Destruction
1917 Nov. 27 59
1918 April 30 61
1918 Sept. 13 62
1918 Oct. 4 62
1918 Oct. 18 62
1918 Oct. 18 62
1918 Oct. 18 62
1919 June 24 62
Mother Earth Bulletin, Distribution
1917 Nov. 21 59
1917 Dec. 18 60
1918 Jan. 16 60
191[8] Jan. 29 60
191[8] Jan. 29 60
[1918 Feb. 15?] 61
1918 Feb. 27 61
1918 Feb. 27 61
1918 March 14 61
Mother Earth Bulletin, Editorial Matters
1918 March 8 61
1918 March 8 61
Mother Earth Bulletin, Finances
1917 Nov. 21 59
1917 Dec. 18 60
1918 Feb. 61
1918 March 9 61
Mother Earth Publishing Assn., Investigation
1917 June 2 to 1922 July 13 . . 57
[1917 July?] 57
[1918?] 60
1918 March 3 61
1918 April 10 61
[1918 April 18?] 61

Mother Earth Publishing Assn., Investigation (cont'd.)
1918 April 18 61
1918 April 18 61
1918 April 18 61
1918 April 20 61
1918 June 8 61
1918 Sept. 12 62
1918 Nov. 6 62
Mother Earth, Alternative Distribution
[1917 July] 57
1917 July 9 57
1917 Aug. 22 57
1917 Aug. 22 57
1917 Sept. 1 59
1917 Sept. 11 59
1917 Sept. 14 59
1917 Sept. 15 59
1917 Sept. 28 59
1917 Oct. 16 59
1918 March 22 61
Mother Earth, Censorship
1910 Jan. 67
1910 Jan. 14 56
1910 Jan. 15 56
1910 Jan. 21 56
1910 Jan. 24 56
1910 Jan. 25 56
1910 Jan. 25 56
1910 Jan. 25 56
1910 Jan. 26 56
1910 Jan. 26 56
1910 Jan. 26 56
1910 Jan. 28 56
[1910] Jan. 29 56
1910 Jan. 29 56
1910 Jan. 29 56
1910 Jan. 29 56
1910 Jan. 29 56
1910 Feb. 2 56
1910 Feb. 2 56
1910 Feb. 3 56
1910 Feb. 4 56
1914 July 24 56
1914 July 28 56
1916 June 5 56
[1916 June? 26?] 56
1916 July 3 56
1916 July 6 56
1916 July 7 56
1917 April 18 57
1917 May 8 57
1917 May 8 57
1917 May 10 57
1917 May 10 57
1917 May 10 57
1917 May 17 57
1917 May 21 57
1917 May 24 57
1917 June 2 57
1917 June 5 57
1917 June 7 57
1917 June 16 57
1917 June 21 57
1917 June 28 57
1917 June 28 57
1917 June 28 57
1917 June 28 57
1917 June 29 57
1917 June 29 57
1917 June 29 57
1917 June 30 57
1917 June 30 57
1917 June 30 57
[1917 July] 57
1917 July 2 57
1917 July 3 57
1917 July 3 57
[1917 July 5?] 57
1917 July 5 57
1917 July 9 57
1917 July 12 57
1917 July 19 57
1917 July 21 57
1917 July 23 57
1917 July 23 57
1917 July 25 57
1917 July 26 57
1917 July 30 57
1917 July 31 57
1917 Aug. 3 57
1917 Aug. 15 57
1917 Aug. 22 57
1917 Aug. 24 57
1917 Aug. 31 57
1917 Sept. 7 59

Mother Earth, Censorship (cont'd.)
1917 Sept. 10 59
1917 Sept. 11 59
1917 Sept. 11 59
1917 Sept. 11 59
1917 Sept. 11 59
1917 Sept. 11 59
1917 Sept. 12 59
1917 Sept. 15 59
1917 Sept. 15 59
1917 Sept. 25 59
[1918? Jan.?] 60
[19]18 Jan. 17 60
1918 Jan. 17 60
1918 Jan. 28 60
1918 Feb. 28 61
1920 March 16 65
Mother Earth, Destruction
1917 July 19 57
1917 July 23 57
1917 Aug. 3 57
1917 Sept. 11 59
1918 May 25 61
Mother Earth, Documents Confiscated
[1910?] 67
[1908?] 67
1913 67
1914 67
1916 67
1916 67
[1917?] 67
[1917] 67
1917 June 29 57
Mother Earth, Finances
1917 Aug. 1 57
Mother Earth, Second-Class Mailing
1917 Sept. 5 59
1917 Sept. 7 59
1917 Sept. 11 59
1917 Sept. 12 59
1917 Sept. 25 59
[1918?] 60
Mother Earth, Subscribers—Investigation
1908 Dec. 2 56
1908 Dec. 7 56
1908 Dec. 14 56
1917 Aug. 13 57
1918 June 3 61
[1918 July?] 61
1918 July 12 61
1918 July 19 61
1918 July 27 61
1918 Aug. 15 61
1918 Aug. 19 61
1918 Sept. 9 62
1918 Sept. 20 62
[1919? Feb.?] 62
[1919? Feb.?] 62
1919 April 1 62
1919 April 1 62
1922 July 13 66
1922 July 28 66
Moyer, Haywood, Pettibone Defense
1907 July 28 56
My Disillusionment in Russia—Publishing
[1923 April?] 66
1923 Nov. 3 66
1923 Dec. 8 66
1923 Dec. 31 66
1924 Feb. 21 66
My Disillusionment in Russia—Request Copies
1924 May 3 66
1924 May 15 66
1924 May 15 66
1924 May 23 66
Nationalism
1933 Aug. 14 66
Naturalization, U.S.
1884 Oct. 18 56
[1919 July 21] 62
[1919 Oct.?] 63
[1919 Oct.?] 63
[1919 Oct.] 63
[1919 Oct.] 63
Newlander, Carl—Investigation
1918 June 8 61
1918 July 2 61
1918 July 2 61
1918 July 5 61
1918 July 25 61
1918 July 25 61
1918 Aug. 11 61
1918 Aug. 30 61

Newlander, Carl—Investigation (cont'd.)
1918 Aug. 31 61
1918 Sept. 12 62
1918 Oct. 25 62
1919 July [25?] 62
No-Conscription League, Investigation
1917 April 23 57
[1917 May?] 57
[1917 May?] 57
1917 May 25 57
1917 May 25 57
1917 May 26 57
191[7] May 27 57
191[7] May 27 57
1917 May 29 57
1917 May 29 57
1917 May 30 57
1917 May 31 57
1917 May 31 57
1917 May 31 57
1917 May 31 57
1917 May 31 57
1917 June 2 57
1917 June 2 57
1917 June 2 57
[1917] June 4 57
1917 June 4 57
1917 June 4 57
1917 June 5 57
1917 June 6 57
[19]17 [June] 7 57
1917 June [8?] 57
[1917 June 11] 57
1917 June 11 57
1917 June 12 57
[1917 June 14] 57
1917 June 16 57
1917 June 16 57
1917 June 17 57
1917 June 22 57
1917 June 29 57
1917 July 17 57
1917 July 20 57
1917 Aug. 5 57
1917 Aug. 16 57
1917 Aug. 27 57
Non-Aggression Pact, U.S.S.R.-Germany
[1939 Sept. 20] 66
[1939 Sept. 20] 66
[1939 Sept. 20] 66
[1939 Nov. 30] 66
[1939 Dec. 4] 66
1939 Dec. 6 66
[1939 Dec. 7] 66
Pacifism
1909 April 6 56
1909 April 14 56
1918 June 25 61
1927 March 14 66
Pamphlets
[1919] 67
1919 Sept. 5 63
1919 Oct. 22 63
1922 67
1922 Dec. 19 66
Passports, Political Denial
1919 Jan. 10 62
1919 March 17 62
1920 Jan. 12 65
1920 March 13 65
1920 March 18 65
1921 Feb. 24 65
1921 Aug. 4 65
1921 Aug. 6 65
1921 Aug. 23 65
1921 Sept. 7 65
1922 April 12 66
[193-?] 66
Paterson Strike (1902)
1919 Sept. 29 63
1920 March 1-13 65
Patriotism
1921 Nov. 9 65
Philadelphia, Free Speech
[1909 Oct. 14] 56
Photographs
[1895?] 56
1900 April 17 67
[1901? Sept.?] 56
[1901? Sept.?] 56
[1901? Sept.? 11?] 67
[1901? Sept.? 11?] 67
[1907? Dec.?] 56
1917 June 16 57
1917 June 16 57
[1919 Dec. 5?] 64

Photographs (cont'd.)
[1919 Dec. 5] 64
[1919 Dec. 5] 64
1919 Dec. 5 64
[1919 Dec. 21?] 64
[1919 Dec. 21] 64
[1919 Dec. 21 and 1920 Jan. 16] . 64
[1919 Dec. 21 and 1920 Jan. 16] . 64
[1920?] 65
[1920?] 65
1920 June 16 65
[1921 Dec.] 65
1922 April 3 66
[1922 May? 26?] 66
[193-?] 67
1930 March 18 67
Police Power
[1911 April 22] 56
Political Crimes & Offenses
1906 Nov. 2 56
1908 April 10 56
1917 June 30 57
1917 July 5 57
1917 July 9 58
1920 April 18 65
Political Deportations, Opposition
1919 Nov. 1 64
[19]19 Dec. 1 64
1920 Jan. 10 65
1920 Jan. 10 65
1920 Jan. 16 65
1920 Jan. 20 65
1920 Feb. 7 65
1920 Feb. 21 65
Political Deportations, U.S. 1919-1920
[19]19 June 26 62
[19]19 July 1[4?] 62
[1919 Sept. 12] 63
1919 Oct. 3 63
[19]19 Oct. 14 63
1919 Oct. 18 63
1919 Nov. 8 64
[1919 Nov. 16?] 64
1919 Nov. 16 64
[1919 Nov. 26] 64
[1919 Nov. 26] 64
1919 Nov. 26 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
[1919 Dec. 5-21] 64
1919 Dec. 8 64
[1919 Dec. 9?] 64
1919 Dec. 9 64
[1919 Dec. 12] 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
1919 Dec. 12 64
1919 Dec. 13 64
[1919 Dec. 15] 64
[1919 Dec. 16] 64
1919 Dec. 16 64
1919 Dec. 16 64
1919 Dec. 19 64
1919 Dec. 20 64
1919 Dec. 24 65
1919 Dec. 24 65
1919 Dec. 29 65
1920 Jan. 2 65
1920 Jan. 5 65
1920 Jan. 7 65
1920 Jan. 9 65
1920 Jan. 10 65
1920 Jan. 19 65
1920 Jan. 28 65
1920 Jan. 31 65
1920 Feb. 3 65
1920 Feb. 4 65
1920 Feb. 6 65
1920 Feb. 7 65
1920 Feb. 11 65
1920 Feb. 14 65
1920 Feb. 17 65
1920 Feb. 18 65
1920 Feb. 18 65
1920 Feb. 21 65
1920 Feb. 21 65
1920 Feb. 24 65
1920 March 23 65
1920 April 6 65
1920 April 9 65
1920 April 12 65
[19]20 April 14 65

Political Deportations, U.S. 1919-1920 (cont'd.)
1920 April 14 65
1920 April 17 65
1920 April 19 65
1920 April 26 65
1920 April 26 65
1920 April 26 65
1920 May 1 65
1920 May 1 65
[19]20 May 6 65
1920 May 25 65
1920 May 25 65
[19]20 May 29 65
1920 June 4 65
1920 June 10 65
1920 June 12 65
1920 June 21 65
1920 Oct. 2 65
1920 Oct. 5 65
1920 Dec. 12 65
1921 Feb. 24 65
1921 April 2 65

Political Deportations, U.S. Press
[1919 Dec.? 22?] 64
[1919 Dec. 22] 64
[1919 Dec. 23] 65
[1920 Jan. 28] 65

Political Prisoners, Amnesty
191[8] Jan. 29 60
191[8] Jan. 29 60
1918 Feb. 61
1918 Feb. 20 61
1918 March 61
[1918 April 10] 61
[1918 May?] 61
1918 May 24 61
1918 May 24 61
[19]18 June 5 61
1918 June 11 61
1918 Nov. 1[5?] 62
1918 Dec. 21 62
1918 Dec. 30 62
[1919? Jan.?] 62
19[19] Jan. 6 62
[19]19 Jan. 7 62
1919 Jan. 10 62
1919 J[an.] 26 62
1919 Jan. 26 62
1919 April 17 62
1919 April 25 62
1919 April 25 62
1919 June 2 62
1919 June 4 62
1919 June 28 62
1919 Sept. 12 63
1919 Oct. 1 63
[19]19 Oct. 3 63
1919 Oct. 27 63
1919 Nov. 1 64
1919 Nov. 1 64
1919 Nov. 21 64
1919 Nov. 23 64
1919 Nov. 23 64
1919 Nov. 23 64
1919 Nov. 26 64
1919 Nov. 30 64
1920 April 18 65

Political Prisoners, U.S.S.R.
[1920 Feb.?] 65
[1920 March 13?] 65
1922 April 3 66
1922 Oct. 5 66

Political Rights, Loss of
1908 May 2 56

Postal Censorship
[19]17 April 26 57
1917 April 30 57
1917 May 2 57
1917 May 2 57
1917 May 8 57
1917 May 8 57
1917 May 15 57
1917 May 19 57
1917 May 24 57
1917 May 28 57
1917 May 28 57
1917 May 31 57
1917 Aug. 22 57
1917 Aug. 23 57
1917 Nov. 17 59
1917 Dec. 5 60
[1917 Dec. 8?] 60
1918 Jan. 16 60
1918 Jan. 17 60
1918 Jan. 28 60

Postal Censorship (cont'd.)
1918 Feb. 16 61
1918 Feb. 25 61
1918 April 5 61
1918 April 10 61
1918 April 10 61
1918 April 11 61
1918 April 11 61
1918 April 12 61
1918 April 30 61
[1918 May?] 61
1918 May 21 61
1918 May 25 61
1918 July 17 61
1919 Jan. 11 62
1919 Jan. 16 62
1919 April 1 62
1922 Feb. 13 65

Postal Censorship—Obscenity
1910 56
1910 Jan. 67
1910 Jan. 14 56
1910 Jan. 15 56
1910 Jan. 25 56
1910 Jan. 26 56
1910 Jan. 26 56
1910 Jan. 29 56
1910 Jan. 29 56
1910 Feb. 4 56
1917 Sept. 11 59
1917 Sept. 25 59
1918 April 10 61
[1918] April 15 61
[19]18 April 16 61

Postal Service—Espionage Act Violation
1917 June 2 57
1917 June 2 57
1917 June 2 57
[1917 June 25] 57
1917 [Aug. 1?] 57
1917 Aug. [13] 57
1917 Aug. 22 57
1918 Oct. 25 62

Postal Service—Legal Opinion
1916 July 7 56
1917 June 29 57
[1917 July 5?] 57
1917 July 5 57
1917 July 12 57
1918 Feb. 15 61
1918 Feb. 16 61
1918 Feb. 27 61
1918 Feb. 27 61
1918 March 4 61
1918 March 8 61
1918 March 22 61
1918 March 25 61
1918 March 25 61
1918 March 30 61
[1918 April] 61
1918 April 5 61
1918 April 10 61
1918 April 12 61
[1918] April 15 61
[19]18 April 16 61
1918 April 23 61
1918 Aug. 21 61
1918 Aug. 21 61
1918 Oct. 14 62
1918 Oct. 18 62
1918 Oct. 18 62

Power of Attorney
1919 Dec. 19 64

Prison Conditions, U.S.
[1919] 67
1919 March 5 62
1919 Aug. 24 63
[1919 Sept. 28] 63
[1919 Sept. 28] 63
1919 Oct. 27 63
[1919] Oct. 30 63
1919 Nov. 21 64
1919 Nov. 21 64
1919 Nov. 23 64
1919 Nov. 23 64
1919 Nov. 30 64
[19]19 Dec. 1 64
[19]19 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 2 64

Prisoners, Transport
1919 Dec. 11 64

Propaganda
1917 [July?] 57
[1917 Aug.?] 57
1917 Nov. 21 59
[1918?] 60
1919 Nov. 12 64

Propaganda (cont'd.)
1920 Jan. 1 65
1920 Jan. 1 65
1920 Feb. 27 65
1920 April 3 65
1920 April 3 65
1922 Oct. 5 66
Propaganda Analysis
[1911 March 1] 56
[1917] July 11 57
[1917] July 11 57
1917 July 11 57
[19]17 Oct. 2 59
Propaganda, Foreign—in U.S.
1920 April 16 65
Protest Letters
1901 Dec. 26 56
1907 July 28 56
1909 Jan. 8 56
1909 April 6 56
1909 April 14 56
1910 Jan. 4 56
1910 Jan. 25 56
1910 Jan. 29 56
1910 Nov. 12 56
[1917 June 23] 57
1918 Feb. 2 61
Race Riots, U.S.
1919 Oct. 24 63
1919 Oct. 28 63
1919 Dec. 4 64
Radical Attorneys
1912 May 18 56
[19]19 Oct. 14 63
Radicals—Disputes among
1919 Nov. 21 64
Rangel and Cline Case
1922 Jan. 17 65
Red Scare, 1919-1920
[1919] June 17-30 62
[1919] June 17-30 62
[1919 July?] 62
1919 July 21 62
1919 Oct. 10 63
1919 Nov. 15 64
1919 Nov. 17-23 64
1919 Nov. 23 64
[1919 Nov. 26] 64
[1919 Dec. 5] 64
[1920? Jan.?] 65
1920 Jan. 7 65
1920 Jan. 23 65
[1920 Jan. 27] 65
1920 April 17 65
1920 May 1 65
1921 April 2 65
1921 Nov. 9 65
Reed, John—Investigation
1918 July 20 61
1920 April 27 65
1920 Aug. 5 65
1920 Aug. 14 65
1920 Aug. 17 65
Reformers
[19]18 Dec. 1 62
1919 Dec. 7 64
1919 Dec. 11 64
1922 March 7 65
Reitman and Chicago Police
1917 Dec. 6 60
1929 Sept. 30 66
Reitman and Goldman's Friends
1918 March 9 61
Reitman, Anti-Semitism
1918 March 9 61
Reitman, Fatherhood
1918 March 10 61
Reitman, Investigation
1916 Jan. 19 56
1916 Nov. [6?] 56
[1916 Nov. 7] 56
1916 Nov. 14 56
1917 April 30 57
1917 May 2 57
1917 May 2 57
1917 May 4 57
1917 May 22 57
1917 May 22 57
1917 May 31 57
1917 June 6 57
1917 June 6 57
1917 July 17 57
1917 July 21 57
[19]17 July 24 57
1917 July 30 57
1917 July 30 57

Reitman, Investigation (cont'd.)
1917 Aug. 16 57
[1918 Feb.] 61
1918 Feb. 8 61
1918 March 8 61
1918 March 22 61
1918 Nov. 6 62
[19]19 Oct. 14 63
1919 Oct. 15 63
1919 Oct. 16 63
1919 Oct. 17 63
1919 Oct. 18 63
1919 Oct. 18 63
1919 Oct. 20 63
1919 Dec. 2 64
1920 Jan. 23 65
1920 Jan. 26 65
1920 Feb. 23 65
1921 Aug. 4 65
1921 Aug. 6 65
1921 Aug. 23 65
1921 Aug. 31 65
1921 Sept. 7 65
1922 March 7 65
1927 Oct. 1 66
Reitman, Prison
1918 March 9 61
1918 March 10 61
Reminiscences
[1939 April 22] 66
Request for Information
[1917 Oct. 25?] 59
Revolutions
1920 Jan. 1 65
Right to Counsel
[1920 Jan? 19?] 65
Roosevelt, Franklin D.—Administration
1934 April 12 66
1940 Jan. 25 66
Russia as Inspiration
1920 Jan. 10 65
1920 Jan. 10 65
Russia, Arrival
[1920 Jan. 28] 65
1920 Jan. 28 65
1920 Jan. 29 65
1920 Jan. 29 65
[1920] March 23 65
1920 April 24 65
1920 May 7 65
1920 May 7 65
Russia, Asylum Offered
[1919 Dec. 15] 64
1919 Dec. 20 64
Russia, Conditions 1920-1921
1920 Jan. 25 65
Russia, Departure
[1921 Oct. 29] 65
1921 Nov. 3 65
1921 Nov. 7 65
1921 Nov. 7 65
1921 Nov. 10 65
1921 Nov. 12 65
[19]21 Nov. 16 65
[1921 Dec.] 65
1921 Dec. 6 65
1921 Dec. 9 65
[1921 Dec. 10?] 65
[1921 Dec. 10] 65
[1921 Dec. 10] 65
[1921 Dec. 10] 65
1921 Dec. 10 65
1921 Dec. 10 65
1921 Dec. 12 65
1921 Dec. 12 65
1921 Dec. 15 65
1921 Dec. 20 65
[1921 Dec. 22] 65
1921 Dec. 22 65
1921 Dec. 22 65
1921 Dec. 22 65
1921 Dec. 29 65
1921 Dec. 31 65
1921 Dec. 31 65
1921 Dec. 31 65
1922 Jan. 2 65
1922 Jan. 2 65
192[2] Jan. 3 65
1922 Jan. 5 65
[1922? Jan.? 20?] 65
1922 Jan. 20 65
1922 Feb. 9 65
1922 Feb. 9 65
1922 Feb. 9 65
1922 Feb. 11 65
1922 Feb. 11 65

Russia, Exile
[1920 Feb.?] 65
1920 Feb. 20 65
1920 Feb. 28 65
[1920 March 13?] 65
1920 March 13 65
1920 April 27 65
1920 July 10 65
1920 Aug. 5 65
1920 Aug. 14 65
[19]20 Sept. 12 65
1920 Oct. 4 65
1920 Oct. 6 65
1920 Nov. 20 65
1920 Dec. 9 65
192[1] Jan. 1[2?] 65
1921 March 12 65
1921 April? 23? 65
1921 May 28 65
1921 July 26 65
1921 July 26 65
1921 Aug. 2 65
1921 Aug. 30 65
1921 Dec. 22 65
1921 Dec. 22 65
1921 Sept. 17 65
[19]21 Sept. 24 65
1921 Oct. 1 65
1921 Nov. 16 65
1922 Feb. 20 65

Russian Friends of American Freedom
1919 Dec. 23 65
[1920 Feb.?] 65
1920 March 13 65
[1920] March 23 65
1920 March 30 65
1920 April 15 65
[1920 May? 11?] 65
1920 May 11 65
[19]20 May 28 65
1920 June 2 65
1920 June 9 65
1920 June 9 65
1929 July 9 66

Russian Literature
1918 Jan. 11 60
1918 Jan. 11 60

Russian Revolution
1918 Jan. 25 60

Russian Revolution, Antecedents
1918 Jan. 11 60

Russian Revolution, Conditions
[1920 Jan. 28] 65
1920 Jan. 28 65
1920 Jan. 29 65
[1920] March 23 65
[1920 May? 11?] 65
1920 May 11 65
1920 June 30 65
1920 June 30 65
1920 Oct. 6 65

Russian Revolution, Failure
1921 July 23 65
1921 Dec. 31 65
1922 March 29 65
1927 March 14 66

Russian Revolution, International Influence
1918 Feb. 6 61
1918 Feb. 20 61
1920 June 2 65
1920 June 9 65
1920 June 9 65
1920 June 18 65

Russian Revolution, International Mail
1920 May 17 65
1920 Aug. 25 65
1920 Aug. 27 65
1920 Sept. 9 65

Russian Revolution, Labor
1919 Nov. 26 64

Russian Revolution, Report
1918 Nov. 7 62
[1919 April 16?] 62
1920 Aug. 9 65
1920 Sept. 28 65
1920 Oct. 6 65
1920 Oct. 6 65
[1921 Oct. 19?] 65
1921 Oct. 25 65
1922 March 29 65
1922 April 7 66

Russian Revolution, Russian-American Emigration
1917 July 9 57

Russian Revolution, Russian-American Emigration (cont'd.)
1917 Oct. 22 59
1918 Sept. 4 62
1919 Nov. 4 64
1919 Dec. 20 64
1920 Feb. 3 65
1920 Feb. 16 65
1920 Feb. 19 65
1920 Feb. 21 65
1920 Feb. 21 65
1920 Feb. 21 65
1920 April 6 65
1920 April 9 65
1920 April 12 65
1920 May 25 65
1920 May 25 65
1920 June 10 65
1920 June 12 65
1920 June 21 65

Russian Revolution, U.S. Intervention
1918 Aug. 7 61
1918 Nov. 7 62
1919 Nov. 26 64
1920 March 30 65
1920 May 11 65
1920 July 10 65

Russian Revolution, U.S. Press
1918 Jan. 18 60
1919 Jan. 26 62
1920 Oct. 11 65
[1923 Jan. 5] 66

Russian Views of U.S. Radicals
1918 Jan. 5 60

Sabotage
1917 Nov. 15 59
1917 Nov. 20 59
1917 Nov. 22 59
1917 Nov. 23 59
[19]17 Dec. 13 60
1917 Dec. 31 60
1918 Jan. 14 60

Sacco-Vanzetti Case
[19]21 Sept. 24 65
1927 Sept. 2 66
[19]27 Sept. 3 66

San Diego, Free Speech
1912 May 18 56
1918 Jan. 11 60

Schapiro, Alexander—Investigation
1921 Dec. 29 65
1922 Jan. 2 65
1922 Jan. 28 65
1922 Jan. 28 65
1922 Feb. 4 65
1922 Feb. 13 65
1922 Feb. 13 65
1922 Feb. 18 65
1922 Feb. 28 65
1922 Feb. 28 65
1922 March 4 65
1922 March 4 65
1922 March 4 65
1922 April 3 66
[1922 April? 4?] 66
1922 April 4 66
1922 May 3 66
1922 May 3 66
1922 May 4 66
1922 May 6 66

Search and Seizure
1906 May 9 67
1917 Nov. 22 59
1917 Nov. 26 59
1918 Feb. 7 61
1918 March 4 61
1918 March 4 61
1918 March 4 61
1918 March 7 61
1918 March 8 61
1918 March 30 61
1918 April 30 61
1918 May 2 61
1918 June 11 61
1918 July 12 61
1918 Aug. 30 61
1918 Aug. 30 61
1918 Sept. 13 62
1918 Nov. 1[5?] 62
1919 Oct. 10 63
[19]19 Oct. 25 63
1920 Jan. 22 65
1920 Feb. 4 65

Search and Seizure (cont'd.)
1921 Dec. 31 65
1922 March 17 65
Secret Service
1917 July 27 57
Sedition, Investigation
1917 April 30 57
1917 May 2 57
1917 May 2 57
1917 May 4 57
1917 May 15 57
1917 May 21 57
1917 May 23 57
1917 May 24 57
1917 May 25 57
1917 May 28 57
1917 May 30 57
1917 June 14 57
1917 Aug. 18 57
1917 Sept. 11 59
1917 Nov. 10 59
1917 Nov. 13 59
1917 Nov. 13 59
1917 Nov. 30 59
1917 Dec. 7 60
1918 May 18 61
1918 Aug. 28 61
1920 April 24 65
Seditious Conspiracy
[19]17 July 17 57
1917 July 18 57
1917 July 18 57
Seduction
[1898 March 5] 56
Spanish Civil War
[1939 April 22] 66
1940 Aug. 9 66
Spanish Civil War, Communism
[1939 Dec. 4] 66
1939 Dec. 12 66
1939 Dec. 12 66
Spanish Civil War, U.S. Interest
1936 Sept. 21 66
1937 Oct. 30 66
Spanish Civil War—Fundraising
1936 Oct. 28 66
[1937 March? 3] 66
Spanish Government Investigation of Goldman
1907 Nov. 25 56
1907 Nov. 27 56
1907 Nov. 27 56
1907 Nov. 28 56
1907 Nov. 30 56
1907 Dec. 2 56
1907 Dec. 4 56
1907 Dec. 17 56
1907 Dec. 19 56
1907 Dec. 19 56
Speeches against Conscription
1917 May 26 57
[1917] June 4 57
1917 June 4 57
[1917 June 14] 57
1917 June 14 57
1917 June 15 57
[19]17 Aug. 25 57
1917 Aug. 25 57
1917 Aug. 30 57
1917 Sept. 10 59
1917 Sept. 12 59
1917 Sept. 13 59
1917 Sept. 13 59
1917 Sept. 13 59
Speeches, After-Dinner
[1919 Oct. 28] 63
[1919 Oct. 28] 63
1919 Oct. 28 63
[1919 Nov. 18] 64
[1925 Oct.? 5?] 66
Steimer, Mollie—in Russia
1921 Dec. 31 65
Stelton School
1920 April 3 65
Support, Promise of
1917 July 14 57
[1919] Sept. 1 63
Support, Request for
[1917 May?] 57
1917 May 25 57
1917 May 25 57
1917 Sept. 28 59
1917 Nov. 21 59
[1918 Dec. 21 62

Support, Request for (cont'd.)
1919 Nov. 1 64
1919 Nov. 1 64
Surveillance, Electronic
1917 Nov. 20 59
1917 Nov. 28 59
[1919] Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 9 64
[19]22 March 2 65
Surveillance, Mail
[1900 May 22?] 67
1900 [June?] 67
1900 Sept. 7 67
1901 Sept. 9 56
1901 Sept. 10 56
1901 Sept. 11 56
1901 Sept. 11 56
1901 Sept. 13 56
1901 Sept. 21 56
1901 Sept. 22 56
1907 Oct. 6 67
1908 June 26 56
[1909? Jan.?] 56
1909 Jan. 2 56
1909 Jan. 12 56
1909 May 3 56
1917 June 28 57
1917 June 28 57
1917 June 28 57
1917 June 29 57
1917 June 29 57
1917 June 30 57
1917 July 9 57
[1917] July 11 57
[1917] July 11 57
1917 July 11 57
[19]17 July 24 57
1917 Sept. 14 59
[19]17 Oct. 2 59
1917 Oct. 16 59
1917 Oct. 26 59
1917 Dec. 14 60
1917 Dec. 18 60
1918 Jan. 3 60
1918 Jan. 4 60
1918 Jan. 14 60
1918 Jan. 16 60
1918 Jan. 18 60
1918 Jan. 21 60
1918 Jan. 21 60
1918 Jan. 22 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
1918 Jan. 23 60
1918 Jan. 26 60
1918 March 10 61
1918 March 11 61
1918 March 13 61
1918 March 14 61
1918 July 16 61
1918 Aug. 31 61
1918 Aug. 31 61
1918 Sept. 12 62
1918 Oct. 7 62
1918 Dec. 21 62
19[19] Jan. 6 62
[19]19 Oct. 2 63
1919 Nov. 17 64
1919 Nov. 28 64
1919 Nov. 28 64
1919 Nov. 28 64
1919 Nov. 29 64
1919 Nov. 29 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 8 64
1919 Dec. 11 64
1920 Jan. 5 65
1920 Jan. 29 65
1920 Jan. 31 65
1920 Feb. 4 65
1920 March 11 65
1920 April 14 65
1920 April 14 65
1920 April 14 65
1920 April 27 65
1920 May 7 65
1920 May 7 65
1920 May 17 65
1920 May 28 65
1920 June 2 65
1920 June 2 65
1920 June 2 65
1920 June 16 65
1920 June 22 65

Surveillance, Mail (cont'd.)
1920 Aug. 14 65
1920 Aug. 17 65
1920 Aug. 25 65
1920 Aug. 27 65
1920 Sept. 9 65
1920 Oct. 11 65
192[1] Jan. 1[2?] 65
1921 Nov. 16 65
1921 Dec. 10 65
1921 Dec. 20 65
1921 Dec. 29 65
1922 Jan. 2 65
1922 Jan. 28 65
1922 Feb. 4 65
1922 Feb. 9 65
1922 Feb. 11 65
1922 Feb. 11 65
[19]22 March 11 65
[19]22 March 17 65
1922 March 17 65
1922 April 11 66
1922 April 11 66
1922 April 15 66
1922 April 21 66
1922 Aug. 19 66
1923 April 17 66
1923 May 8 66
1923 May 8 66
1923 Sept. 20 66
1925 Jan. 6 66

Surveillance, Physical
1900 Nov. 1 67
1900 Nov. 1 67
1900 Nov. 1 67
1908 March 31 56
1908 April 9 56
1908 April 14 56
1917 Aug. 28 57
1917 Dec. 27-28 60
1918 Jan. 16 60
[19]18 Jan. 17 60
1918 Jan. 17 60
1918 Jan. 21 60
1918 Jan. 21 60
1918 Jan. 21 60
1918 Jan. 22 60
1918 Feb. 5 61
[19]19 Sept. 29 63
[19]19 Sept. 30 63
[19]19 Oct. 6 63
1919 Oct. 6 63
1919 Oct. 18 63
1919 Nov. 24 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
1919 Nov. 25 64
1919 Nov. 26 64
1919 Nov. 26 64
1919 Nov. 26 64
1919 Nov. 26 64
1919 Nov. 28 64
1919 Nov. 28 64
1919 Nov. 28 64
1919 Nov. 28 64
1919 Nov. 28 64
1919 Nov. 29 64
1919 Nov. 29 64
1919 Nov. 29 64
1919 Nov. 29 64
1919 Nov. 29 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
1919 Dec. 1 64
[1919] Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 2 64
1919 Dec. 3 64
1919 Dec. 3 64
1919 Dec. 3 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 4 64
1919 Dec. 6 64
1919 Dec. 8 64
1919 Dec. 8 64
1919 Dec. 9 64

Svensson, Arthur—Investigation
1922 April 4 66
[1922 May? 26?] 66
[19]22 May 26 66
1922 June 20 66
1922 June 20 66
1922 June 20 66

Sweden, Anarchism
1922 Jan. 18 65
Sweden, Exile
1922 Jan. 5 65
1922 Jan. 5 65
[1922 Jan. 14] 65
1922 Jan. 17 65
1922 Jan. 18 65
1922 Jan. 18 65
1922 Jan. 19 65
1922 Jan. 21 65
[1922] Jan. 23 65
[1922 Jan. 24] 65
1922 Jan. 25 65
1922 Jan. 28 65
1922 Jan. 28 65
1922 Feb. 15 65
1922 Feb. 15 65
1922 Feb. 18 65
1922 Feb. 20 65
[1922 Feb. 21?] 65
1922 Feb. 23 65
1922 Feb. 23 65
1922 Feb. 25 65
1922 March 9 65
1922 March 9 65
1922 March 9 65
1922 March 9 65
1922 March 15 65
1922 March 21 65
1922 April 4 66
1922 April 11 66
1922 April 11 66
1922 April 11 66
1922 April 28 66
1922 April 28 66
1922 April 28 66
1922 May 1 66
1922 May 2 66
1922 May 4 66
[19]22 May 26 66
[19]22 June 5 66
[19]22 June 5 66
1922 June 10 66
1922 June 20 66
1922 June 20 66
1922 June 20 66
1922 June 20 66
1922 July 13 66
1922 Aug. 19 66
Sweden, Lectures
[1932 April 16?-29] 66
1932 April 29 66
Taxes
1916 April 15 56
Treason
1901 Sept. 17 56
U.S. and U.S.S.R. (Compared)
1918 Jan. 28 60
U.S. Reentry Campaign
[1922 Jan. 7?] 65
1926 Nov. 8 66
[1926? Nov.? 17?] 66
1926 Nov. 17 66
1930 March 9 66
1930 March 9 67
1930 March 26 67
1930 March 27 66
1930 March 27 67
1930 March 27 67
1930 April 17 67
[1930] April 20 67
1930 April 28 67
[1930] April 30 67
[1933] 66
[1933 Nov.? 2?] 66
1933 Nov. 8 66
1933 Nov. 18 66
1933 Nov. 22 66
1933 Nov. 22 66
1933 Nov. 24 66
1933 Nov. 25 66
1933 Nov. 25 66
1933 Dec. 4 66
1933 Dec. 5 66
1933 Dec. 5 66
1933 Dec. 5 66
1933 Dec. 19 66
1933 Dec. 19 66
1933 Dec. 19 66
1933 Dec. 21 66
1933 Dec. 21 66
1933 Dec. 21 66
1933 Dec. 22 66
1933 Dec. 23 66
1933 Dec. 26 66
1933 Dec. 27 66

U.S. Reentry Campaign (cont'd.)
1933 Dec. 28 66
1934 Jan. 5 66
1934 Jan. 5 66
1934 Jan. 6 66
1934 Jan. 8 66
1934 Jan. 9 66
1934 Jan. 9 66
1934 Jan. 9 66
1934 Jan. 11 66
1934 Jan. 12 66
1934 Jan. 12 66
1934 Jan. 12 66
1934 Jan. 12 66
1934 Jan. 12 66
1934 Jan. 18 66
1934 Feb. 66
1934 Sept. 10 66
1934 Sept. 14 66
1934 Sept. 22 66
1934 Oct. 4 66
1934 Oct. 16 66
1934 Oct. 22 66
[19]34 Oct. 26 66
1937 Sept. 16 66
[19]37 Oct. 21 66
1938 Jan. 27 66
1938 Feb. 5 66
1939 Nov. 8 66
1940 Feb. 15 66

U.S. Reentry, Investigation
[1919 Dec. 5] 64
1920 Feb. 16 65
1920 March 2 65
1920 March 2 65
1920 March 20 65
1920 March 23 65
1920 March 30 65
1920 March 30 65
1920 March 30 65
1920 Nov. 20 65
1920 Dec. 9 65
192[1] Jan. 1[2?] 65
1921 Jan. 13 65
1921 Jan. 14 65
1921 Jan. 14 65
1921 Jan. 18 65
1921 Feb. 12 65
1921 Aug. 30 65
[1921 Oct. 1] 65
[1921 Oct. 29] 65
1921 Nov. 3 65
1921 Nov. 3 65
1921 Nov. 3 65
1921 Nov. 10 65
1921 Nov. 10 65
1921 Nov. 12 65
1921 Nov. 14 65
[19]21 Nov. 15 65
1921 Nov. 15 65
1921 Dec. 15 65
[19]21 Nov. 16 65
1921 Nov. 17 65
1921 Nov. 21 65
1921 Nov. 21 65
[1921 Dec. 10] 65
[1921 Dec. 10] 65
1921 Dec. 10 65
1921 Dec. 12 65
1921 Dec. 16 65
1921 Dec. 19 65
1921 Dec. 19 65
1921 Dec. 19 65
1921 Dec. 19 65
1921 Dec. 19 65
1921 Dec. 21 65
1921 Dec. 23 65
1921 Dec. 23 65
1921 Dec. 23 65
1921 Dec. 23 65
1921 Dec. 23 65
1921 Dec. 23 65
1921 Dec. 23 65
1921 Dec. 23 65
1921 Dec. 23 65
1921 Dec. 24 65
1921 Dec. 29 65
1921 Dec. 29 65
1921 Dec. 29 65
1921 Dec. 29 65
1922 Jan. 2 65
192[2] Jan. 3 65
1922 Jan. 5 65
1922 Jan. 5 65
1922 Jan. 10 65
1922 Jan. 12 65
1922 Jan. 17 65
1922 Jan. 18 65
1922 Jan. 18 65

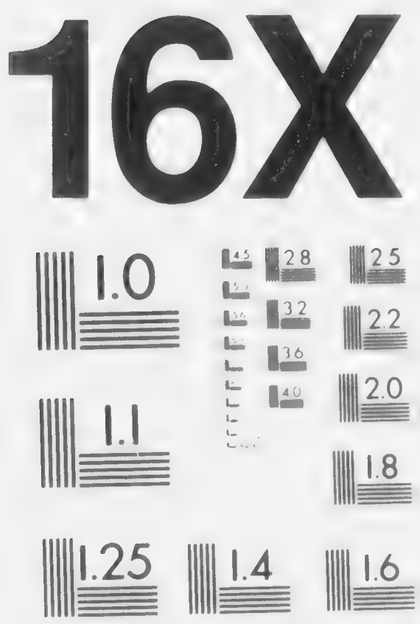
U.S. Reentry, Investigation (cont'd.)
[19]22 Jan. 28 65
1922 Jan. 28 65
1922 Jan. 30 65
1922 Feb. 6 65
1922 Feb. 9 65
1922 Feb. 9 65
1922 Feb. 9 65
1922 Feb. 9 65
1922 Feb. 27 65
1922 Feb. 27 65
1922 March 2 65
1922 March 2 65
1922 March 2 65
1922 March 3 65
[19]22 March 7 65
1922 March 8 65
1922 March 9 65
1922 March 9 65
1922 March 9 65
1922 March 11 65
1922 March 14 65
1922 March 14 65
[19]22 March 24 65
1922 April 3 66
1922 April 11 66
1922 April 11 66
1922 April 11 66
1922 May 1 66
[19]22 June 5 66
[19]22 June 5 66
1924 Nov. 13 66
1925 Jan. 6 66
1926 Oct. 21 66
1926 Oct. 27 66
1926 Oct. 27 66
1926 Oct. 27 66
1926 Nov. 2 66
[19]26 Nov. 3 66
[19]26 Nov. 29 66
[19]26 Dec. 16 66

U.S. Reentry, Public Opinion
1921 April 23 65
[1921 Oct. 19?] 65
[1921 Dec. 10?] 65
[1921 Dec. 10?] 65
[19]21 Dec. 10 65
1921 Dec. 20 65
[1922? Jan.? 2?] 65
[19]22 Jan. 2 65
1922 Jan. 12 65
1922 Jan. 13 65
1922 Jan. 17 65
[1922 May] 66
1925 Nov. [8?] 66
1933 Dec. 30 66
[1934 Jan. 10?] 66
1934 Jan. 11 66
[1934 Jan. 12] 66
1934 Jan. 12 66
1934 Jan. 12 66
1934 Jan. 12 66
1934 Jan. 12 66
1934 Jan. 12 66
1934 Jan. 14 66
1934 Jan. 15 66
1934 Jan. 15 66
1934 Jan. 15 66
1934 Jan. 18 66
1934 Jan. 19 66
1934 Jan. 19 66
1934 Jan. 31 66
1934 Feb. 6 66
[1934 March?] 66
1936 Feb. 18 66
[1938 Oct. 25] 66

U.S. Tour 1934
1933 Dec. 19 66
[1934 Jan. 20] 66
1934 Jan. 29 66
1934 Jan. 30 66
[1934 Feb.?] 66
[1934 Feb.] 66
1934 Feb. 66
[1934 Feb. 2?] 66
[1934 Feb. 9] 66
[1934 Feb. 11?] 66
[1934 Feb. 12] 66
1934 Feb. [15?] 66
[1934 Feb. 19] 66
1934 Feb. 21 66
1934 Feb. 21 66
1934 Feb. 23 66
[1934 Feb. 24?] 66
1934 Feb. 27 66
[1934 March 6?] 66

U.S. Tour 1934 (cont'd.)
[1934 May 1?] 66
1934 May 7 66
1934 May 14 66
1940 Jan. 23 66
U.S. Tour 1934, Surveillance
1934 Feb. 9 66
1934 Feb. 10 66
[19]34 Feb. 20 66
[1934 Feb. 24] 66
1934 March 1 66
1934 March 10 66
1934 March 16 66
1934 April 11 66
1934 May 4 66
1934 May 11 66
1934 May 18 66
U.S. Visa Extension Campaign
[1934 Feb. 9] 66
1934 March 21 66
1934 March 23 66
1934 March 27 66
1934 April 3 66
1934 April 4 66
1934 April 4 66
[1934 April 5] 66
[1934 April 5] 66
1934 April 5 66
1934 April 5 66
1934 April 5 66
1934 April 6 66
1934 April 6 66
1934 April 11 66
1934 April 11 66
1934 April 11 66
1934 April 12 66
1934 April 12 66
1934 April 13 66
[1934 April 14] 66
1934 April 14 66
1934 April 14 66
1934 April 16 66
1934 April 17 66
1934 April 17 66
1934 April 22 66
U.S., Anarchism—Prospects
[1898 April 2] 56
[19]21 Oct. 25 65
1927 Oct. 3 66
U.S., Economic Conditions
[1934 May 1?] 66
U.S., Labor Movement
[1907 Aug.] 67
U.S., Political Character
[1919 Oct. 28] 63
[1926 Nov. 6?] 66
[1934 Feb. 24?] 66
U.S., Radical Leadership
[1919? June? 2?] 62
[1920? Jan.?] 65
U.S., Radical Movements
[1920? Jan.?] 65
U.S.S.R., American Emigrés
[19]21 Sept. 24 65
[1923 Jan. 5] 66
U.S.S.R., American Visitors
1920 Aug. 9 65
1921 Aug. 2 65
U.S.S.R., Anarchists
[1920] June 26 and July 3 . . . 65
1920 Dec. 12 65
192[2] Jan. 10 65
1922 March 16 65
U.S.S.R., Culture
1920 May 7 65
1920 May 7 65
U.S.S.R., Political Persecution
192[2] Jan. 10 65
U.S.S.R., Prison Conditions
1921 Aug. 2 65
1922 March 16 65
U.S.S.R., Trade Unions
1924 March 66
1924 March 66
U.S.S.R., U.S. Recognition
1920 April 6 65
1920 April 14 65
1920 April 14 65
U.S.S.R.-U.S. Labor Solidarity
1920 April 15 65
Unions, Disputes among
1917 Aug. 29 57
1930 Dec. 5 66

Vigilantism
1918 Jan. 18 60
[1920 Jan? 19?] 65
Visa Problems in Exile
1921 Dec. 22 65
1921 Dec. 24 65
1921 Dec. 29 65
1921 Dec. 29 65
1921 Dec. 29 65
1922 Jan. 19 65
1922 Jan. 21 65
1922 June 10 66
1922 July 26 66
1923 May 18 66
War & Emergency Legislation
1917 Dec. 21 60
War and Socialism
[1917 April?] 57
1917 May 57
War, Cost of
[1918 Feb. 3] 61
1918 April 10 61
[1934 Feb. 12] 66
Weinberger, Harry—Attacks on
1917 Aug. 4 57
1919 April 23 62
1919 Oct. 8 63
[19]19 Oct. 14 63
1919 Dec. 4 64
[1919 Dec. 6] 64
1919 Dec. 6 64
[1920 Jan? 19?] 65
Woman—Rights of
1916 Dec. 5 56
Woman—Suffrage
1917 July 28 57
Woman—Wages
1908 March 31 56
Workmen's Circle
1919 Jan. 16 62
World War I, Opposition in U.S.
[1917 April?] 57
[1917 May?] 57
[1917 June?] 57
1917 July 2 57
1917 July 25 57
[1917 Aug.] 57
[19]17 Aug. 25 57
1917 Aug. 29 57
1917 Aug. 30 57
[1917 Oct.?] 59
1917 Oct. 8 59
1917 Nov. 9 59
[19]17 Nov. 15 59
1917 Nov. 22 59
1917 Dec. 27-28 60
1918 Jan. 22 60
1918 Feb. 20 61
1918 June 25 61


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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]92 Oct. 8, N[ew] Y[ork to Max Metzkow, Allegheny? Pa.?] / [Emma Goldman]. — 4 p. ; 22 × 16 cm.

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N[ew] Y[ork] Oktober 8th 92.

Werther Genossin!

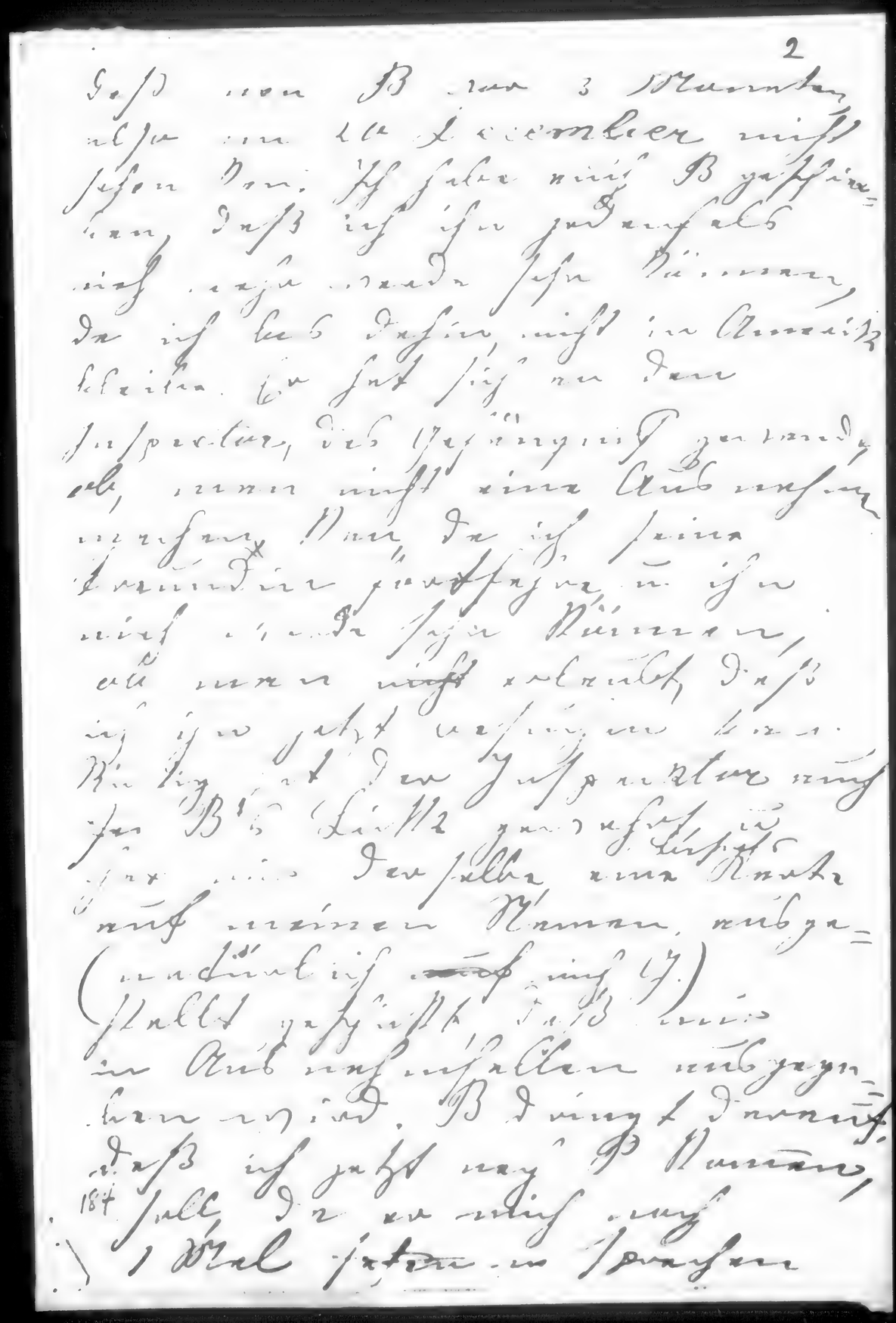
Ihren Brief habe ich mit einigen Tagen erhalten, aber ich konnte Ihnen nicht antworten, weil ich von B. einen Brief erwartete. Auf Ihren Vorschlag wende ich Ihnen Dienstag einige Worte, weil ich so lange nicht in Anwendung bleiben und meine Hoffnung dieses Mal meine Absicht zu Ihrer Zufriedenheit nicht erfüllen sollte. Ich wende ich inständig Ihnen Vorschlag zurückzunehmen. Es ist schon so möglich, daß ich Ende nächster Woche in Pittsburg sein werde. Und zudem daß ich Ihnen Ihnen nicht gefallen

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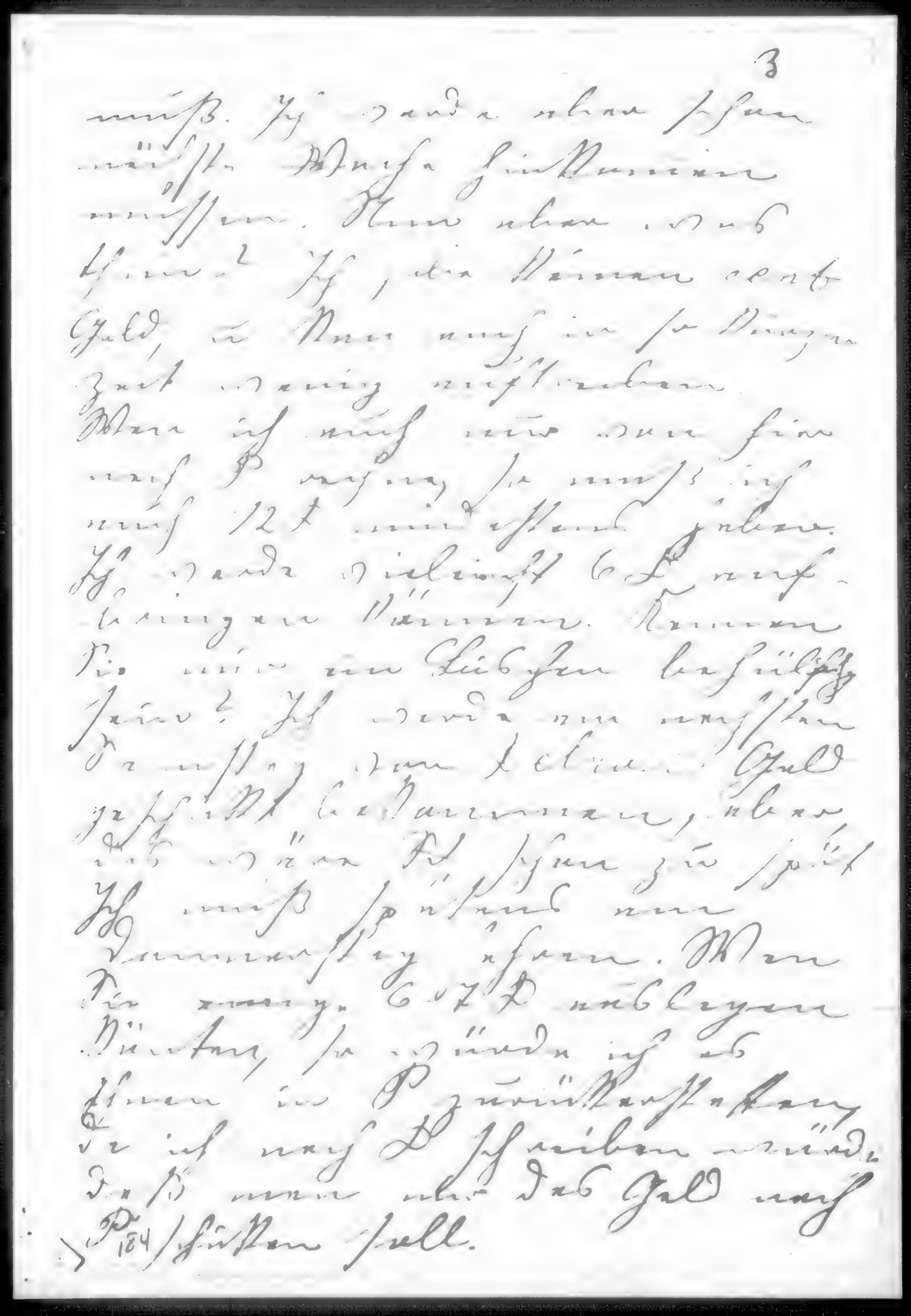


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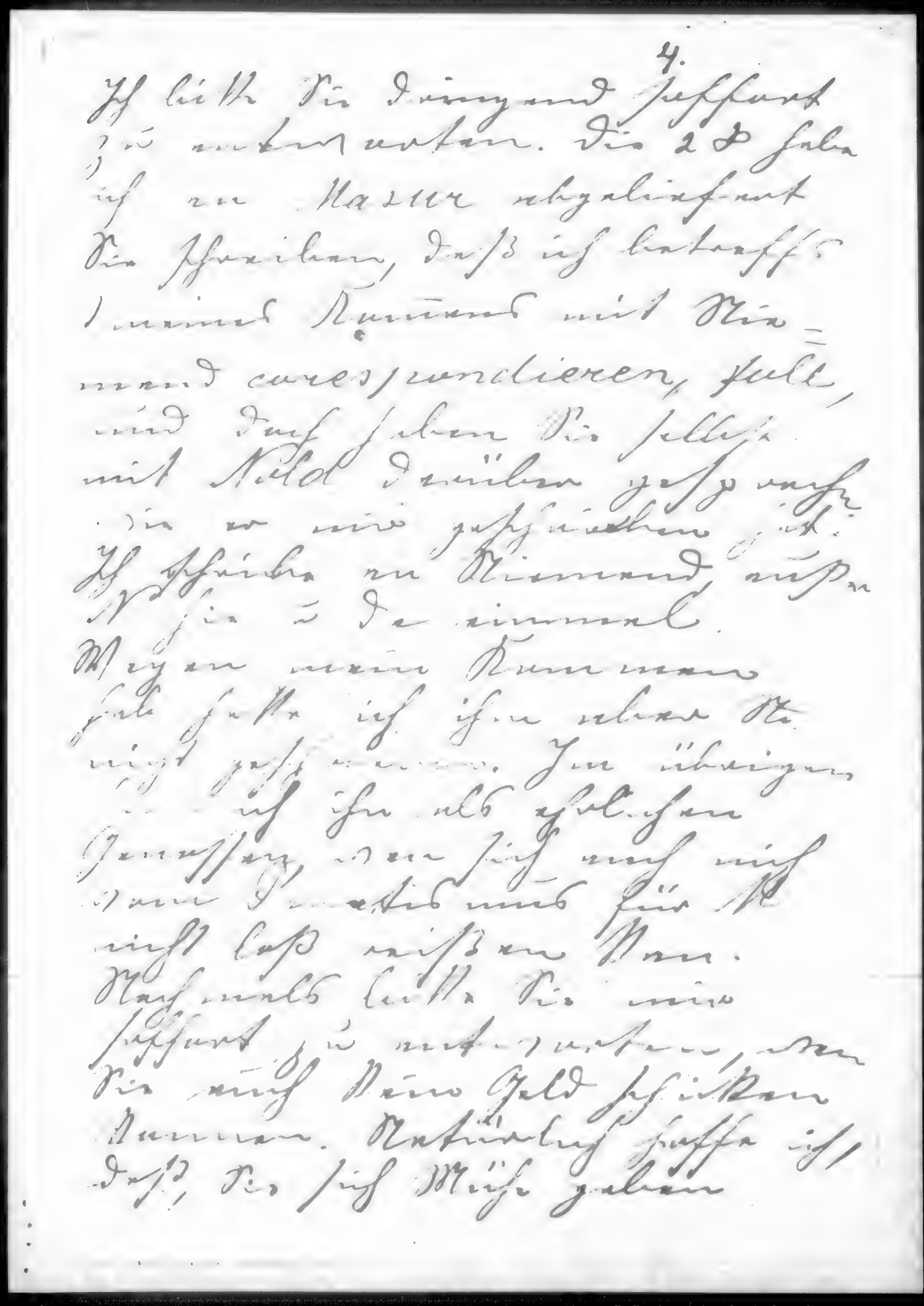
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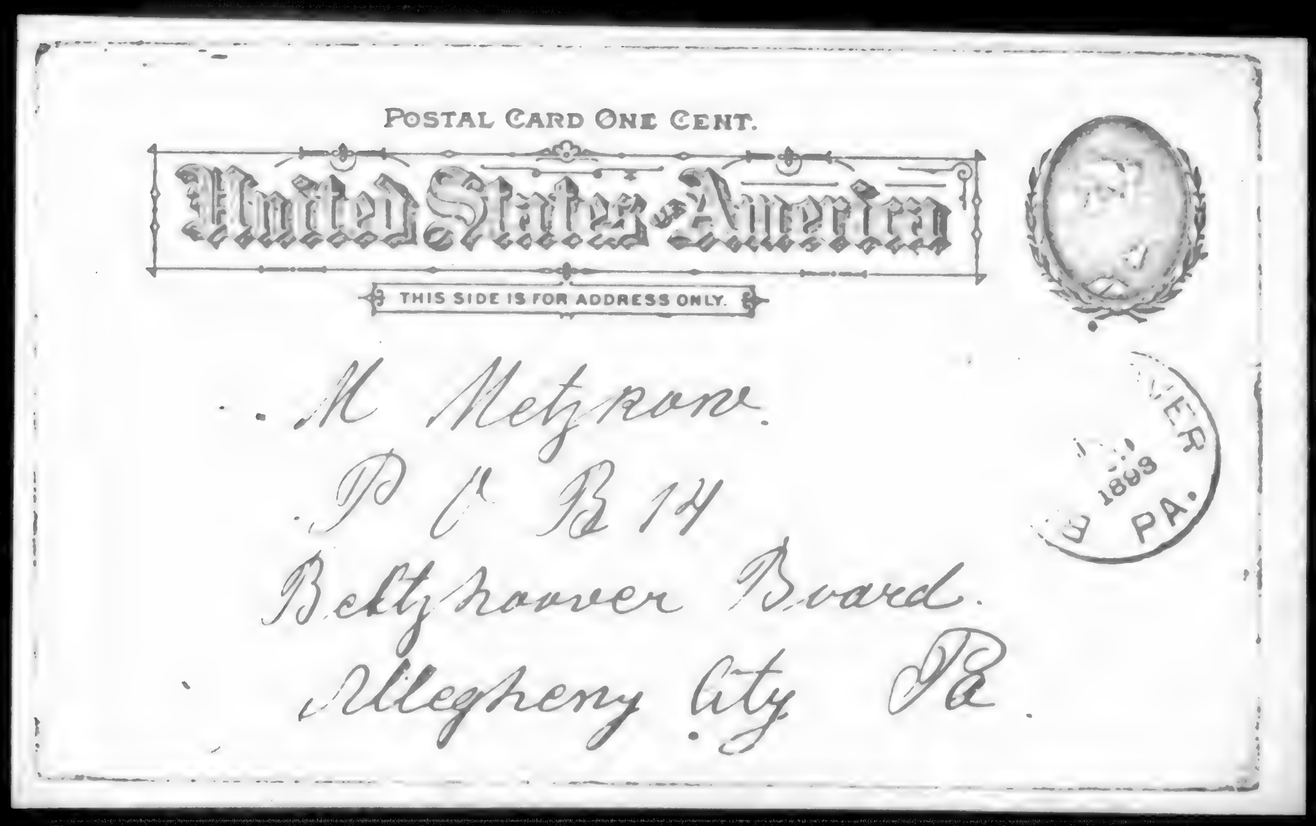
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 18]93 June 27, Rochester, N.Y. [to Max] Metzkow, Allegheny, Pa. / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 15 × 16 cm.

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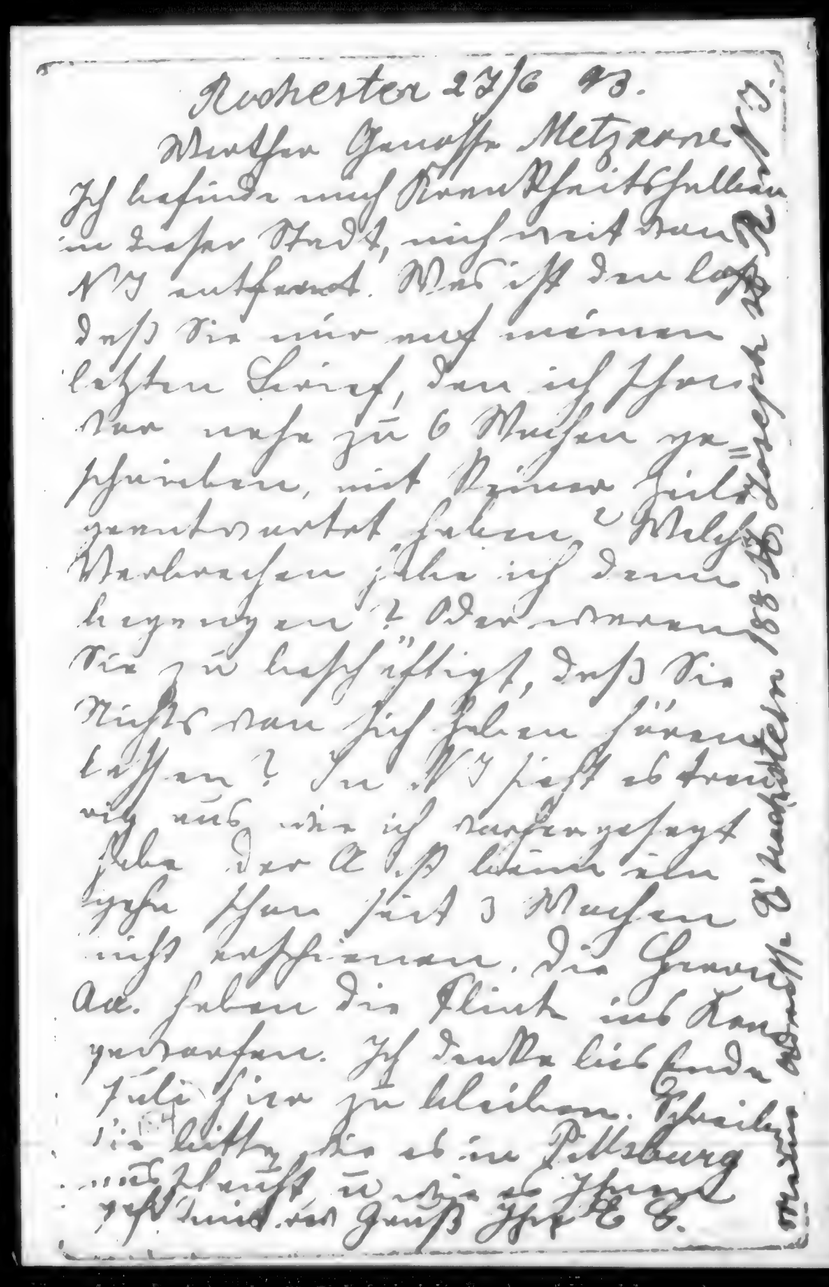
5

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 18]93 June 27, Rochester, N.Y. [to Max] Metzkow, Allegheny, Pa. / E[mma] G[oldman]. – 2 p. ; 15 × 16 cm.

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Rochester 27/6 93.

Werthe Genossen Metzkow
Ich befinde mich Krankheitshalber
in dieser Stadt, und weil dem
Ich nicht anders
dass Sie mir auf meinen
letzten Brief, den ich Ihnen
vor acht Tagen schrieb, nicht
geantwortet haben. Welche
Adresse habe ich denn
benutzen? Oder vielleicht
Sie so liebenswürdig, dass Sie
mich von sich haben können
lassen? In N.Y. sagt
mir mir ich vorgesagt
habe der A.P. könnte mir
diese Tage sind 3 Wochen
nicht erscheinen. Die Genossen
ac. haben die Flinte ins Korn
geworfen. Ich denke hier
Sie zu bleiben. Schreiben
Sie bitte, ob es in Pittsburg
Stand ist. Mit den besten Grüssen
Ihre E. G.

Rochester 188 Main St.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

891207000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1894 Aug. 18 [New York to] The World, New York / Emma Goldman.— 2 p.; 43 × 28 cm.

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

The World

"Circulation Books Open to All."

VOL. XXXV. NO. 12,051. PRICE TWO CENTS. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, AUGUST 18, 1894.

"MY YEAR IN STRIPES."

Emma Goldman, Anarchist, Describes Her Imprisonment on Blackwell's Island.

SHE CANNOT FORGET ITS HORRORS.

How Life in the Women's Prison and the Sufferings of the Miserable Ones Who Shared It.

IS THE WORK IN VAIN? NOW, SEE HAVE.

Free Again, She Indignantly Declares the Whole Rotten Police Government Is Overturned and Anarchy Is on Top.

Emma Goldman, the Anarchist, was released from the penitentiary on Blackwell's Island yesterday. She was imprisoned there for delivering an incendiary speech a year ago. Miss Goldman wrote a letter relating her experiences and observations in prison, and the idea seized her that the letter had a certain commercial value. The World bought it, just as The World would buy an unpublished poem by Tennyson or the description of a prize fight by John L. Sullivan. Besides being interesting to the few who agree with Miss Goldman's views touching society and government, this letter will appeal to the great body of the American people who like to hear both sides of a question.

Here it is:

To the Editor of The World:

The right of free speech and assembly has long been a dead letter, a farce.

Peaceful laborers are not safe from a policeman's club. Honest men are persecuted, imprisoned and legally murdered for giving utterance to their feelings. The crimes and outrages of the police committed during the past year prove only too well that despotism and tyranny have supplanted the freedom once guaranteed to every man and woman of America.

My prosecution was conducted with such injustice, however, that many thinking men and women all over the country have not only noticed it but have censured me for their sympathy for the "terrible Emma Goldman."

Why was this prosecution conducted with so much venom and spite? Surely not because the accused was a woman!

I, this terrible Anarchist, was arrested, not for what I said, but on a trumped-up charge made by a few legalized blackmailers, detectives and spies—men who have sold their honor and their manhood for a petty mess of pottage.

The whole trial was conducted with the greatest unfairness. They proved neither my guilt nor my innocence.

SCARED BY THE GHOST OF ANARCHY.

I was convicted, not because of the lecture delivered on Aug. 21, but because it was an Anarchist that stood before them. It was not Emma Goldman that was tried in the Court of General Sessions, but the ideas she expressed. It was the red ghost of Anarchy that made the courageous "protectors of law and order" tremble—it was the fear of the future, their guilty conscience, which told them that it was not wise to have Emma Goldman among the people. It was inconceivable to have men and women who were able and willing to open the eyes of the oppressed and show them a way to a better condition. It is in order for corrupt people that such men and women should be out of the way even if perjury must be resorted to in order to accomplish it. What does it matter if Emma Goldman was brutally attacked by an ruffians—dragged through the streets, submitted to indignities that would make the most hardened criminal quail.

What does it matter how it is done, so she is disposed of?

JUSTICE SHE DID NOT EXPECT; MERCY SHE SCORNED.

What does it matter how many lies these Judases may tell, so the purpose is accomplished and the authorities are thereby enabled to rid themselves of one whose presence is disagreeable. I knew before the trial what the result would be, but enraged counsel not because I desired to sue for either justice or mercy. The former I did not expect, the latter I scorned.

It was to propagate my principles and prevent my enemies from hustling me off to prison without a hearing or a trial, as they did in the case of my comrade, Claus Timmerman.

Well? Emma Goldman was disposed of. Not so her cause, you "noble knights," who tremble at the voice of Truth. You can imprison an Anarchist and legally slaughter our comrades, but you cannot kill Anarchy. It defies you, and will live on when judges, district attorneys, detectives, spies, tyrants and monsters of every description will be buried under the last fragment of private property, Church and State.

FROM THE TOMBS TO THE PENITENTIARY.

Two days after my trial I was sent to my new "residence," in which I was to spend the following ten months. After being confined for two weeks in the Tombs, this was a change, and any change was welcome. I enjoyed the trip immensely. When I reached the dock I saw several representatives of the press who had become my faithful knights and who stuck manfully by me all through my trouble. They seemed to think it their duty to stand by me to the last. I had never cared much for reporters, but I was very grateful for their company.

Blackwell's Island is beautifully situated, surrounded by water. Its grounds are lovely. It seems more like a place of enjoyment than of suffering, but one look at the grey, gloomy building is sufficient to chill the new prisoner. "Beggars are not choosers" is the old proverb, and although I neither begged nor chose this place for my temporary home, I was very much interested in it and made a thorough examination of the outside of the palace.

DRIVEN THERE BY THEIR SURROUNDINGS.

American prisons compare favorably with foreign ones in cleanliness and [illegible]. The inmates, however, they are the same, just as miserable. And food and cells are worse.

Most of the unfortunates in the penitentiary are victims of the pernicious conditions of society. They are driven either by need or circumstances to commit the offenses that place them there. Most of these offenses are of less importance than those committed daily and hourly by the rich and influential.

During my ten months' imprisonment I met no creature that were at all apt to do. All were poor, miserable, broken-down remnants of humanity. Raised in the streets of New York, surrounded from earliest infancy by the vilest debauchery, many of them is enumerated. All who aged long before their time by privations and poverty.

WHY EMMA WRITES THIS.

Personally I cannot complain of my own treatment. From the time I entered I received much better treatment than the others. I was never punished. I had lighter work and was always treated with a certain amount of respect. It is not, therefore, any special spite I wish to vent that prompts me to place my experiences before the public, but an earnest desire to call the attention of thinking people to the miserable conditions of the inmates there.

When I reached prison I was brought before the head matron, who has entire charge of the female portion of this institution. This lady is the sister-in-law of the warden, and, of course, has a "pull." The warden is an old, feeble man, and seems to be under the influence of four women—his wife, his sister-in-law and daughter and a cousin. They are the real managers, the poor old gentleman being only a puppet in their hands. He has, however, a certain amount of firmness, and if he knew how his sister-in-law abuses the position she holds she would not hold it a week.

"ALLOWED TO TAKE A BATH."

The matron is about fifty years of age, tall and very stout, with a cruel, hard face and a sensual mouth. She makes a chilling impression on the newcomer. To me she was more than usually kind. She gave me a more civil reception than prisoners usually get, and assisted me to undress myself. Then she gave me a blue and white striped dress and blue checked apron, the usual prison costume. After my name, occupation and address were taken, I was allowed to take a bath, which was greatly refreshing after two weeks of the Tombs.

Prisoners are given a bath each week and furnished with a change of clothing.

"THE HOTEL," AS SHE CALLS IT.

The female wing consists of a large mess hall, with sixty-seven cells, a large room for the chaplain and a ward for the sick. The cells are short and narrow, dark and damp. A piece of canvas stretched across two irons represents the bed, two blankets, a straw pillow and a pail completed the outfit.

It was near 8 o'clock when I retired to my "chamber." I sat down and commenced to think. "How shall I ever stand it in this hole?"

I fell asleep while meditating upon the subject, but suddenly I jumped to my feet, startled by a loud gong. One of the prisoners told me it was supper-time.

Supper consisted of a pan of a greasy black liquid called "coffee," which is a decoction made by pouring boiling water over burnt bread.

The "ladies" of the "hotel" seemed very hungry; they ate their portions in silence.

"Women are reforming," I thought, "for those seemed to have learned the lesson of keeping silent." Afterwards I found out that their silence was not due to improvement, but to the rules, which forbid talking at meals. This was one of the hardest rules for new female boarders to obey.

Supper did not last longer than five minutes. Then they all went back to their cells. Then a loud voice said "Close!" and all the doors slammed together. The cells were locked, and one day of misery had passed.

THE ROUTINE OF A DAY.

At 6 o'clock in the morning I was awakened again by the clang of a bell, at which signal the cells were unlocked and the "ladies" went down to make their toilets. The "ladies" are not very fastidious, for only five minutes are allowed for this purpose and they never are late.

After that they are driven like cattle to their cells again. Then the bell rings for breakfast and all the inmates march down to the mess-hall. This meal is a repetition of that on the night before; "coffee" and bread, then back they go to their cells, where they remain until 7.15 o'clock.

The air in those cells is choking and nauseating. The women remain in them until a bell calls them down for a walk. With their pails in their hands they all walk to the river, a short distance from the prison. The "line" or "gang" is led by two matrons.

There are usually about seventy women in this institution. About twenty-five rounds work in the laundry, which is considered the hardest work. Five serve at the warden's house. Two serve the deputy warden. The others, who are not in the sewing department, do chamber-work for the keepers.

MADE FOREWOMAN OF THE SEWERS.

I was made forewoman in the sewing-room. I had to give out the work, do all the folding and pasting and keep the accounts of work sent in and out during the week. Here the women mend shirts, socks and pants for the male prisoners. The sewing women have to work very hard. Mine was not only a very responsible but also a hard job, for I had to be on my feet all day.

From 7.30 to 11.30 A. M. all is quiet. Then the washwomen come in and take their seats for dinner. The "menu" for the four days of the week is vegetable soup with precious little meat in it. On two days there are corned beef and beans. On Friday there is a treat—fish and potatoes. A half hour is allowed for dinner and a half hour for rest. Then all start at work again until 4.30 P. M. On Saturdays the work is stopped at noon and the prisoners remain in their cells.

On Sundays those who are religiously inclined are allowed to leave their cells and attend church services.

IN THE HOSPITAL.

I remained on the floor two months, when I had an attack of rheumatism. But not until I could no longer work was I transferred to the hospital.

Until that time, although my work had been arduous, I had not seen the real horrors of prison life. But what I witnessed in that hospital made my blood run cold and filled me with indignation and horror.

The hospital is large and airy. There are sixteen beds, and it is kept exceedingly neat and clean—considering patients do all the scrubbing and cleaning. There are three doctors—house, senior and junior.

A doctor from the city visits the wards three or four times a week. The others visit them twice a day.

After a month's illness I was made orderly in the ward, after which time I had full charge of all the medicines and patients. I had to wait on the doctors who take care of the sick and attend all operations. Although one matron is on day duty and one at night, all the work was left to me, and for seven long months I worked night and day.

The day matron is old and too infirm to take proper care of the sick. She has also to attend to other duties. While her will is good, she is unable to do the work. The night matron, who is on duty four nights in the week, is a noble, generous woman, kind and goodhearted. She makes every effort to make the burden of those poor, sick women lighter.

CHARGES AGAINST THE HEAD MATRON.

The greatest pleasure of the head matron is to torment and plague both her assistant and the prisoners. Nothing satisfies her, nothing pleases her. Her harsh voice is heard from one end of the place to another, and she keeps it in an uproar from morning until night.

She encourages prisoners to gossip about each other and about the under matrons. She often requires prisoners to spy upon the under matrons and report to her—a duty I flatly refused to do.

She has, however, one unaccountable mania. She is very fond of colored people. While I see no difference in races, I think all should be regarded as human beings. The most depraved, ignorant, repulsive black woman is sure of a warm reception from this head matron and is placed above the most intelligent white woman. No matter what they do, she will never punish them, but will deprive white women of their food and other comforts for them. They abuse, insult and even beat their white sisters in misery.

Some of this head matron's modes of punishment are as ridiculous as others are cruel. Fancy a full-grown woman standing all day facing a black-board! Prisoners receiving this punishment are also deprived of their dinner. If all these things fail then comes the dungeon, with its cold, dark dreariness—a most cruel and brutal punishment.

Many of the prisoners are kept in the dungeon for weeks.

SOME HORRORS OF THE PLACE.

My imprisonment is over now and I do not regret it. It has been a school of experience for me and my time was not altogether lost. For it was my privilege to make the lives of some of the poor, helpless ones more endurable.

I was often shocked by the cruelties of the place, and I remember one woman who was not allowed to see a doctor, though her temperature was 103.

Another woman begged to be taken out of the stifling cell. She was choking—the kind matron said she was only "faking." A few days after I was sent for and hurried down with restoratives. But I saw as soon as I reached her that she was no longer in the power of prison authorities. The doctors said she died of heart trouble.

Another woman seventy years of age cried those sick out the dental head matron put her to scrubbing. She was

(Continued on Second Page.)



EMMA GOLDMAN.

THEY SWEAR IT'S A GHOST.

Here Are Five Men Who Make Affidavit About This Apparition on Third Avenue.

IT'S A POLITE SORT OF SPECTRE.

Bows Right, Left and Centre, and Does Not Complain When a Brick Is Shied Through It.

No fewer than fifteen persons are willing to take solemn oath that they saw this ghost in the front room of the first flat of No. 1353 Third avenue. This is an ordinary four-story building, the ground floor being a store, just like hundreds of others on Third avenue. The block between Seventy-second and Seventy-third streets is as busy as any other on that busy thoroughfare.

The ground floor of this building was occupied as a paint shop. It was burned out last Saturday. The parlor of the flat above was burned badly. The windows were destroyed altogether. John O'Connor, a bartender, his two sisters and his cousin, Thomas McKeown, occupy the flat.

The discoverer of this ghost is Simon Weinberg, who has a cigar store and a billiard parlor at No. 1352 Third avenue, which is directly opposite the haunted house. Mr. Weinberg is also a notary public. Mr. Weinberg does not look like a discoverer of ghosts. He has the reputation of being a sedate and conservative man. This is what he says of the ghost:

"I was sitting out in front on Wednesday night. It was just 10.45 o'clock when I saw it. It was a white figure in the window. I thought it was a woman in her night dress at first, and I didn't think much of it. Then it began to act strangely. Then I looked at it closely. It was like a man with a sheet over him. It stretched out its arms and waved them back and forth. It bowed to the right and then to the left. Then it bowed in front. It moved with a slow and stately movement.

"Three young fellows, who came out of the saloon in the middle of the block, saw it, too, and stopped suddenly. One of them yelled and the ghost melted out of sight. The young men walked on, and I thought it was some fellow playing a joke. Within a minute or two the ghost appeared again. It began to march back and forth in front of the windows, bowing right and left.

"I called to some young fellows who were on the corner. One, McLaughlin, lives upstairs. 'Come here, Mac,' I said, 'look at some one who's a ghost up there.'

"'Oh, rats,' Mac said, 'I don't believe in any such nonsense as that.'

"Then he looked over, and when he saw the ghost bowing he gave a jump. One of the other fellows began to shiver. I said I thought it was some one playing a joke. Then a young fellow with red hair and a straw hat picked up half a brick.

"'I'll soon settle whether it is a human being or not,' he said. With that he walked over towards the other side. He waited until the ghost was in the middle of the window and then he fired the brick straight at it. We saw that brick go right through the white figure, and we heard the brick fall on the floor with a crash. The ghost melted away."

Somebody suggested that they get a policeman. McLaughlin found Policeman Quinn, who was on post. "There's a ghost in No. 1353," said McLaughlin. "Come up and see it." The policeman told McLaughlin he had the willies, whatever they are, but he decided to investigate. Just as the window came within the policeman's vision the apparition appeared.

"Holy smoke!" exclaimed the policeman, only he didn't say smoke—"What t'ell!" Then he stopped. He watched the bowing of the white figure, the melting into air and the appearing again. Then he went over and interviewed Richard Stephens, who is employed to watch the burned paint-shop.

"Ghost!" said the watchman. "Huh!"

Then he laughed at the policeman Quinn went to Morrison's saloon and saw O'Connor.

"What do you mean by letting some fool dress himself in a sheet and go bowing around in your flat?" he demanded.

O'Connor breathed hard and significantly tapped his forehead, but Quinn convinced him he wasn't fooling. O'Connor put on his coat and went with the policeman. But by that time the ghost had made its final appearance for the night.

Weinberg was a good deal disturbed about the ghost, and he told many people about it. They laughed at him and said he had "em. All the same ten or fifteen of them made it their business to be around on Thursday night. Promptly at five minutes before 11 the ghost appeared at the window. It bowed as it had done the night before.

The discoverer of the ghost thought the matter over and decided that something should be done. He talked it over with some of them, who had seen the apparition, and the result was that this affidavit was sworn to:

We, the undersigned, do swear that on this date, at about 11 P. M., we saw what appeared to be a ghost at the first-floor window of No. 1353 Third avenue, New York City.

H. DREYFUS,
V. LEWIS,
J. O'CAKEW,
J. BRENNAN,
WILLIAM SALOMON.

Sworn to before me this 16th day of August, 1894.
SIMON WEINBERG,
Notary No. 125.

A reporter found that O'Connor's household was a good deal excited over the affair. "A ghost," said Miss Annie O'Connor, "sure, there's nothing of the kind about here. There's no room for a ghost in the flat. It's all the getting up of those men across the street."

"A ghost!" said Stephens, the watchman, "it's a natural ghost. I discovered what it was last night. It was a cat, a white cat. I saw it plain enough. But those fellows across the street would go before any court in the land and swear that it was a ghost. There ain't no such things as ghosts."

Every one of the men who signed the affidavit and a good many others were willing to swear again that they saw the apparition.

"Of course, I don't believe in any such things as ghosts," declared Victor Lewis; "but I saw that thing, and it's mighty strange. I don't see how any one could be playing a joke. I don't know what to make of it. You've got to believe what you see."

"Don't you suppose that if it had been a man that brick would have done him up?" said Weinberg last night when somebody mentioned the practical joke. That brick thrown by the red-headed boy with a straw hat floored the sceffers.

There was a big crowd around until 11 o'clock to see the ghost. The family permitted the light to shine in from the rear rooms. It didn't appear, but then, no self-respecting ghost would show itself with a gaslight behind him.

Dr. Wm. A. Hammond's Advice Bureau. Two months in his Museum, 110 West 57th, N.Y.C.

MADE A HUSBAND TO ORDER.

When Wealthy Miss Nina Pifford Fell in Love with George Clapper He Was Her Lover.

When the Rev. Dr. Roberts performed the ceremony which made Miss Nina M. Pifford, of Pifford, Livingston County, Mrs. George Francis, of New York City, in Dr. John Hall's Fifth avenue church a week ago to-day, he did not know that the handsome young man was once an employee at the elegant Pifford home in Livingston County, and that he was taken up by the pretty and wealthy young woman and by her aid educated and put in the way of success in worldly affairs. Nor did he know that George Francis was once George Clapper, and that the Pifford and Clapper families in Livingston County are widely separated in the social scale.

The Pifford family went to the Genesee Valley with the salt boom, and the village which grew up about them was named Piffardinia in their honor. It is now called Piffard for short. The family kept up a fine establishment at Piffard and another here.

The Clapper family was poor and the boys worked at odd jobs over the county. George was the most ambitious. He was studious and managed to take a course in bookkeeping at the Genesee Normal School. The knowledge there gained secured him a place in a grocery store at Rochester, but he went back to Livingston County and somehow drifted into the employ of the Piffards. While with them he frequently drove the carriage for the young ladies of the family.

Just how it happened only Miss Nina and the studious young employee know. But it did happen, and one day humble George Clapper packed up and went to Poughkeepsie, where he entered the business college and was finally graduated with honor.

Everybody in Piffard said Miss Nina knew where the money came from that supported the young man during those years and paid for his education.

George Clapper came from College a handsome and polished young gentleman, very different from his brothers and sisters at home, and the equal of the elegant Piffards in bearing and attainments.

But the transformation was not complete. One day George Clapper posted off to Albany, and after a little legal formality left the city as George Francis. Then he came to the metropolis, and soon fell into a good business which now brings him enough to support two in the style becoming to his assumed station in life.

But George Francis never forgot the Clapper family, still plodding along at odd jobs in Livingston County, and when he went back there to visit his old parents had many a good drive with him behind the best team George could find at the livery stables. A year or so ago he bought a house for the old folks, and they expect to die in it surrounded by the comfort and plenty they did not know when their boy was plain George Clapper.

During these visits whenever Miss Nina and George Francis met they greeted each other as old acquaintances, nothing more. That is why the news of their marriage has upset all Livingston County.

Dr. Henry G. Pifford, of No. 10 West Thirty-fifth street, is an uncle of the bonny bride. At his residence last night it was said that the family proposed to give out for publication nothing beyond the fact that the marriage had taken place at the time and place stated.

TOWSER GOT A BATH ALL RIGHT.

But as He Struggled to Get in the Swim He Dragged in His Master, and a Man Who Tried to Save Him Was Arrested.

Jacob Maul, of No. 238 Pleasant avenue, is not a big man by any means. He owns a Newfoundland dog, Towser, that stands nearly as many hands high as he does. He took Towser to the foot of East One Hundred and Seventeenth street for a swim after dinner yesterday. The dog was impatient to get into the water. He dragged his master about while the latter was trying to unhook the chain from his collar, and, suddenly, both dog and man were floundering in the river.

Two small boys on the dock yelled for help, and Louis Elgin, a plumber, of No. 346 East One Hundred and Seventeenth street, dived in. Maul instantly threw his hands around his neck and Elgin was powerless. He tried ineffectually to shake off the drowning man, and when he found it was useless he shouted to the boys to run for help.

John Quinn, of No. 448 East One Hundred and Fourteenth street, came along and jumped in. He managed to tow both men to the dock and they were dragged ashore.

Policeman Moickle, of the East One Hundred and Twenty-sixth Street Station, had been called. Maul was excited and dripping. He speaks indifferent English, and the policeman had an idea that he was accusing Elgin of having pushed him into the river. He arrested Elgin. Quinn and the boys accompanied Moickle and his prisoner to Harlem Police Court. There, through an interpreter, Maul told how the dog had dragged him into the water. When Elgin jumped in and grabbed him he was sure his would-be rescuer wanted to drown him. The small boys said it wasn't so, and Justice Talntor discharged Elgin.

The dog—well, he didn't act a bit like the Newfoundland dogs of the school books. He just swam around, and didn't worry about his splashing, spluttering master or the man who was making a collar-and-elbow effort to save him. Maul said when he was leaving court that he thought Towser had got rattled.

MRS. ASTOR WINS A RACE.

Ladies Steer Catboats at Newport in an Exciting Contest.

(Special to The World.)

NEWPORT, R. I., Aug. 17.—An exciting catboat race took place off this port this afternoon between local cats selected from those usually to be let for hire from the Long Wharf. The crews were appointed by lot, and consisted of a lady and gentleman for each boat. The lady steered and the boat was disqualified if her companion touched the tiller. The steerswomen were Mrs. J. J. Astor, Mrs. Butler Duncan, Mrs. Harriman, Mrs. Ladenburg and another lady whose name was not disclosed.

Royal Phelps Carroll had charge of the procession, and the starting signal was given from the Navahoe. The course was from a line between Navahoe and the southwest end of Goat Island, to and around the buoy on Bishop's Rock and return. The wind blew strong from the east, making it a dead run to the mark and a beat back. A remarkably good race resulted in a win for Mrs. J. J. Astor. Mrs. Potter was a good second. J. J. Astor's electric launch Progress accompanied the race round the course and a fleet of cats and naphthas hovered round during the contest.

Houri, Vaquero, Celia, Adelaide and Dorothy are ready for the twenty-one-foot race to-morrow for August Belmont's cup. This class will have a race off this port every day next week: Monday, second set, for cups presented by August Belmont; Tuesday, first set, race for cup presented by the ladies of Newport valued at $500; Wednesday, race for cup presented by Pierpont Duryea; Thursday, second set; race for ladies' day; Friday, race for cup presented by Ralph Ellis; Saturday, final for ladies' cup.

CAMPANIA IS QUEEN

Arrives from Queenstown in Five Days and Twenty-Nine Minutes.

SMASHING ALL OCEAN RE

Her Passengers Left Ireland Sunday Night to Row York Friday Night and Knew Logged in One Day.

To the eastward of Fire Isla appeared at 4 P. M. yesterday red funnels of the steamship C She had sailed from Queenst Sunday, and her passengers American Friday night.

This wonderful voyage bro ocean record as it has not bee for years, and the prophecie when the big twin Cunarder



STEAMSHIP CAMPANIA—QUEE

pania and Lucania, were launc been more than fulfilled. But surprise even to those who pected so much of the highes English ship-building skill. A the sea-sharps got down to they grew more and more ama

The Campania left Liverpool urday. At Queenstown she too the remainder of the British m those passengers who had elec aboard at her last port. Ju noon the last sack and the la passengers were aboard, and th got under way. At exactly 12 Sunday she passed Daunt's Roc entrance of the harbor, and sw to the westward. There was west, northwest wind blowi enough to ruffle the ocean. was light and languid, and as pania left the land, built down her the open ocean had an ap a pond. After twenty swath of storm eastern sea was so still that for hours I seen lying behind her in a bro

From Sunday noon to midda the twin engines, exerting thei effort of 30,000-horse power, flyer over 516 knots. From Mo till Tuesday at the same weather was serene, and whe day observation was taken quent mathematical probl solved, it was found that th had made just 535 miles more through these tremendo ances of speed the engines easily as a well-oiled hub ship's day ended on Wednes showed that in the twenty she had made 543 knots.

The west, northwest wind Aug 14, Thursday, when th was off the Grand Banks— fog and ice. Then they shi to the southeast, and from swung to the north, nort came with the shifting win two hours the engines wo duced speed. This was done ure of safety for all afloat lantic, for if the Campania other vessel she would through her as a knife slits low cheese. In the two hou vessel rested, her engines that she lost about eleven h about thirty minutes in tir fog didn't last long, and a the enforced delay the Ca winging away to the west pace she had set from the As a result of the delay her Thursday to 525 knots. She a measure next day, howev the run, 546 knots, was anno was a cheer from officers an alike.

All hands knew about th the laurels of the Lucania—r record of 5 days 17 hours an were lost, and bets were but the wagers were, of much she would beat the re had an idea that she woul m-n willing to gamble tha lose could have had any money offered at the hun odds. Every soul aboard quivive through Thursd early hours of Friday there were almost as many on the ship as there are at meeting.

Long before noon the exc high, and when the officers the bridge to take the obse flew as fast as the foam th under the Campania's coun nouncement of the day's ru money change hands, but n on the time she would mak was pretty well figured o nothing short of an accide the Campania from slicing Lucania's 4-inch. The ma aboard knew the ship's po noon observation, and fro they knew it was in the of 120 miles to Sandy Hook ord was pretty well figure the Island to the Hook made the distance of 3,07 in exactly one hour and t

At exactly 5.46 P. M. sh bar at Sandy Hook, makin from Daunt's Rock in 5 da 38 minutes, beating the Lu by 2 hours and 11 minutes. was 2,783 knots, a short c this reason her performan siderably to her navigat gineers in charge of the m chinery are all agree that most of the credit is due. of good seamanship con for laxity in this quarter.

Considering the time as bevered the average hourl Campania was 21.6 knots average daily runs were high average that she action.

This performance of e entitles her to hold both eastward records. May of 5 days 11 hours and 8 in November, 1893, shows speed of 21.36 knots an her respect the Lucania h the whole voyage the one has rivalled over

89120700D

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1894 Aug. 18 [New York to] The World, New York / Emma Goldman.— 2 p.; 43 × 28 cm.

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

DEFEAT BOERS.

Rebel Police Seek to Relieve a Besieged Garrison Driven Off With Heavy Loss.

ACRE OF FARMERS' FAMILIES.

Outrages Perpetrated in the Heidelberg District—Marksmen Road Blockades.

PORTIA, South African Republic, Aug. 17.—The Kaffir rebels have reinforced the force of Transvaal mounted men sent to relieve the besieged garrison at Agatha. The police lost heavily in the engagement.

Encouraged by success, the Kaffirs attacked the retreating troopers and at one time the main column of the Boers. The Kaffirs were driven back, but the advance of the column has been delayed.



KAFFIR IN WAR DRESS.

Along the Boer settlements along the Vaal River come reports of severe fighting between isolated parties of the Boers and the Kaffirs, who are raiding their homesteads along the border.

Many Boers are fleeing before the Kaffirs now, taking with them all their movable property, but large quantities of grain and cattle have fallen into the rebels' hands.

Whole families have been massacred. The fiercest feelings have been aroused against the rebellious natives. The Coutpansberg district Hendrina have been perpetrated. Large numbers of women and children have been slain and an immense amount of property has been destroyed.

Several passenger coaches have been fired in all the disturbed districts. The passengers have been killed, and the coaches, after being looted, have been wrecked, the mules being stolen. The Lydenburg road is closed. The Kaffirs have erected a strong barricade at a point where it passes between hills, and they are said to be prepared to stoutly defend this pass. The Government is reinforcing its troops as rapidly as possible. It is expected that an advance in force will be made upon the Kaffirs to-day or to-morrow.

The Kaffirs are the great warlike nation of South America. The Zulus and Matabeles are branches of this race. The term Kaffir is usually applied to the parent stem. One rarely hears of the Zulus and Matabeles as Kaffirs.

The story of the Kaffirs affords in many particulars a parallel to that of the Indian tribe in this country. Like the Kaffirs, for instance, the savagery of the most formidable hands in South Africa have been gradually crowded out and subdued by the British and Dutch colonists. At times they have made vigorous resistance and have inflicted great losses on the invading settlers. About the time that Europe was startled by the great Napoleonic wars, Kaffir chiefs, women and children, were waste the unprotected settlements, required all the British forces in Africa to overcome them. Kaffirs are the most formidable hordes of savages that was about sixty years ago, when they burst across the frontier settlements, fighting men and slaughtering numbers of people. It required the use of hand-to-hand fighting to overcome them. That war was comparable in its fierceness to the fight between the early settlers and the Maoris in New Zealand. Fifteen years later there was another big war, and there was yet another, but not quite so extensive, in which the Kaffirs differ from the North American Indians in that defeat does not mean decay. Under the Dutch rule they are increasing in numbers and undergoing the civilizing process as the blacks in this country. They are almost the only race in the diamond fields who are physically and morally the Kaffirs are superior to the other negro tribes. Further south they live—that is, in the climate grows—the higher their qualities.

Many of the Kaffir tribes have light brown complexions, and they are nearly 6 feet in height. They are well proportioned, muscular. But they, owing to excessive work, are inferior in all respects to the men, except in two tribes where they are slaves. The Kaffirs are brave, warlike, and were more honest in their original state than since they came in contact with Europeans. The Boers, in making the raids in the country which belong to outlying tribes, are those further south, and will proceed as soon as the settlers can muster their forces. The Dutch of the Transvaal and Orange Free State are used to border warfare, as the English have tried to conquer them, know.

"MY YEAR IN STRIPES."

(Continued from First Page.)

sick several days before the female breakfast would admit that she was sick. When the doctor ordered her to be moved to the hospital the first matron still declared she was "faking," and continued to abuse her until her sense returned, she suddenly became all sympathy and attention. Poor old woman! The sympathy came too late, for she died just a day or so before she would have been free, legally murdered.

WHAT SHE SAW WILL HAUNT HER.

Again I say that I received my best treatment. But that could not blind me to the sufferings of the poor inmates there. My friends were unremitting in their attention and gave me the tenderest care and the head matron knew that if any harm had befallen me, even though the law did nothing, she would have had to account to my friends.

I can never forget the faces of the dead, plucked and distorted by suffering. I can never forget the haggard, worn look of the living. Those sights will haunt me to my dying day.

I do not know why, but our female monarch seemed anxious to propitiate me, and used to send me meals from her own table, which I never tasted—and talked very unbecomingly to me. But I am not to be so taken in.

MORE OF AN ANARCHIST THAN EVER.

Yes, I am more of an Anarchist than ever.

I am more than ever determined to use every means in my power to spread my doctrines among the people.

I defy prison and prosecution.

I could never contest myself, now that I have seen the injustice of the law.

However pleasantly I might be situated, I could not banish from my mind the thousands who are oppressed and suffer from the injustice of the present system.

Society lies in its last convulsions. The people are awakening to their condition. Let them once fully realize it and the present system will go.

Men cannot be happy as long as they are slaves.

They cannot expect theft, murder, prostitution and oppression to be gotten rid of until the system which breeds rottenness is gone.

Mending of any kind won't do.

The earth must be swept of these parasites—human vampires, despots of crime.

As the last fragments of this system disappear, Anarchy will lift her proud head and spread out her blessings to all humanity.

For this I shall continue to work.

The true and loving mother of humanity, my motto is as ever, "Death to Tyranny!"

Vive l'Anarchie!

Emma Goldman

Before Warden Fitzbury, of the penitentiary, went away on his vacation, he left orders that no reporters should be admitted to Miss Goldman. Ordinarily, the papers released from the penitentiary leave Blackwell's Island on the 8 A. M. boat, which lands them at the foot of East Fifty-second street. But Miss Goldman, with the purpose of avoiding the newspaper men, who she knew would be waiting for her, was permitted to take the 6:30 A. M. boat, which carries back the officers who have been on night duty in the prison.

Arrived at East Fifty-second street, Miss Goldman was met by Edward Brady, a German Anarchist, who was a witness for her at her trial. A few reporters were waiting for her, but she positively refused to speak to them. With Brady, she boarded a First avenue car and rode uptown a few blocks. Then alighting, they took an elevated railroad train downtown. She breakfasted at Dennett's, on Park Row. Then she went home and yesterday afternoon and last night she visited her friends and received their congratulations on her release. The group of Anarchists in this city made no organized demonstration of joy at her return.

Miss Goldman was vivacious; her cheeks were red and her eyes were bright. She wore a new straw hat with gay flowers on it, a blue linen shirt-waist and a black dress skirt. She lost five pounds in weight during her incarceration.

"Physically I am pretty well," she said to a reporter of The World, "but the mental strain on me has been very great. It is a frightful thing for a woman of intelligence to be so placed that she cannot exercise her own free will, that she is a mere machine. But worse it was to be surrounded by such degraded wretches as are prisoners in the penitentiary. You must understand that I hold it is not their fault that they are what they are. But there they were in prison, and I was among them."

"Have you made any plans for the future?" asked the reporter.

"I cannot go backward," she answered. I cannot go sideways. I must go forward."

Miss Goldman will speak in English at what is announced as a "grand concert, mass-meeting and reception," at the Thalia Theatre to-morrow night. John Swinton, Charles W. Mowbray and others will also make addresses.

It was at a meeting of the unemployed at Union Square last August that Miss Goldman uttered the words that a jury decided were incendiary. Her trial was most sensational. It opened on Oct. 5, 1893, and after four days her trial ended in a conviction. Her sentence of one year's imprisonment, which began on Oct. 16, was commuted by her good behavior to ten months.

HE'S A KNIGHT ERRANT IN BLUE.

Policeman Newhan Gallantly Releases Seven Imprisoned Working Girls and Is Promised a Treat of Ice-Cream.

Policeman Charles Newhan, of the Macdougal Street Station, is a very modest man. He blushed when he was married, not many months ago, and they say in the station-house that he has never got over the habit. So when he walked past Nos. 169 and 170 South Fifth avenue at 8 o'clock last night and saw a dainty handkerchief flirting from the fire-escape above him he said: "Go on with youse, I'm a married man," and forthwith patrolled his beat. Then he came back, as it was his duty to do. The handkerchief was then being waved violently.

"Surely, ma'am," said he, "if your intentions are honorable you'll speak your mind, and I'll come to your aid, ma'am."

"Come quick," a soprano voice answered him, "we're in a heap of trouble. We're prisoners."

Off went Officer Meehan's coat and shield. In two minutes he was on the landing of that fire-escape. A moment later he was seen struggling down the difficult descent with a fainting bundle of femininity in his arms. By this time a curious crowd had gathered and there was much excitement. All sorts of stories had got about.

"Somebody's gone and locked up a dozen young ladies and the copper's goin' to do him," cried a wise small boy, to the crowd expected a scrap.

But there wasn't any. Policeman Newhan carried one young lady down, then he fetched another down and landed seven on the sidewalk.

Then the girls explained it all. They were making paper boxes for the Monneck Manufacturing Company, and, as there was a rush of business, were working overtime. The foreman had gone away, and had forgotten to give them the key to the outside door, which abuts with a snap lock. So when their work was over they found themselves locked in, and forthwith hung out the distress signal which had caused Policeman Newhan such embarrassment. They said their names were Julia Wolf, Julia McCandle, Anna Kemp, Lily Hoerta, Rosie [illegible], Carrie Eneswerger and Julia Lan[illegible].

"Come around to-morrow, Saturday," said Miss [illegible]. "Come around and we'll blow you to ice-cream, won't we girls."

"Yes," said all in a chorus.

"Yes," said Officer Newhan, "I'll be there."

DEMOCRATS WILL FIGHT.

Voted Against Mr. Root in the Albany Convention as a Warning on Apportionment Robbery.

WOMAN SUFFRAGISTS DECORATED.

Long Shore Lead to the Suggestion that It Would Be Well to Cut Off the Flow of "Tin."

(Special to The World.)

ALBANY, Aug. 17.—Chairman Becker, of the Constitutional Convention Committee on Apportionment, asked to-day for an extension of time until next Friday to report the proposed apportionment amendment.

Mr. Bowers asked Mr. Becker whether the article was not nearly ready, and said that the general principles which he understood had been adopted were such that he was perfectly willing that Mr. Becker's time should be extended for a year. This caused a smile, and Mr. Becker replied that the article is in shape, but the committee desires time to perfect it. Mr. Becker's request was granted.

The analysis of the proposed apportionment scheme, as printed in The World this morning attracted very general attention. A dozen Republicans said they were convinced that the creators of the measure had gone too far from the line of justice, and predicted that the sober element in the Republican majority would succeed in persuading the headstrong to abandon their extreme policy.

Should the conservative Republicans not succeed in modifying the harshness of the Apportionment Committee's proposition it is not improbable that they will form a quasi-union with the Democratic minority for the purpose of amending the article. The conservative Republicans are aware that to go too far in partisanship in the apportionment matter will endanger other convention work before the people.

Mr. Marks's proposition to give property-owners in condemnation proceedings the right of electing whether a jury or a commission should determine the question of damages was brought up by Mr. Root, who wanted to kill it finally. The Committee of the Whole considered it last night, reported progress and ask leave to sit again. The convention refused, 69 to 59, to give this permission.

It was thought this killed the scheme, which, as The World has shown, is full of possible harm to the new underground road of New York City and of possible benefit to the Manhattan monopoly, but Mr. Root was defeated to-day—52 to 72—and the subject therefore may be taken up again by the Committee of the Whole.

Many Democrats who are opposed to the Marks proposition voted against Mr. Root's motion to kill it, as a sort of preliminary move in the apportionment struggle. If the Republicans insist upon passing an unfair apportionment the Democrats can rally to the support of the Marks Manhattan monopoly measure and send it to the people. Its almost certain unpopularity would help to drag the apportionment article down to defeat.

The new rule requiring sessions on Saturdays goes into effect to-morrow. It is likely that not more than a bare quorum will be present to-morrow morning, and it is prophesied that at the afternoon meeting there will not be a quorum. Excuses from attendance for a day or two days were sought and obtained to-day by forty-six members, and for this reason a motion was made to abandon the sessions to-morrow. The motion was lost after President Choate had made a vigorous protest against wasting any opportunities. It is probable, however, that the Saturday afternoon session will be abolished. The really valuable members of the convention would rejoice if the Committee on Rules would take the verbosity situation in hand and arrange that there shall be less "yap," and thus give the members Saturday afternoon, Sunday and Monday until 8 P. M. for rest and private business.

Three-score members of the convention were decorated to-day with the badge of the Order of the Yellow Rose. These are the delegates who favored the woman suffrage plank with their votes the other night. The badges were distributed about the chamber by Mirabeau Lamar Towns. They were Marechal Niel roses, and had been given in a basket to Mr. Towns by some of the women who led the suffrage cause. On the card fastened to the basket, placed on Mr. Towns's desk, were the words: "To Mirabeau Lamar Towns, the Tribune of the Women."

Another basket of three-score roses was given to Mr. Lauterbach. It stood on his desk all the morning, and many read the card inscribed: "To the Noblest of his Race, the Leonine Champion of Woman Suffrage, Edward Lauterbach."

Mr. Mereness's amendment to forbid the raising of salaries of public officials during their incumbency occupied the attention of the convention for a long time to-day. A. H. Green offered an amendment exempting the New York Board of Estimate and Apportionment.

A motion to recommend the amendment for a third reading was carried by the close vote of 54 to 53. On the motion in the open convention to send the matter to a third reading, the measure was defeated, 55 to 54.

The Committee on Industrial Interests has decided to report the following as an anti-conspiracy amendment:

No law shall be enacted making it unlawful for any number of persons to peaceably band themselves together for the purpose of raising the wages, decreasing the hours of labor or bettering the moral or material condition of themselves or others.

The sub-committee of the Cities Committee, having in charge the drafting of a section relating to the contracting of debts, have decided that no city, county, town or village shall loan money to any individual for any purpose, nor incur indebtedness of any kind except for city, county, town or village purposes, which indebtedness shall not exceed 10 per cent. of the assessed valuation of such division.

PLUCKY WOMAN CHASES A THIEF.

Decides Her Jewelry Is Not Half Enough Other Valuable Property.

Mrs. S. S. Lahman, wife of a hosier on Sixth avenue, went driving yesterday. She reached her home, No. 113 Waverley place, just after dusk. Turning the corner of the stairway on her way to her flat on the second floor she came face to face with a slim, slight, fair-haired young man who made way for her to pass, bowed and passed downstairs. Then Mrs. Lahman found the door of her flat wide open. She had carefully locked it before she went out. She ran after the young man, and when she reached the street pointed him out to a policeman. Then followed a pace along Waverley place, round into West Fourth street, the policeman following the man, until at Jones street another policeman in plain clothes jumped out of a doorway and caught the fugitive.

At the Charles street station the man said he was George Wilson, and he refused to give his address.

"If you say I stole your property I'll deny you," he said to Mrs. Lahman, but it willed when two diamond rings, a diamond lace pin, a pearl pin, a gold watch, a pair of opera glasses, all her jewelry, and several gowns were found on him. Two thousand dollars in bills of the Ocean National Bank were also found on the prisoner. He was committed to the Tombs to await a hearing in the Police Court.

UNCLE SAM SAVING MONEY.

Chairman of the Appropriations Committee Shows Reductions Made.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 17.—Chairman Sayers, of the House Committee on Appropriations, has completed an official statement of the amount appropriated by the session of Congress just closed, as compared with that session. The statement represents the views of the Democratic majority in the committee and in the House on the economy of Government expenditures.

The statement is as follows:

"The appropriations made during the extraordinary session and the first regular session of the present Congress, including permanent appropriations, show a reduction of $[illegible] under the appropriations made at the last session of the last Congress, and, deducting the amount of the River and Harbor bill, $[illegible], which should be done for the purpose of comparison, inasmuch as no River and Harbor bill was passed by the last Congress at its last session, the reduction is $[illegible].

"The bills, including deficiencies, as passed by the House, made a reduction under the estimates submitted to Congress of $[illegible]. They were increased, as reported from committees to the Senate, $[illegible]; they were increased as passed by the Senate, $[illegible], and as they became laws, including miscellaneous, they appropriated less than the estimates, $[illegible], more than as they passed the House $[illegible] less than as they passed the Senate $[illegible], and less than the laws for 1894, including permanent appropriations, $[illegible].

As compared with the laws passed at the last session of the last Congress, the following reductions are shown in the bills:

By the Agricultural bill	$[illegible]
By the Army bill	[illegible]
By the Legislative, &c., bill, which carries to the mails the great salary list of the Government	[illegible]
By the Military Academy bill	[illegible]
By the Pension Appropriations bill	[illegible]
By the Sundry Civil bill	[illegible]
On account of deficiencies	[illegible]
On account of permanent appropriations (including $11,000,000 for sugar bounty, which is abolished, and $[illegible] expended under obsolete laws that are repealed)	[illegible]
Total reductions	$[illegible]

The bills showing increases over the last laws are as follows:

The Diplomatic and Consular bill	$ [illegible]
The District of Columbia bill	[illegible]
The Fortifications bill	[illegible]
The Indian bill	[illegible]
The Naval bill	[illegible]
The Post-Office bill	[illegible]
The River and Harbor bill (total)	[illegible]
Miscellaneous	[illegible]
Total increase	$[illegible]

To fit ally complete, equip and arm the fifty new vessels of the navy built or authorized, it is estimated that there will yet have to be appropriated the further sum of $[illegible], making a total of $[illegible], which the new navy, as now authorized, will cost. Of these fifty new naval vessels only three were authorized by the present Congress, and their total cost is limited to $[illegible].

PANTATA AT NEW ORLEANS.

Business Man Testify to Giving a Councilman Five $100 Bills.

(Special to The World.)

NEW ORLEANS, Aug. 17.—In the Callahan bribery case to-day Elmer E. Wood, of E. D. Wood & Son, testified. His firm had the wharf privileges, which he desired to have transferred to the Pennsylvania Coal Company, of which Mr. Widney is agent.

Agent Widney testified that Callahan promised, on Oct. 2 last to have an ordinance introduced into the Council for the transfer. The ordinance was drawn up. On the night of Nov. 1, when Callahan's committee met, witness went to the City Hall and asked Callahan as to the status of the ordinance.

Callahan asked what the privileges were worth to witness, and upon his answering that they were not worth much Callahan answered that unless witness was willing to pay $500 to Callahan to be divided among the committee the ordinance could not pass. Major Wood came up and witness and Wood discussed the proposition, agreeing that it was best to pay the sum. Wood objected to the price, and Callahan said that no less could be accepted.

Witness made an appointment with Callahan, and on Nov. 7 gave him five $100 bills.

IT'S A LIE, SAYS JACK CHINN.

Owens Was Never Interested in His Gambling Business, Directly or Indirectly.

(Special to The World.)

SARATOGA, N. Y., Aug. 17.—Jack Chinn, who has been at the Springs for three weeks, boiled with rage to-day when he read the story from Kentucky that Owens, Breckinridge's chief opponent, was his partner in a Chicago gambling-house.

He declared it a "—— lie of the foulest character." Owens and he have been close friends for years, but Owens was never directly or indirectly interested with him in any gambling enterprise. The story was started, he intimated, by the Breckinridge faction for no other purpose than to hurt Owens in the campaign, but Chinn swears that he will go down to Kentucky and make Breckinridge's election cost him some money, if he ever gets it.

The $300 paid to Mrs. Crawford was merely for money which Mr. Owens borrowed from her husband at the Latonia races in 1892.

DYNAMITE GUN WORKED WELL.

The Sandy Hook Destroyer Shows What It Can Do in the Way of Coast Guarding.

The official test of the dynamite gun was continued on Sandy Hook yesterday before the Board of Ordnance and Fortifications. Four dummies and five loaded projectiles were fired. It was demonstrated that the gun could guard the Swash Channel as well as the main ship channel, and even could send its projectiles across the Romer Shoal into the East Channel and beyond.

Four of the "live" shots fired exploded. One failed to do so, but as the contents will only explode by a heavy concussion, no danger is anticipated from it. R. T. Kingman, the President of the Pneumatic Torpedo and Construction Company, who was present, was well satisfied with the test, and so was E. G. Batcheller, the superintendent. Tests will be continued as weather permits.

A Brave Irishman Dead.

Major John McCarton died at his residence, No. 78 East One Hundred and Twenty-seventh street, on Wednesday. He will be buried from his late residence to-morrow at 1 P. M. He was born in County Armagh, Ireland, in 1839, and came to this country in 1848. He was one of the founders of the Sixty-ninth Regiment. When the war started he was made a captain in the Eighty-eighth Regiment, of the famous Irish Brigade. He served with such distinction during the war that at its close he was brevetted major.

Van Winkle and Mace Two Jersey Heroes.

Isaak Van Winkle and Ernest Mace, of Bloomfield, N. J., were fishing in Greenwood Lake, Thursday, when a row-boat containing a Miss Sims, of Brooklyn, and a young lady from Jersey City upset not far away. The men swam to the spot, and Mace seized the Jersey girl. Van Winkle dived for Miss Sims, and caught her. In the mean time a third man had set out from the shore in a boat, and the party was rescued. Miss Sims was unconscious, and is yet under care of two physicians, who are also guests at the Casino.

Laurel Wreath: Policeman's Gift.

The one hundredth performance of "The Passing Show" was given at the Casino last night to a crowded house. At the end of the first act, on behalf of the members of the orchestra, Conductor Jos. De Angelis presented Conductor Ludwig Englander, the composer of the music, with a handsome floral wreath. Later, Mr. Englander gave Mr. De Angelis a floral-decorated policeman's [illegible].

WHISKEY THE CAUSE OF IT.

President Greenhut, of the Trust, Said to Have Had a Serious Quarrel With Nelson Morris.

THEY WENT TO SEE RUSSELL SAGE.

Offered to Lend a Half Million, but Hands Wouldn't Assume Notes and the Row Followed.

There is trouble among the big men in the Whiskey Trust. The much talked about loan of $5,000,000 to a long [illegible] did not [illegible]. The air was full of sensational stories about the trust yesterday and the difficulty it was having in raising money, and a drop during the day in the stock from 8 1-8 to 15 3-4 on sales aggregating 54,700 shares was regarded by the Street as a sure sign that something was going wrong.

The first report, which was regarded as authoritative, was that Nelson Morris had refused to indorse any of the notes which the Trust proposed to give for cash advanced. Then came rumors of a serious falling out between Morris and President Greenhut, of the Trust. Mr. Greenhut was downtown all day, but he, as well as the other officials and representatives of the Trust, kept out of the way of reporters. From persons who have business relations with the Trust and its officers it was learned late in the day that the present reported trouble in the Trust camp grew out of Nelson Morris's refusal to indorse the Trust's notes.

Morris had, it is said, agreed to lend his name to the paper, but was prevented from doing so by Goldman, Sachs & Co., brokers at No. 9 Pine street. It appears that this firm handles the paper of Nelson Morris & Co., on which Morris is the indorser.

This paper finds ready buyers here among banks and brokers, but when it became known that Nelson Morris intended indorsing half a million or more of Whiskey Trust notes, Morris's brokers, Goodman, Sachs & Co., thought the knowledge might be detrimental to the value of the paper of Nelson Morris & Co. Accordingly, so the report went, Goodman, Sachs & Co. went for Morris as soon as they heard that he had agreed to be an indorser on Whiskey Trust paper, and told him that he must not indorse, and explained the reasons why.

President Greenhut also came to town yesterday and was not at all pleased when he found that Morris had headed the advice of his brokers and declined to indorse any Trust notes. Without Morris as one of the indorsers, the prospect for raising $5,000,000 or any considerable part of it, were very poor. But President Greenhut remembered that Russell Sage had promised to loan the trust half a million, so he, accompanied by Mr. Morris, and, it is said, one of the Warners, went up to see Mr. Sage about 2 P. M. yesterday. Just what occurred at the conference with Mr. Sage is not known, but it was said after the meeting was over that Sage was ready to lend the money, provided Mr. Morris's indorsement was given for the loan.

Morris said he couldn't and wouldn't do this, and his refusal was the cause of an exchange of unpleasant words between the two men, and of their parting in anger. The reported row is regarded as a serious matter for the trust in view of the present tariff situation. It was current rumor in Wall street that the heavy selling of whiskey stock yesterday was from the principals who were letting go their own holdings in order to raise money with which to release whiskey from bond.

President Greenhut was reported to be at the West End Hotel, Long Branch, last night. Inquiry there for him brought out the information from his friends that he was in New York at the Holland House. The clerks there said he was not in the establishment, but that they knew he was at the West End Hotel. Nelson Morris kept out of sight also. A mutual friend of the two men, who was found at the West End, said that it is true that a misunderstanding had arisen between Greenhut and Morris, but that it was of a trivial nature and that the conference in Russell Sage's office was not as sensational as reported.

A World man who called at Mr. Sage's country home at Lawrence, L. I., last night failed to see him. Mrs. Sage carried the reporter's request for an interview to him and returned with the message that he was very weary, and would not be disturbed.

"He says," said Mrs. Sage, "that a number of persons in New York City know as much about the row in his office as he does, and that there is no reason why he should talk about it."

KANSAS'S FIRST GOVERNOR DEAD.

Dr. Charles Robinson Was a Leader of That Band Which Fought So Desperately for a Free Soil.

(Special to The World.)

LAWRENCE, Kan., Aug. 17.—Charles Robinson, the first Governor of Kansas, died here to-day, after an illness of several weeks.

Dr. Robinson's name is indissolubly connected with the early history of Kansas. He was one of the leaders, the most fearless, the most aggressive and the most persistent, of that devoted band which waged there the long and desperately-bloody struggle for human liberty.

He endured bodily anguish for it; he was cast into prison; he was plundered of his property; his home was despoiled and burned; he was in peril of his life many a time. But neither his faith nor his courage was shaken. Hatred of slavery was a consuming passion with him. All his life he was a reformer; he had that exaltation of spirit and contemptuous disregard of personal consequences which make the martyr; and though he lived to see the triumph of freedom and to enjoy his reward, he remained the reformer to the end of his days.

Dr. Robinson went to Lawrence, Kan., in 1854, as confidential agent of the New England Emigrants' Aid Society. He became there the leader of the Free Soil party, was Chairman of its Executive Committee and commander-in-chief of its troops. He led, too, in the Topeka convention of 1855, which adopted the Free State Constitution, and under it was the next year elected Governor. He was Governor upon the admission of Kansas in 1861, and as such organized most of the Kansas regiments for the civil war.

NO NEED TO BE IN A HURRY.

DOCTORS McCOY AND SNOW'S OFFER OF FREE TREATMENT UNTIL CURED DOES NOT expire on September 1. There's no need to be in a hurry. Take your time, and begin treatment when it suits you.—This isn't the last month in which the offer holds good. The offer is that Doctors McCoy and Snow will treat all persons who apply at their offices absolutely free. No charge will be made except a small sum to cover the cost of the medicines necessary to effect a cure. This offer isn't limited to the summer months. Doctors McCoy and Snow will continue to treat persons free until cured for an unlimited period.

DOCTORS M'COY AND SNOW,

Offices, corner 4th street and Madison avenue, opposite the Grand Central Station and corner Lexington avenue and Broadway, opposite Hewitt Building, 5 Middle, New York. If you live out of town, write for a symptom blank. All letters will receive the Madison avenue address. Office hours 9 to 1 and 2 to 5 and 7 to 8 daily. Sundays, 10 to 1 P. M. Consultation free.

FAT PEOPLE reduced by new process; no starving; no sickness. Advice free. Prof. E. DYE, 110 5th ave., N. Y. City.

MARIE TEMPEST IS HERE TO STAY.

"I'm No Summer-Resorting Prima Donna," She Says, and to Manager Whitney Now Has Two Working Hats.

Marie Tempest, the "Dresden china prima donna," and a passenger on the Anchoria Victoria which arrived yesterday. The singer's return was entirely unexpected, it having been understood by both the public and her manager, Fred C. Whitney, that she had concluded to remain in London for the next three years under contract to George Edwardes, of the Gaiety Theatre. Indeed, Mr. Whitney has gone to the ex to engage Miss Louise Manfield as the star for his company. Now, however, by look it is granted that the rumors of Miss Tempest's defection were correct be Miss himself with an extra cable opera prima donna on his hands.

"I was more than surprised this morning to find that my arrival was unexpected," said Miss Tempest, at the St. Regis Hotel last night. "My reputation as a prima donna was not gained by breaking contracts, and I do not propose to begin now. During the summer I had a number of advantageous offers to appear in London, but, as Mr. Whitney refused to consent to postponing my district with him for another year I determined to return to New York, although I might easily have broken the contract. You can rely upon it that I will head the Marie Tempest opera company, which, my contract specifies, must be organized according to my ideas.

"Just what opera I will sing I cannot say until Mr. Whitney returns from Detroit. I have a new opera by Andran and one by a new British composer, among others, to choose from. Mr. Marius will be my stage manager, and Julius Steger my leading support. We will open in some town yet undecided upon on Sept. 10, and come to New York three weeks later."

Julius Steger, the baritone, returned on the Augusta Victoria with Marie Tempest. The prima donna was particularly anxious that it should be known that the statement that her negotiations with George Edwardes had fallen through because he refused to engage Steger was untrue. The baritone is under contract to the London manager after the expiration of his season with Whitney.

THE WICKEDEST SUMMER RESORT.

A startling and shocking expose by NELLIE BLY of one of America's most fashionable watering places in to-morrow's Sunday World.

MRS. M'CALL-WALL SILENT.

She Bears Her Burden Well, but Thinks Young McAllister Should Speak.

If Hayward McAllister came to town from Newport yesterday, as it is said, he kept himself secluded. Up to 10 P. M. he hadn't called on Mrs. Lizzie McCall-Wall, although she had confidently expected him—or at least she said so. She waited with a fondly beating heart, but he didn't appear. Therefore she said she couldn't make the "statement" she had promised, because it wouldn't be just.



MRS. LIZZIE M'CALL-WALL.

She felt that this thing would ruin her, but she was determined to bear it for his sake. Still, he should have come forward, and if he didn't do so by to-day she would have something to say. She wasn't going to sue him, because there was nothing to sue him for. But she did think he ought not to leave her in this position before the public. And she couldn't bear it much longer.

Deputies Sent Out to Meet Train Robbers.

SAGINAW, Mich., Aug. 17.—It was reported to Grand Trunk officials here that the passenger train on the Cincinnati, Saginaw and Mackinaw Railroad, due here at 8 o'clock, was to be held up at Berne, twelve miles south. A squad of deputies was sent to Berne, but found nothing more formidable than a few tramps, so the train came through without incident.



WHEN YOU CAN'T EAT

without that uncomfortable feeling of fulness or drowsiness afterwards then it's time to take Dr. Pierce's Pleasant Pellets. They make digestion EASY. Keep a vial of them in your vest-pocket and take one after every hearty meal. It's time to take them, too, whenever you "feel bilious." They're specific for Biliousness and act wonderfully upon the liver.

These tiny, sugar-coated Pellets—the smallest, the pleasantest to take, and the most natural in their ways—absolutely and permanently CURE Constipation, Jaundice, Biliousness, Indigestion, Sick or Bilious Headache, Sour Stomach, and every liver, stomach and bowel disorder.

CHRONIC NASAL CATARRH.

N. M. Hodges, Esq., of Lakeview, Rich Co., Utah, says: "I was suffering from chronic catarrh and bought a half-dozen bottles of your Dr. Sage's Catarrh Remedy, and I am happy to say I am permanently cured of that disease."

7 STORES TOGETHER.

Park Row and Chatham Square.

COWPERTHWAIT,

Park Row and Chatham Square.

THE VERY BEST

SEWING MACHINES,

ALL ATTACHMENTS

$1 Weekly for 35 Weeks

EVERYTHING FOR HOUSEKEEPING.

FURNITURE, CARPETS, &c.

$1 Weekly on $35 Worth

ONLY ONE VISIT NECESSARY.

Collections Made IF REQUESTED.

DR. TOBIAS'

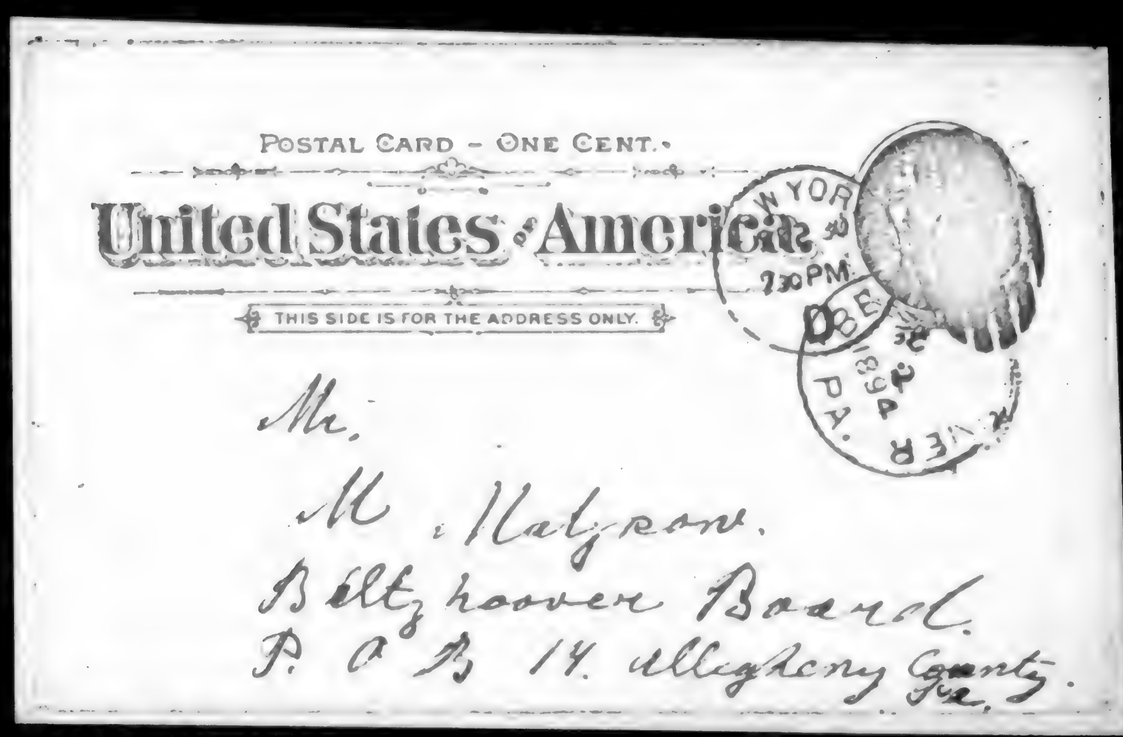
Venetian Horse Liniment

831115004

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 18]94 Sept. 29 [Ne]w Yor[k to] M[ax] Metzkow, Allegheny, Pa. / E[mma] G[oldman].— 2 p. ; 9 × 15 cm.

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POSTAL CARD - ONE CENT.

United States of America

THIS SIDE IS FOR THE ADDRESS ONLY.

NEW YORK
SEP 30
2 30 PM

ALLEGHENY
SEP 30 3 PM
PA.

Mr.

M. Matzkow.

Beltzhoover Board.

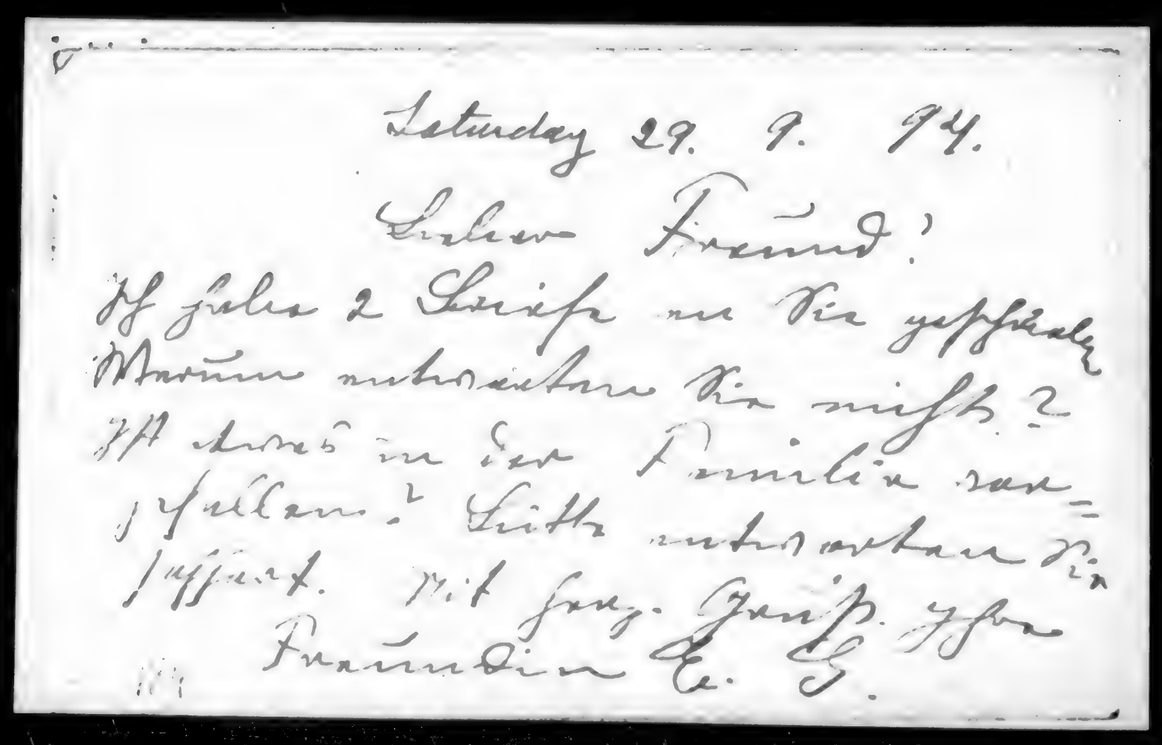
P. O. B. 14. Allegheny County Pa.

831115004

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 18]94 Sept. 29 [Ne]w Yor[k to] M[ax] Metzkow, Allegheny, Pa. / E[mma] G[oldman]. – 2 p. ; 9 × 15 cm.

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Saturday 29. 9. 94.

Lieber Freund!

Ich habe 2 Briefe an Sie geschrieben
Warum antworten Sie nicht?
Ist etwas in der Familie vor-
gefallen? Bitte antworten Sie
sofort. Mit herz. Gruß Ihre
Freundin E. G.

831115006

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 18]94 Oct. 12, New York [to] M[ax] Metzkow, Allegheny, Pa. / E[mma] G[oldman]. – 2 p. ; 14 × 15 cm.

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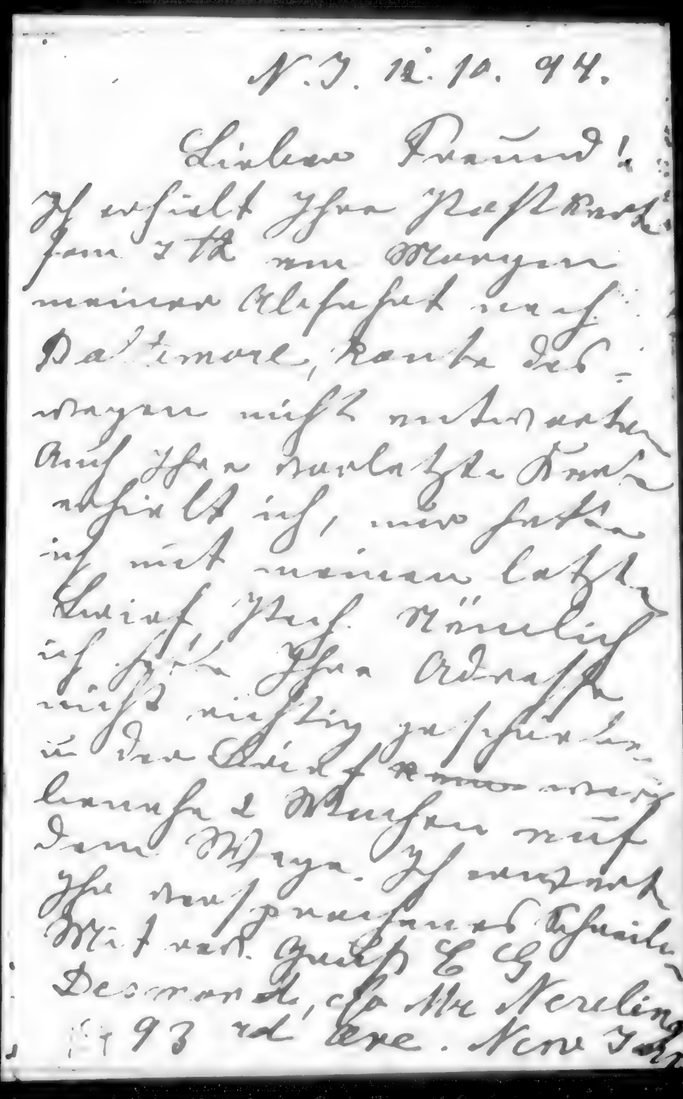


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[Postcard, 18]94 Oct. 12, New York [to] M[ax] Metzkow, Allegheny, Pa. / E[mma] G[oldman]. – 2 p. ; 14 × 15 cm.

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N.Y. 12. 10. 94.

Lieber Freund!
Ich erhielt Ihre Postkarte
[illegible] um Morgen
meinen Abschied aus
Baltimore, konnte des-
wegen nicht antworten
Auf Ihre Karte kann
nicht sein, wie sie
ist nicht meinen letzten
Brief, Herr Mönnich
ist für Ihre Adresse
nicht nötig zu schreiben
in den Brief kommen wenig
kommen [illegible] Menschen nach
dem Westen. Ich empfehle
Ihnen [illegible] Schneider
Mit vielen Gruß E G
Desmond, [illegible] Mr Sterling
[illegible] 93 rd Ave. New York

831115005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 18]94 Nov. 11, New York [to] M[ax] Metzkow, Allegheny, Pa. / E[mma] Goldman. – 2 p. ; 14 × 14 cm.

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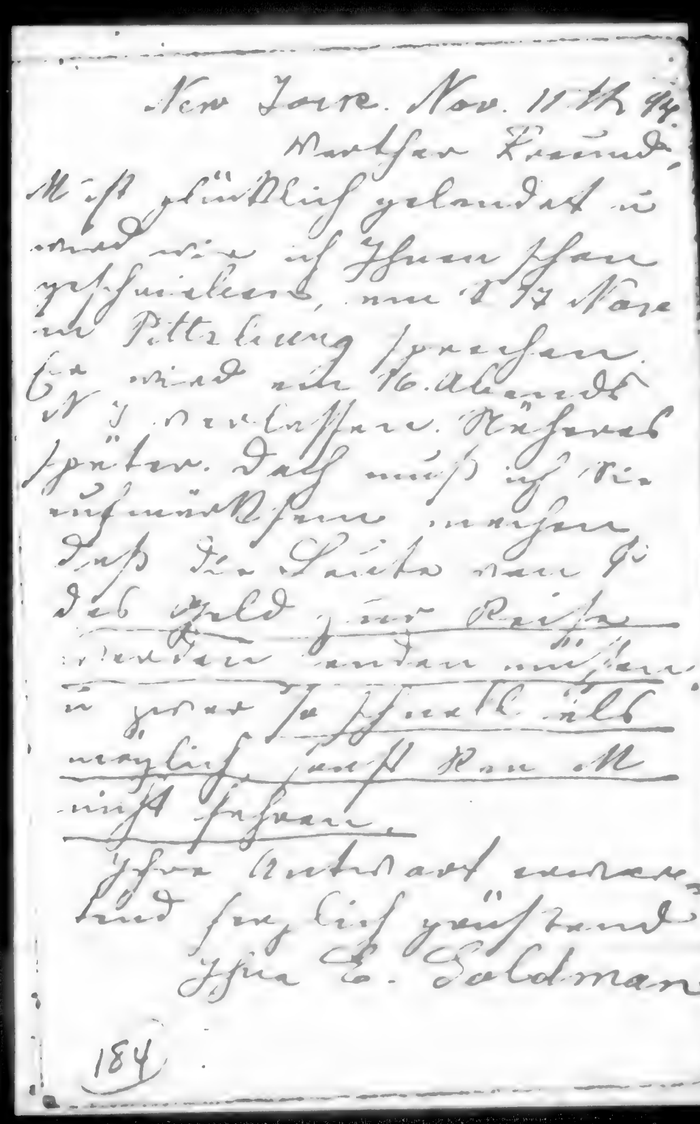


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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 18]94 Nov. 11, New York [to] M[ax] Metzkow, Allegheny, Pa. / E[mma] Goldman.— 2 p. ; 14 × 14 cm.

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New York. Nov. 11th 94.

Werther Freund,

Ich schicke Ihnen heute
und wie ich Ihnen schon
geschrieben, am 27 Nov
ist Petersburg [illegible]
Es wird ein 16. Abendes
[illegible] Vorlesung.
später. Daß muß ich Ihnen
nochmals sagen,
daß die Leute nun
das Geld für Reise
[illegible] unbedingt
[illegible]
[illegible] möglich
[illegible]

Ihre Antwort erwarte
und freundlich grüßend
Ihre E. Goldman

184

14

871117000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1895 July 21, New York? to] The Firebrand, [Portland, Ore.] / Emma Goldman.— 1 p. ; 30 × 25 cm.

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adds the power of monopoly to the privilege of ownership. The difference in point of impurity between the two is, however, similar to that existing between sunlight and sunshine; the former finally necessitates the latter.

As regards money values, it is not necessary to refer to the authority of Judge Tiffany, and other government officials, to determine the fact that money is but the sovereign fiat of state authority, its material vehicle being a monopolized commodity, its intensified power, or value resulting therefrom, is yet but the embodiment of the sovereignty of law. Legal tenders are equally as criminal as illegal counterfeits; the value of both is mythical, non-existent value. The beneficiary of counterfeit money is a criminal outlaw; the beneficiary of fiatism is a capitalist by law. The monetizing of so called precious metals necessarily appreciates the commodity value of that portion of such metal not directly operative as money; as legal tender for debt, or for purchase. Money is but a creation of tyrannic state authority; simply an arbitrary privileged method of creating artificial capital, in order to control the wealth, and natural capital, of the producers. It is legalized, enforced robbery. The complete demonetization of the accumulated metallic currency, the absolute extinction of representative values, and all forms of legal fiatism, applied to each and every government existent, would undoubtedly open the eyes of the civilized producers. They would then abruptly discover ownership to be the foundation of this accursed system, and its beneficiaries to be the announcers and controllers of statuary government. They would discover that the fortified State exists as a bulwark to defend law and ownership, and to enforce the arbitrary levying of tribute.

With such defrauding institutions in vogue, aiding the quiet consent of the producers to such murderous tactics, the product of displaced labor soon passes into the hands of such criminal parasites. This monstrous regime is at bottom an absolute despotism, though not apparently so to the victimized producers. Such a system must completely and finally embrace the monopolization of both natural and artificial capital—of both ownership and government. The intrinsic value of metallic money is the commodity worth, and whatever that value is can be ascertained only after they completely cease their money functions; this value will be small compensation for the labor expended in production and the enslavement resulting therefrom. The fictitious legal value, or that connected therewith, is valueless, and forever dependent upon the producers blindness and the fortified State for its existence; its beneficiaries must exploit these producers in order to enable them to remanufacture such values capital, and force their purchasing fiat into circulation amongst the producer's essential wealth, and real capital; its invested utilities. This criminal purchasing power coupled with other forms of legal privilege, united with the crime of ownership in the earth's resources, is what gives capitalistic society its exploiting power; being united with, and dependent upon the fortified State for existence, privilege and monopoly must live and die together with the State. The producer's wealth is thus quite easily obtained and their wealth completely controlled by these magical processes; it is by such despicable methods that the wage and profit system is born and developed, hand in hand with government. The products of the wage slaves and producers of all classes, passing directly, else indirectly, into the possession of legalized brigands, through monopolization of the land and the machinery of production, which is accomplished through the creation of, and monopolization of fortified statuary government, and its legal product, artificial capital. Labor's produce now presents itself in its ownership garb as commerce, with a price attached thereto, and being but the wealth of the producers abstracted therefrom under the guise of a wage system, and as profits, rent, interest and taxes; this being the case commerce is best defined as alien property, that privilege and monopoly deducts from producers. It is the price that producers pay for legal capital and government. It is the spoils of ownership-authority.

(to be continued)

Correspondence.

I beg to call the attention of THE FIREBRAND comrades, and liberty loving men and women everywhere, to the fact that the friends of Alexander Berkman are getting ready to appeal for a commutation of the excessive sentence imposed upon him, in 1892, for attacking Frick, the superintendent of the Carnegie iron works, during the labor troubles of that time. Most of your readers will, no doubt, remember the outrageous treatment labor received at the hands of capital, during the Homestead strike; how Pinkerton's men were engaged by Frick, smuggled down there and armed with Winchester rifles, with instruction from this man Frick, to shoot to kill. Now these hired assassins charged upon a group of defenceless men and women, who were armed with nothing but their courage and honesty of purpose; killing eleven and wounding many more. As usual the attention of the strikers was directed to the poor scabs, who are ever through circumstances compelled to take their places, while Frick, who was directly responsible for the trouble, who gave the order to drive the sick wives and children of the strikers from their homes, and who expressed the desire to have the working men massacred, rather than to see them win the strike, was not in the least molested. Even the capitalist press joined with many law-abiding citizens in denouncing Frick, and sympathizing with the unfortunate workmen.

It was at this stage that Berkman appeared upon the field, July 23d., 1892. Though not a striker, and not suffering from the cruelty of Frick himself, he keenly felt the outrage inflicted upon his brethren. Berkman, the noble youth, recognizing the man who was responsible for the sufferings of the strikers, determined to strike a blow at the cause of the evil, and the death of the eleven victims. The cries of starving mothers and innocent children gave him courage and will power to combat the enemy. He made an unsuccessful attack on Frick, slightly wounding him, but causing consternation in the enemy's camp. By the light of subsequent events it is obvious that the act was not altogether in vain. Bitterness has never raised its head so proudly since.

Utterly terrified, fearing a similar attack from other sources, the authorities hurried Berkman away to prison, where he was locked up twenty-two months, after which time he was brought before a prejudiced judge and jury, without council, or the least chance to defend himself. He was, on the 20th. of September sentenced to twenty-two years imprisonment; such a trial being illegal and without a precedent in the history of jurisprudence.

Today, while Frick, in perfect health, lives to enjoy his ill-gotten wealth, poor Berkman is languishing in a dark, musty cell, shut away from his friends and from the world, never enjoying a stray beam of sunshine; still dreaming of a dawn of perfect freedom, and a day when labor will no longer be crushed beneath the iron heel of wealth. For behind his prison bars his big warm heart still throbs with the hopes and fear of the downtrodden; he still keeps watch on the events of our times, and when permitted to write to his friends still encourages them not to give up the fight. Though but a boy in years, he has shown the philosophy and courage of a man; no word of complaint has ever passed his lips in all these three years, although he has been subjected to even more rigorous discipline than prisoners usually undergo.

Lovers of justice everywhere, even if not in sympathy with the feeling that prompted the act of 1892, must recognize the injustice of such a trial, under such circumstances, and by such a judge and jury, and must agree with us that when, according to the law he was accused of violating, the extreme penalty should have been seven years, the tactics pursued in order to sentence him for such a length of time were unlawful, as well as unjust and inhuman.

Berkman does not petition for a pardon, nor for a new trial, but simply for a reduction of sentence. Comrades and friends that feel interested in this poor prisoner will bear in mind that money is required for every effort of this kind, and will help us all they can.

Those desiring further information, or desiring to contribute to the fund, should address, until further notice, Charles Schneider, 82 Hill street, 12th. Ward, Allegheny, Pa.

Emma Goldman.

* * *

Comrades:—The Journals of Europe have the defect that they do not give us an exact idea of the revolutionary movement in America. In order to be up to date with the progress of the emancipation of the people, it becomes necessary to read the papers in their original language. I subscribe for your paper, and the amount of subscription will be sent as soon as the paper is received.

Markoloff.

Rustchuk, Bulgaria.

* All our Exchanges who love justice will please copy and request others to. The comrades at Cheyenne will do well to exert themselves in Berkman's behalf. Get your local papers to mention this effort to free Comrade Berkman.

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15

890123005

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1895 Sept., London to] The Torch, [London] / Emma Goldman.– 1 p.; 35 × 28 cm.

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

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I remember a gentleman stating as a proof of his truthfulness, when I cast a doubt upon an assertion that he had made, that he was a member of the Institute of Journalists, and wrote for a great many London newspapers. He seemed quite astonished when the crowd around laughed and howled. I was not surprised at all. E. Y.

EMMA GOLDMANN.

Our comrade, Emma Goldmann, from New York, who has been in London during the last few weeks, has thrown herself into the breach with all her accustomed energy, and has given a very much needed fillip to our open-air propaganda. She has addressed large and enthusiastic crowds at Regent's Park, Hyde Park, and at our different stations in the Canning Town district. On Friday, 13th, in company with Louise Michel, Lawrence, and others she addressed a meeting at South Place Institute, giving an account of the treatment our comrade Berkmann is subjected to in prison, and trying to interest the public in the efforts made to bring about a reduction of the cruel and vindictive sentence of 23 years passed on him. P.

ALEXANDER BERKMANN.

I beg to call the attention of the *Torch* readers and liberty loving men and women everywhere, to the fact that friends and comrades of Alexander Berkmann are about to appeal for a commutation of the excessive sentence imposed upon him in 1892 for attacking Frick, the superintendent of the Carnegie iron works, during the labor troubles of that time.

All our readers will remember the causes which led to the brave act of our comrade Berkmann, and even those not sympathising with the feeling that prompted the act of July 1892, must recognize the injustice of the sentence passed on Berkmann by American "justice," and must agree with us that when, according to the law which he was accused of violating, the extreme penalty should have been *seven years*, the tactics pursued in order to sentence him to 22 years imprisonment were unlawful, as well as unjust and inhuman. Berkmann does not petition for a pardon, nor for a new trial, but simply for a reduction of sentence.

Comrades and friends who feel interested in the welfare of our brave, courageous, imprisoned comrade are requested to give us their financial aid.

Subscriptions will be received by Comrade Gunderson, 98, Wardour St., Soho Square, London, W.

EMMA GOLDMANN.

ITALY.

CAVALOTTI's heroic attempts to bring Crispi to justice and to force him to defend himself before a judge here, as we predicted, ended in failure. As already reported, the judge charged with the preliminary investigation of the documents collected by Cavalotti has decided that the accusations cannot be established. Four of the evidences in question are not bearing the compromising phrase in red ink copied in the register of the Chamber that the crook had to present, and the fifth evidence was acquitted that only a difference [illegible]

solutely sure of the votes of the thieves and lackeys who have sold themselves body and soul to him, he can continue to defy public opinion, and carry on the game which has made Italian politics stink in the nostrils of every honorable man.

It has been suggested that the twenty-fifth anniversary of the entry of the Italian army into Rome should be celebrated by a general amnesty. A ministerial council was held last week to discuss the question, but the outcome of its deliberations has not yet been made known. Judging from the way the police are acting in Sicily, where the dissatisfaction amongst the peasants is constantly spreading, and isolated outbreaks are a matter of every-day occurrence, the talked-of amnesty will remain a pious aspiration of a few well-meaning journalists.

At Palermo twelve of the best-known leaders of the revolutionary Socialists have been arrested in virtue of the law of July 1894 and sent into *domicilio coatto*. Amongst them is Prince Cuto, and the editor and most of the staff of the *Riscossa*, which, in consequence, has ceased publication. Several other warrants have not yet been executed, as the people against whom they are directed have disappeared. F.

FRANCE.

THE situation at Carmaux remains unchanged. The company demands the unconditional return to work of the glass-blowers on strike, while the latter persist in their demands. Public opinion is still on the side of the strikers, and subscriptions are flowing in from all sides. M. Jaures is doing his best to keep up the spirits of the workers, holding meetings continually, and working indefatigably on their behalf.

In spite of all the extensive precautions taken by the police not to lose sight of Senator Magnier he has managed to give them the slip, and to disappear. The papers assert that the watch kept on his house was nothing but an elaborate farce, and that it was never intended to arrest him, as he was mixed up with too many people, still high in power, who were afraid of the revelations he might make when brought to trial.

The perpetrator of the joke on Baron Alphonse de Rothschild has not yet been discovered. It is pretty evident that the affair has been grossly exaggerated. The letter most probably contained nothing but a cracker which was arranged to go off when it was opened, and thereby to frighten the recipient.

A young man entered Rothschild's bank in the Rue Laffitte about 3 p.m. on the afternoon of the 5th September under suspicious circumstances, but was immediately taken up by a detective. When arrested he was seen to carry something which, on examination turned out to be a [illegible] containing a mixture of chlorate of potash and gunpowder. He had attempted to ignite a fuse attached to the bomb with the end of a lighted cigarette, but did not succeed in doing so before the police overpowered him. He first refused to give any information about himself, but admitted that he was an Anarchist and claimed to have had serious intentions of wrecking the bank. He turns out to be a man of education, a skilled workman of the name of Leon Bouteilhe, and asserts in a letter that he addressed to the Juge d'Instruction that he intended to cause an explosion because the sight of wealth inspired him with a feeling of hatred, as he, as well as the majority of his fellow-workers, were obliged to spend their lives for the purpose of enriching millionaires.

Our Comrade Alexander Cohen, who returned last month to Paris to be retried in consequence of the sentence passed on him at the trial of the thirty, was acquitted last week and immediately expelled the country. The police did not even allow him to communicate the fact of his expulsion to his wife, but conducted him straight from the prison to the station. He revenged himself by making a detective, who accompanied him, carry a huge and heavy dictionary, and giving generally as much trouble as possible. F.

BELGIUM.

From Assembly Hall to Asylum have been removed to [illegible]

16

890128040

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]96 March 23, Paris [to Augustin] Hamon, [Paris] / Emma Goldman.— 1 p. ; 18 × 12 cm.

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Institutional Location: Augustin Hamon Archive.

IISG HA

Emma Goldman
C/o Mdm. Restagez.
H André des-Ars. 24.

Paris 23/III 96.

Mr Hamon.

Dear Sir!

I am will be surprised to receive this line, as I am a stranger to you, still I think, you have heard my name. I am here for a short stay and would very much like to see you. Will you kindly inform me, when I can find you at home? If convinient Wednesday afternoon, I shall remain here only until Friday next.

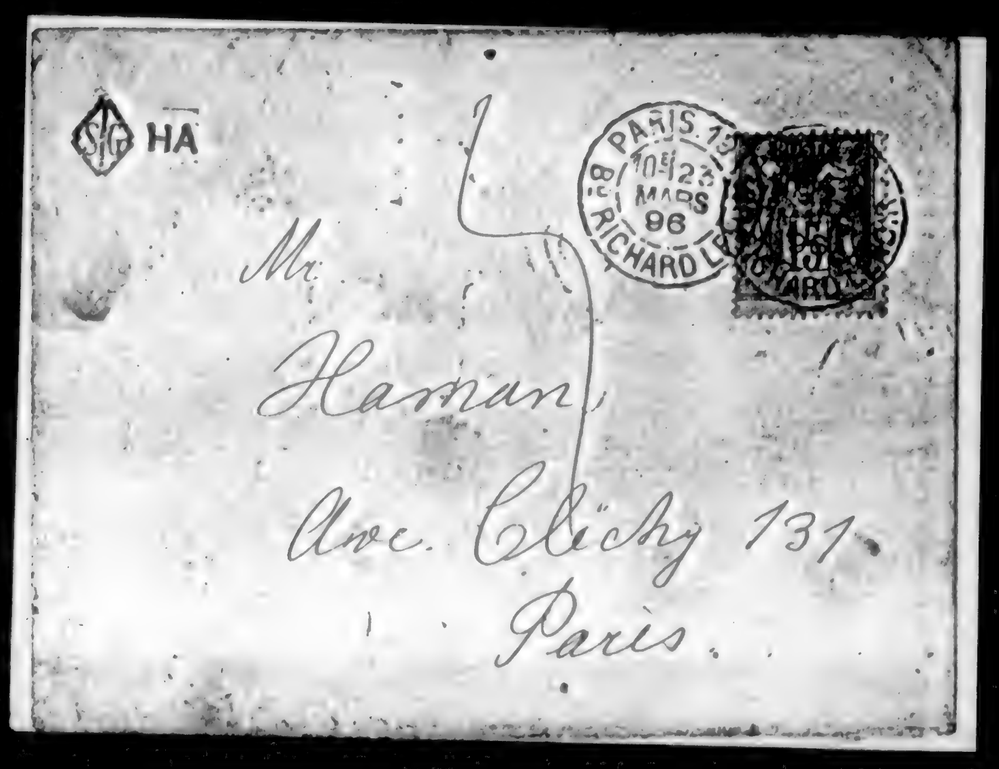
Sincerly Yours
Emma Goldman

890128039

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope, 18]96 March 23, Paris [to Augustin] Hamon, Paris / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 10 × 13 cm.

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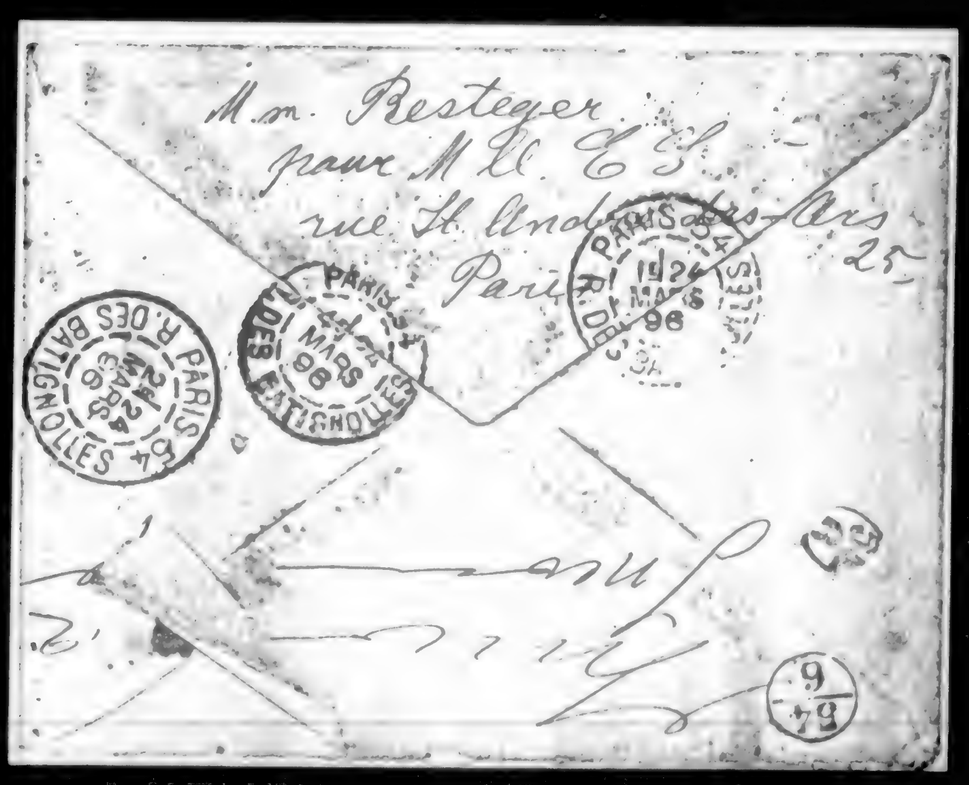
18

890128039

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope, 18]96 March 23, Paris [to Augustin] Hamon, Paris / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 10 × 13 cm.

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890128041

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]96 April 28, New York [to Augustin Hamon, Paris] / Emma Goldman.—
2 p. ; 19 × 24 cm.

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Institutional Location: Augustin Hamon Archive.

25/4/96 S/G HA

Dear Comrade.

I promised to write to you occasionally, but I am sorry I can't furnish you many news at present.

There is not a subject important enough to write much upon, except that a London Anarchist, John Turner by name (I think you must have met him during your sojourn in Engl.) is doing some propaganda here. The anarchistic Ideas do not seem to meet with much success in this blessed Land of the "free and the "brave"

I am sorry I can't read a word of the French language. don't feel so far. I would highly appreciate to have La P. La. N. P. in the German translation

I see you are very busy, but should you find a few minute's of leisure, please let me know something of the French movement.

Fraternally
Emma Goldman
210 April (96)
210 E. 2nd Street
New York N.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]96 April 28, New York [to Augustin Hamon, Paris] / Emma Goldman.—2 p. ; 19 × 24 cm.

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You rightly judged the American's as a practical people; they are always trying to find out the financial value of an Idea and do not care what the future will bring them, eagerly hieng after the "dividends" for the present time.

I doubt whether any Anarchist as a representative of this union will go to the London congress. The Comrades have until recently not been in contact with the trades union movement of this country and the result is, that none of our people will be delegated.

I learned through the papers, that affairs are very lively in Paris, what is the truth about it?

I mailed copie's of several anarchistic papers to you, "The Alarm" is not in existence any more, neither is "the Brandfackel" nor the "Anarchist" "Sturmglocken" is a new paper.

My good friend of mine, Mr. Ford has received the first dozen of our "Mother Earth" and has been delighted with it and at present, he is eagerly studying the "Défense" you prefixed the second edition of your oeuvres.

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880708014

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1896 June 14, Portland, Ore. to] Emma Goldman, New York / The Firebrand.— 1 p. ; 36 × 28 cm.

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mated, or it may be innocence, pure and simple, on my part.

While I have no love for restraint of any description, and much less for restraint imposed by the State or Church—much the same thing—I am unable to see wherein precisely the United States government materially interferes with our liberty of action. I say materially advisedly, for it goes without saying that we have laws that are an abomination, but that we cannot virtually annul them by intelligent association and co-operation I fail to see.

On the spiritual side of life we have the utmost freedom and can think, and usually express our thoughts, as we please, while on the material side of the house the whole trouble seems to be that some have more opportunity, and therefore more "profit", than others—and it is essential to note that "profit" begets and sustains opportunity. In other words, some get and others don't get. I presume that if production and distribution were on an equitable basis we should never hear of Anarchists, Socialists, Populists or any other kind of ists, unless indeed it were Prohibitionists, for I do think they love the law a little too well to die of prosperity.

Now, if opportunity be the fruit of "profit", as I claim, are we not still at liberty to associate for the destruction of "profit" (something for nothing) and thus secure opportunity? And, as labor produces all wealth, is it not merely a question of organization? If we cannot organize, on whom must we lay the blame? Our ignorance, surely.

As liberty lovers we have nothing to do with the individual. He may go on paying "profit", interest, dividends and rent, if he chooses, and continue to succumb to the inevitable; but as to the organizations which demand profit, they are ours whenever we organize for their destruction, and to that end I fail to see where the State interposes serious obstacles. We still have the privilege of forming joint-stock companies and if we wish to operate them at cost, who is to say nay?

Possibly some of your correspondents will be good enough to throw a little light on this extraordinary fear of the State. G.

The Speeches.

Some time ago Addis made an appeal for a fund to print 200,000 copies of the speeches of the Chicago Anarchists, evidently thinking I could get them out at 1½ cents a copy as that is the price he said they would cost. About $3.25 have been subscribed for them. This money I hold subject to the order of the senders, as the blank paper to print one copy of the speeches (182 pp.) would cost me 8 cents—to say nothing of ink, staples, cover, etc., and I cannot work for 6¾ cents less than nothing. I may print the speeches; but they will cost 15 cents per copy at least. E. H. Fulton,
Publisher Liberty Library.

Wants an Organization.

While investigating the present social system we find everything upside down. What is called law and order is the most abominable disorder. What is really right is opposed by the rulers and even by most of their slaves, and wrong is protected by millions of armed ruffians. The whole human race is at the mercy of a few rascals. The clergy are quite successful yet in scaring the ignorant with a devil or a god. The daily press does its utmost to keep the robbed and deceived in political and religious superstitions. We read daily of crimes and their punishment, but they don't explain the causes of these crimes. They know what they are doing; their whole aim is to get rich at the expense of the working people, who are deceived from youth to old age and die in a hovel, hospital, prison, poorhouse or some other charitable hell.

How can we abolish such a horrible system? This question is answered in different ways by people of different opinions. The leaders of the Socialist Labor Party do all they can to make the working people believe they can emancipate themselves by voting them into office. The Populists think they can bring about satisfactory conditions by having their own coin factory—by changing the currency. Others believe the eight-hour day would bring great relief, and a large number are satisfied with prevailing conditions. They are both patriotic and idiotic, willing to live in misery in this world in the hope of going to an everlasting paradise hereafter.

All reformers say we are not sufficiently educated for a change. The working people are too poor, too deeply sunk in misery to do much thinking. Millions are out of work and only think of how to get something to eat and a place to sleep. Millions are afraid to express their opinions lest they might be discharged. No work means no bread nowadays.

I have an idea that by forming an international voluntary organization, by having voluntary committees in all the large cities to receive the names of all those dissatisfied with present conditions and report to the people the increase in the membership, it would encourage the more timid to join, and cause excitement and discussion, and possibly a general strike. Then we would have a grand opportunity to show the people the road to freedom, and when once they have enjoyed liberty they will cling to us and never surrender it again.
P. Smith.

Ballou Comprehends.

I extend my hand if the difinition of Communism be such as held by Comrade Borland—a purely economical arrangement—"so as to secure the most perfect satisfaction of individual wants," wholly devoid of any authoritive head and "leaves men to associate themselves together in obedience to the immutable laws of the universe and the dictates of their natural social instincts," why shake; I am a Communist, and following Comrade Addis I would "concede that if the word possession is recognized in the sense in which he uses it, I do not wish to claim any property at all. I simply tried to show my opposition to any compulsion or interference by the community and my right to hold my personal belongings against all comers." If Communism means "voluntary co-operation in production; fellowship; solidarity," why, again I say I am a Communist. If "Communism not only does not propose any organization in any form but is utterly incompatible with the idea of organization," why, I shall certainly acknowledge my "ignorance of Communism." If my "proposed association" under Individualism "is no more and no less than the whole communistic proposition," why, I say to Comrade Morris, here is my hand; I am as much of a Communist as you are an Individualist. To the editor who suggests my using the columns of The Firebrand to criticise its contents I would say, does not the calling out of the excellent article by Comrade Borland fully establish the wisdom of my proceedings? I am hard at work selling my labor to the farmers round about in the hope of reducing the slavery of debt and my thinking cap is not well adjusted. Just as soon as can find time and ideas I will endeavor to set myself right before your readers. A. L. Ballou.

The Letter-Box.

W. S. A., Palmer, Mass.—Nearly all newspapers furnish sample copies on application. Did it occur to you that we would be out postage in complying with requests for copies of our exchanges, or did you think we were running a national bank and could afford it?

C. P., Philadelphia.—Thanks for the money—at least we suppose, from a comparison of the handwriting on the envelope with yours, that it is from you. No letter accompanied the money, and if we should be right in this guess it is no sign of infallibility.

Emma Goldman, New York.—Concerning the report, "Eastern and European Propaganda," in No. 16, your name did not appear because you did not sign the article. A letter accompanying the report was signed, but at the end of the latter instead of a signature there was a peculiar mark; by which combination of circumstances any editor would have understood that your name was not to appear. The preliminary statement that you would volunteer an occasional report because no one else seemed inclined to do so was omitted, not because we did not want your reports, but because we did not want others to wait for a nameless person to report matters of which, so far as they could know, that person might be entirely ignorant, and in which case no report at all would be the result. It was a matter of regret with us that your name was withheld, but supposed you had reasons for it. We would be glad to announce you as New York correspondent, and other well-known comrades as correspondents from other cities; then the comrades could report to you and we would get all the news in proper order and succinct form.

Receipts.

Plege, $1.00. Kimball, Pybara, each 50c. Mrs. de Mranda, 50c.

Printing-Press Fund.

Received, for the purpose of buying a printing press for The Firebrand, as follows:

J. H. Morris	$5.00
Henry Addis	5.00
Chas. Doering	5.00

SAMPLE COPIES.

We sent out large numbers of sample copies, and if you are recieving the paper without ordering it, it is an invitation to investigate our principles. If you want the paper, let us know and you shall have it, and you may send in such amount on your subscription as you can afford. If you can't pay for it and want to read it, you shall have it anyhow. If you get the paper and don't want it, please be kind enough to have it stopped. If you have been getting the paper without paying for it, and can afford to send us some money, please do so, as we are sadly in need of it.

Labor Exchange Certificates, "Labor Tender" or other paper that will procure the necessities of life, will be received in payment for subscription. We also accept all kinds of farm products.

Agents for THE FIREBRAND.

Charles L. Bodendieck, 1140 Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Ill.
C. C. Schmidt, 412 South 13th Str., Omaha, Neb.
I. Rudash, 162 Norfolk street, New York City.
G. Lang, 29 Grape Street, Buffalo, N. Y.
L. Rabotnik, 731 Plover St., Philadelphia, Pa.

To the friends of the Firebrand.—For the benefit of this paper I will send intructions for mounting and preserving any sized bird, from a hummer to an Eagle, without skinning, to any one sending 25 cents to The Firebrand and a self-addressed, stamped envelope to Ed. Gore, Warren, Minn.

P. S.—After receiving it, if your conscience troubles you for receiving so much for so little you can remit something to the sender. E. G.

FIREBRAND LIBRARY.

Bases of Anarchism; Historical, Philosophical and Economical, by Wm. Holmes	5c
God and the State, by Bakounin	5c
The Commune of Paris, by Kropotkine and An Anarchist on Anarchy, by Reclus, both in one	5c
The true aim of Anarchism, by E. Steinle	5c
Revolutionary Government, by P. Kropotkin	5c
Anarchist-Communism, " "	5c
The Wage System "	5c
Expropriation " "	5c
Anarchist Morality " "	5c
A Dialogue, by L. S. Bevington	5c
Fundamentals in Reform, by W. H. Van Ornum	5c
A Talk about Anarchist-Communism, Malatesta	5c
Anarchy "	5c
Revolutionary Studies	5c
Anarchy on Trial	5c
An Anarchist Manifesto	2c
A Sex Revolution, by Lois Waisbroker	25c
Anything More, My Lord? "	5c
Wants and Their Gratification; H. Addis	10c
A Secret and Confidential Address, by Gavroche	15c
Revolution, a lecture by S. H. Gordon	5c
Fundamentals in Reform, by W. H. Van Ornum	5c

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The "office" of The Firebrand: North Mt. Tabor Car Line, Center Addition North Mount Tabor.

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22

890128042

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]96 July 23, New York [to Augustin Hamon, Paris] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 18 × 24 cm.

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Institutional Location: Augustin Hamon Archive.

HA

60 E. First St.
New York.
July 23. 96.

Dear Com.

I hope you will pardon my long silence.

I received your two postal-cards, the Journal L'Aube, the German translation of your interesting book. Psychologie du Militaire Professionel, also the newspaper Paris and a clipping of Les temps nouveaux for which accept my thanks

of the Congress. You might write in French if English gives you too much trouble.

I shall send you several copies of different anarchist papers and Pamphlates in a few days.

With best greetings

Emma Goldman

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23

890128042

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]96 July 23, New York [to Augustin Hamon, Paris] / Emma Goldman.—
2 p. ; 18 × 24 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Augustin Hamon Archive.

I delighted very much
in reading your Book.
I think you have done
great service to our cause
with the work on the Psycho-
logie du Militaire professional.
I am very pleased to
learn of the energitic under-
taking of the Carmeaux
Workers, you wrote about
in the newspaper Paris
and I shall have it trans-
lated for one of our english
anarchist papers.

I have sent L'Aiglee
to a Magazine, asking if
they would accept contribu-
tions of your pen.

as soon, as I will receive
a reply, I will let you
know.

I regret very much
not to be in a position
to attend the Congress, but
I am satisfied to know
that you and other able
Comrades will be there
to represent our cause.

Do you ever think
to visite our "glorious" country
America

I should appreciate
it a great favor, if you
will drop me a line now
and then, about the proceedings

871117006

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1896 Aug. 5, New York [to] The Firebrand, [Portland, Ore.] / Emma Goldman.— 1 p. ; 33 × 16 cm.

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and a denial or invasion of the rights of all other persons.

Now government is primarily for the maintenance of property, and property cannot exist without government, because the parceling of natural opportunity necessitates courts of decision and officers of administration. The values which belong to and result from the restriction made possible by property, are the only object in the way of the free exchange and consumption proposed by Communism. With the abolition of the power to restrict production, which inheres in monopolization of opportunity, in accordance with economic principles the abundance of products in relation to man's wants will destroy value, or price. Under private ownership we see the coal barons close the mines in order to maintain prices, while speculators in grain and cotton lock those products up for the same purpose, and the result is suffering for want of warmth, clothing and food. Thus does property strike at the right of existence. But if these people were free to produce—that is if opportunity was not monopolized—the values placed on those accumulated products would vanish into thin air. Restriction of opportunity is a necessary adjunct of "markets" and commerce, notwithstanding the fact that its whole tendency is self-destructive.

Communism, then, means equality of opportunity and what follows: free production, free consumption and the grouping of individuals according to congeniality and mutual choice. This cannot be construed to mean that individuals must group, any more than the "right to worship God according to the dictates of one's conscience" means that one must worship. Eventually such a construction would lead to the violation of the principle laid down.

My friend will now understand why the so-called communistic colonies have failed. They placed the entire charge of affairs in the hands of their little government, not infrequently an autocracy, and the whole life of the individual was subject to dictation and direction; and when enforced incongenial association is added, it is no wonder the attractions of outside society have almost invariably proved irresistable.

As to the sex question, I see no insurmountable difficulties. present arrangements in that particular are a part of the property system, and there is no doubt in my mind that it will disappear with the abolition of that system. It is accepted as the proper thing because it is the traditional thing, and when people begin to question customs that particular one will hardly escape. I have never met a thorough Communist who still clung to church or marriage superstitions. Communism with its economic freedom will establish interdependence of the sexes and provide for free association in this as in all other respects.

Yes, Anarchist-Communism has for its aim "the greatest good of all," and it cannot be a contradiction in terms, for the reason that it accords to each the right to decide for himself what is good. By what comparison may we decide the perfection or imperfection of human nature? It is lauded as the highest thing in nature; shall we compare it with something outside of nature? It is a product of its evironment, and perfectly selfish; moreover, there is no need of unselfishness anywhere. All that is necessary is to understand that the primary condition to self-development is liberty and that our own liberty is only insured in the liberty of all.

J. H. M.

The Berkman Fund Again.

You have published an attack upon me written by a certain P. Franco, in The Firebrand of July 26th, and I hope you will not refuse to publish my reply.

First of all I must emphasize that I do not write these lines in order to satisfy the impodent inquisitiveness of P. Franco, or others like him, who would not [illegible] a moment to besmirch one's honor at any cost. "Cyclone" Davis of Texas [illegible] have a whether they are false or true.

I did not expect the comrades of The Firebrand to defend me, as I can very well defend myself; nor did I ask them to make me acquainted with the contents of private letters, as that comrade Isaak received from one of The Firebrand readers and which, according to Isaak was directed against me, stating that I had spent the money collected for Berkmann for my personal use, during my tour on the Continent. The man who has thus expressed himself about me to comrade Isaak has also written one to me, in which he says among other things; "Of course, I do not mean to say that you had used the money collected for Berkmann for yourself." This letter I have sent to comrade Isaak, which ought to convince him that the man has either written a falsehood to him, or has not moral courage enough to uphold the same accusations in his letter to me. P. Franco in his letter to The Firebrand has lied, as well, as the man in his letter to Comrade Isaak. Franco says he did not ask me about the Berkmann fund, because he can speak neither English nor German. Now, those who know him are acquainted with the fact, that he can speak English enough to be understood, enough to make disturbance in meetings, as he did both in London and here, and that he knew enough English to spread false reports about Comrades Mowbray, Merlino, Cipriana and other well known men who have suffered in the movement long before anyone knew of the existence of Franco. The reason why he did not ask me about the Berkmann fund is, because he is a coward, ready to admit this any time himself. Well, I do not care to take up too much space in talking of Franco; it is beneath any honest and decent person to spend time with such a miserable creature.

J. H. Morris, in his comment on Franco's letter says: "According to the principles of Anarchist association any member of the group, whose object is the release of Berkmann may know what is done with the fund to which he has suberibed." Certainly, and Comrade Morris could have saved himself the trouble to tell me that, as I claim to understand the principles of Anarchist association. According to my understanding of Anarchist principles, those who have NEVER subscribed a cent, NEVER CARED for Berkmann's release, have no right to ask any accounts of whomsoever, and to poke noses into other people's affairs. I am the last one to give information to people like P. Franco or the conceited and impertinent fellow who wrote to Comrade Isaak.

To those who have assisted me in my work for my friend Alexander Berkmann, I say this: The money collected abroad by myself and other comrades amounts to about $20 and was sent to Charles Schneider, Pittsburg, Pa., who was appointed at the time as treasurer of the Berkmann fund by the Pittsburg comrades. Anyone wishing to know how the money was used will do well to address him.

As to Berkmann, he is not only my comrade, but also my friend and a very dear one, too. I shall continue to work for him as energetically as I have until now and all impertinent attacks and slanders will not induce me to give up the fight.

I am very sorry The Firebrand has taken up personal matters, and can only predict that if its publishers continue in the same way, they will only put nails to their own coffin.

EMMA GOLDMANN.

New York, Aug. 5., 1896.

We are glad to publish the above information in reply to inquiries received at this office, but we are sorry Comrade Goldmann takes the matter in the spirit here exhibited. We have published no accusations, and we could not know the truth or falsity of any we may have received without an accounting from her. The letter referred to as having been received by Comrade Isaak was not a private letter, but written to The Firebrand. In the most friendly spirit Comrade Goldmann was informed of the question raised as to the disposition of the fund, and we are sorry to say the reply consisted of bluster similar to the above. It was not our personal business to know the truth or falsity of any accusations or to settle matters between Comrade Goldmann and her questioners; but The Firebrand, as a representative of the movement, has been made a "go-between" in the case, and however much we may regret it, we have been able to see no fair way to avoid it. Were [illegible] suggestion as to personalities, her [illegible] first occasion for personalities and hard names. Personal enmity may have prompted those letters of inquiry, but we are not omniscient and could have no knowledge of this. Personally, I want to say that what I said concerning the principles of Anarchist association was not intended for Comrade Goldmann's enlightenment, but was in the nature of a reason for publication of the inquiry coming, supposably, from a contributor to the fund: also as a hint to such inquirers as were not contributors. If, as appears from the above letter, the two inquirers mentioned are non-contributors, it is hoped they will have the good sense to keep still in the future. At any rate the matter closes here, so far as The Firebrand is concerned.

J. H. M.

More Concerning Methods.

IN the last issue of The Firebrand I remarked that "industrial warfare will continue to break out" with the probability of violence attending such out breaks increasing. I think all who have noted the trend of events in the industrial world must have noticed that gradually all peaceful means for combating the employer is being taken away from the employe. Boycotting is now punishable as conspiracy in a number of states, and striking, quitting work in a body, is enjoined by the courts. This shows that the government will be drawn more and more into the struggle between employer and employe, and always on the side of the employer. Attempts to make use of the government for their own advantage will continue for a time by the workingmen, prompted by such hybred organizations as the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance, but a few more instances of the calling out of the militia to shoot strikers who have assembled, a few more instances of imprisonment of strikers on charges of riot and conspiracy, must show a large number of the trades unionists that they can expect nothing but lead and iron from the government. If the Anarchist propagandist is busy among the union men he can without doubt, by calling attention to these things, turn the hatred of the trades unionist away from the poor scab—the more unfortunate victim of monopoly—to the power that creates and maintains monopoly.

Then, too, in such industries as are not so easily monopolized, industries that can be started with but few tools and a small amount of stock, the tendency for striking workmen to form competing companies—so-called cooperative companies—will increase.

Joint stock companies among the workingmen will be tried for a time, but the internal troubles that will arise and the final monopolization of the stock by the shrewd few, must soon prove this form of cooperation futile. But the example of other cooperative concerns that work on a truly cooperative—not stock company—basis, will tend to show them that they can manage their own affairs without imitating the methods of capitalism.

There are some industries that cannot be established or operated on a small scale, and usually in those industries the operators become physically incompetent to readily adjust themselves to any other kind of employment. The workers in these industries must fight it out on the grounds, and they and the railroaders form an immense army.

When the workingmen get over their servitude to the union bosses, the leaders who always call the strike off before it is really won, and stand together regardless of the action of the leaders, they will begin to learn their strength and their employers will find themselves powerless without government aid. When government aid is invoked and the struggles of these industrials for better conditions are crushed by the militia and the regular soldiery, men shot down and the blood and iron theory in full force, then a general strike, aiming to "teach the government a lesson", may be looked for. Once started, such a strike would spread, as shown by the great railroad strike of 1894, from one trade to another until even the farmers would do all in their power to assist it.

The organization of the various [illegible] unions that will have [illegible] point in a general [illegible]

25

831115036

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]96 Nov. 18, Pittsburg[h, Pa. to Max] Metzkow, [Buffalo, N.Y.] / Emma Goldman. – 2 p. ; 20 × 25 cm.

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Pittsburg. 11/18. 96.

Lieber Freund

Ihr w Langs Letter druckt. Anerkenntnis Empfang. Ihr Brief. Dass Sie mich freundlich aufnehmen würden w dass ich bei Ihnen gut aufgehoben wäre, zweifle ich nicht einen Moment, aber meine Verhältnisse erlauben mir nicht eine Luftreise nach Buffalo zu machen. Ich würde überhaupt nicht mit einem Vortrag an Sie w Lang herantreten, wenn mir nicht Kunker gesagt hätten, dass einige Genossen dort Buffalo ihn gefragt hätten, ob ich kommen

(184)

draffa im New Jork ist die
adr. ca Gustav Schwabe
60. Ea. First str.

Ich bleibe hier bis Montag, wenn Sie mir bis dahin noch schreiben wollen, ja schreiben Sie mir so Gorden 39 Maria str. Pittsburg. Pa.

Mit herzlichen Grüssen
Emma Goldmann

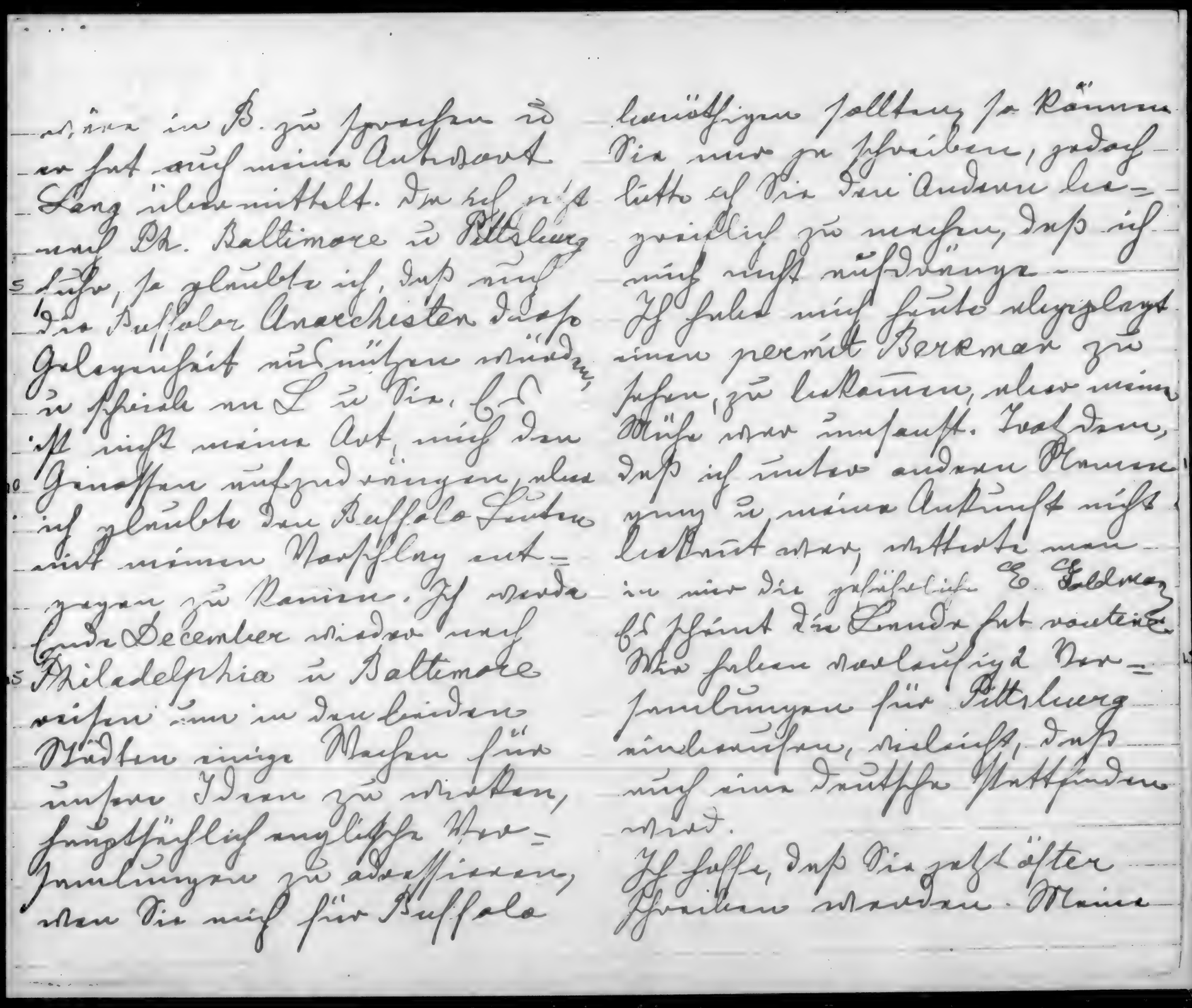
P.S. Herzl. Grüsse an Ihre Familie

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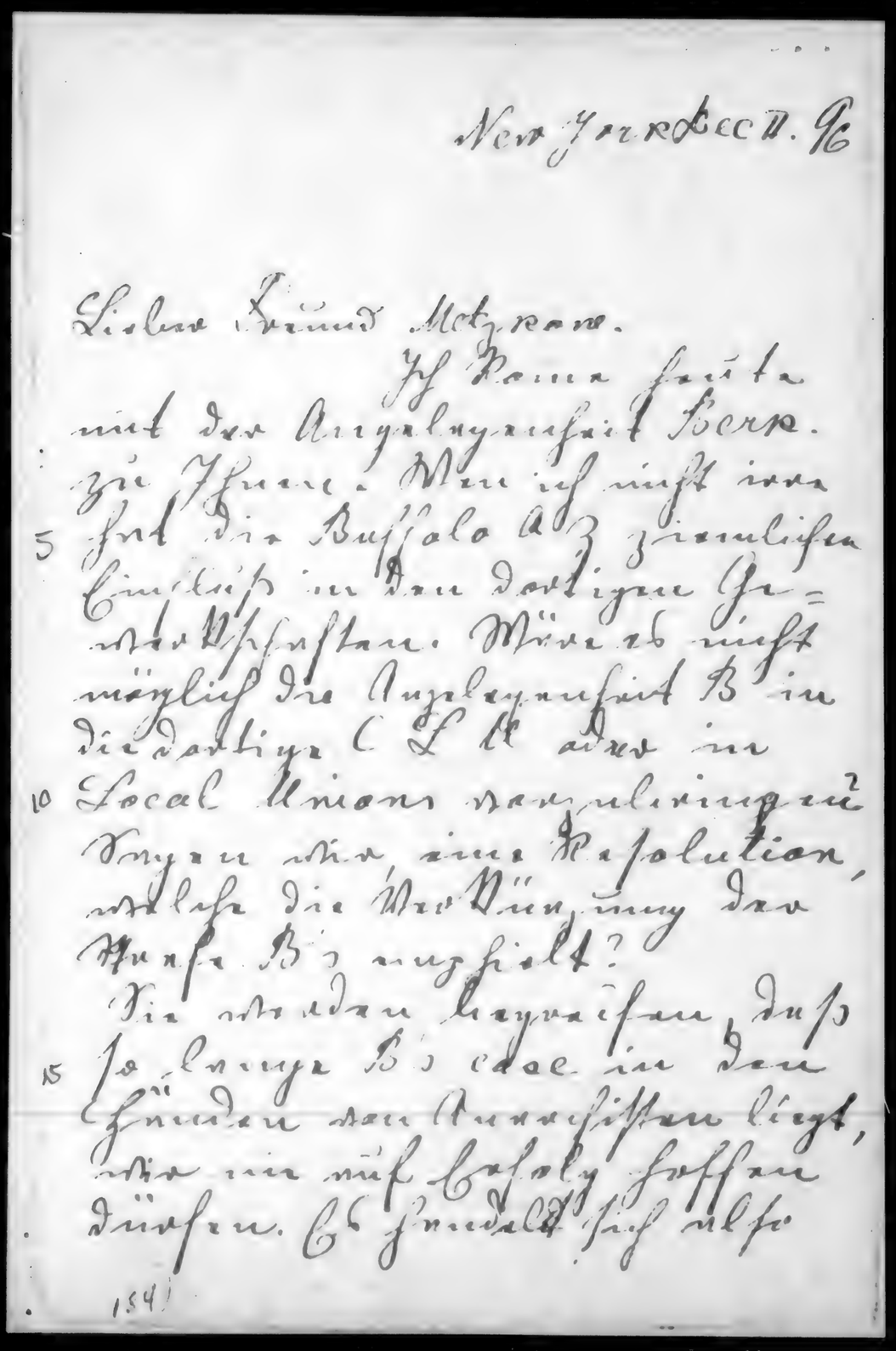
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]96 Dec. 2, New York [to Max] Metzkow, [Buffalo, N.Y.] / E[mma] Goldman.– 4 p. ; 21 × 14 cm.

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New York Dec 11. 96

Lieber Freund Metzkow.

Ich kann heute mit der Angelegenheit Herr. zu Ihnen. Wenn es mir nicht vergönnt ist die Buffalo A Z persönlichen in den dortigen Geschäften. Wäre es nicht möglich die Angelegenheit B in die dortige C L U aber in Local Unions vorzubringen? Sagen wir eine Resolution, welche die Verbindung der Union B's wünscht?

Sie werden begreifen, daß so lange B's oder in den Händen von Unmöglichen liegt, wir nie auf Erfolg hoffen dürfen. Es handelt sich also

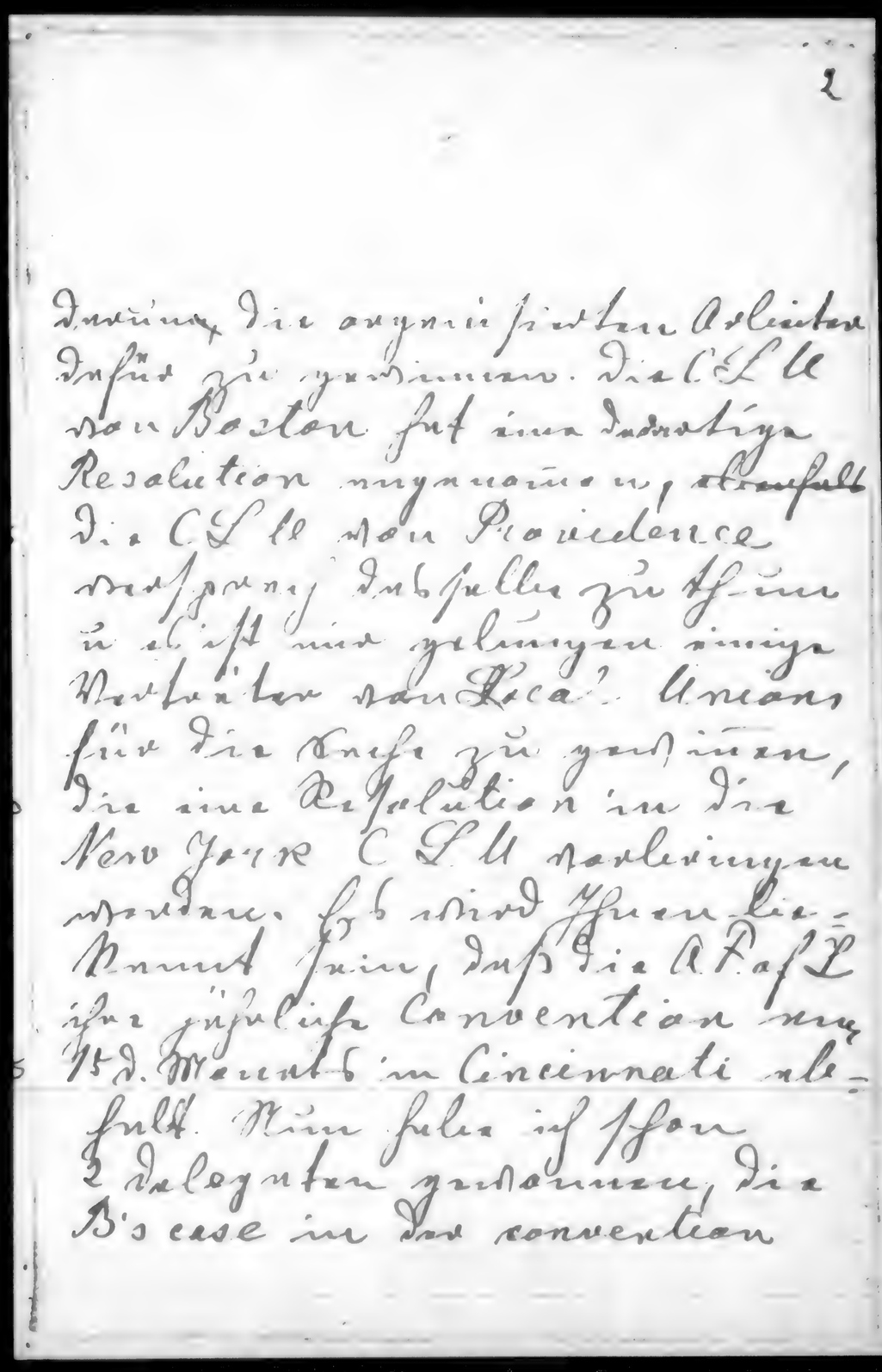
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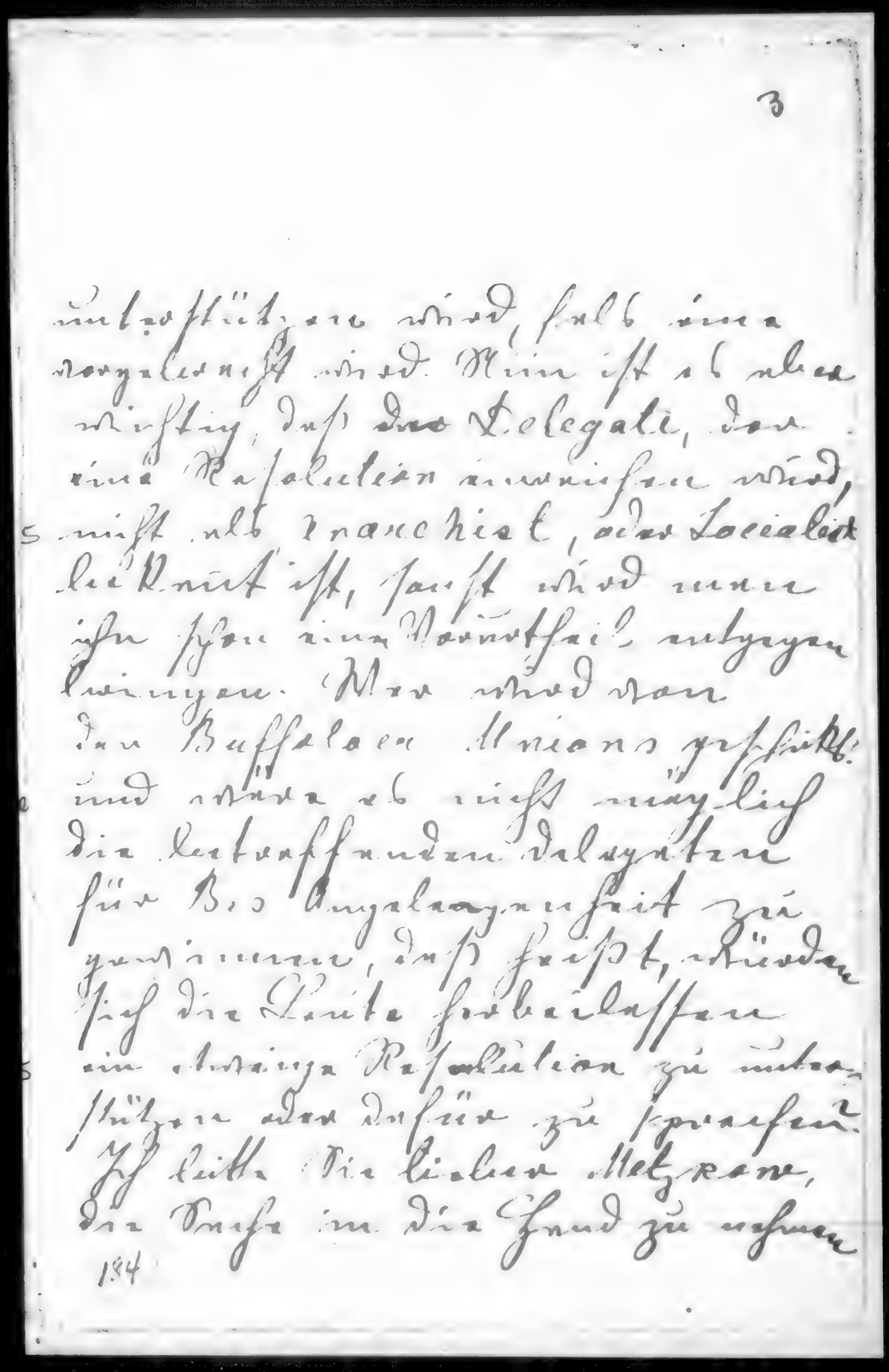
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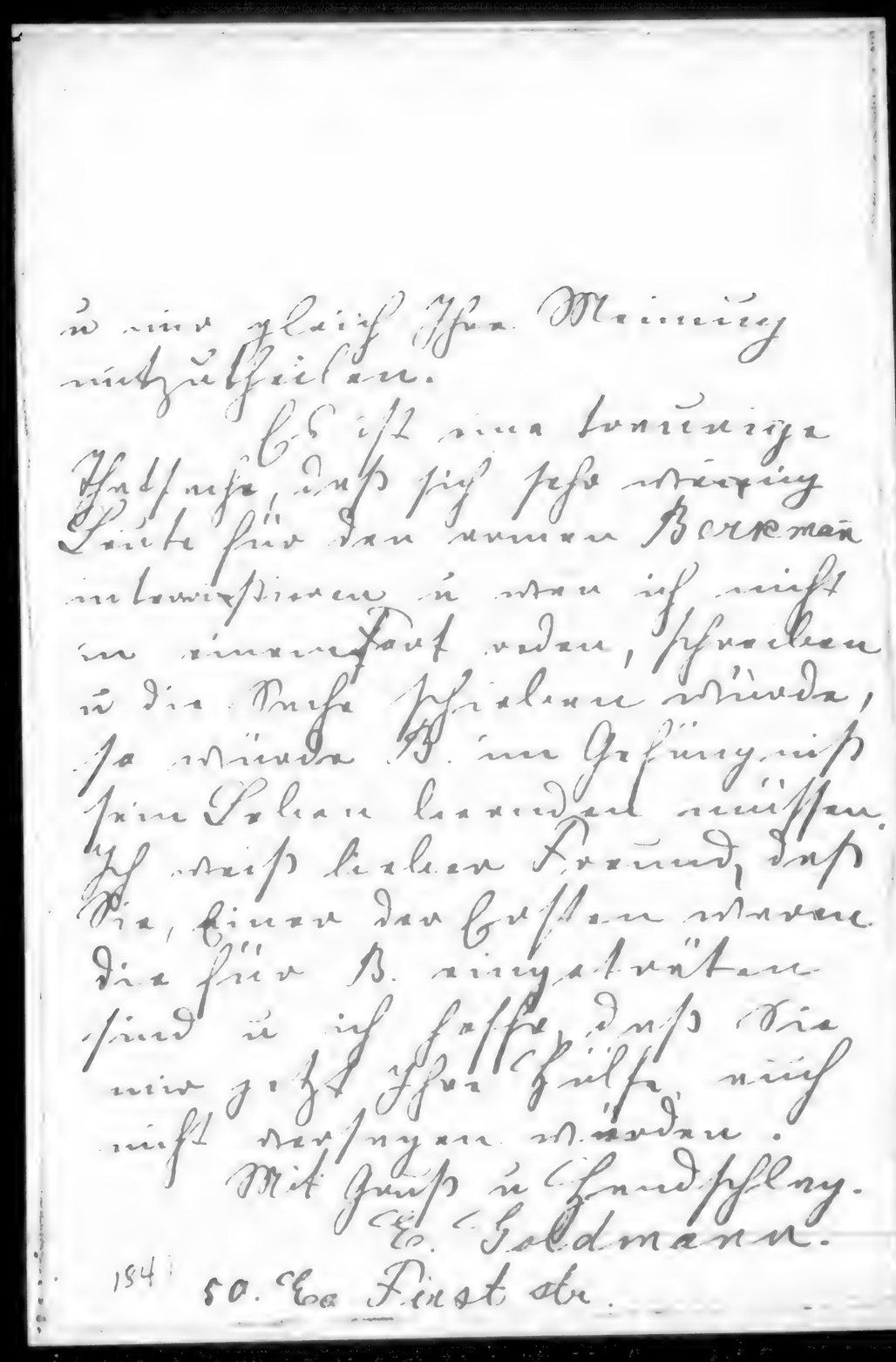
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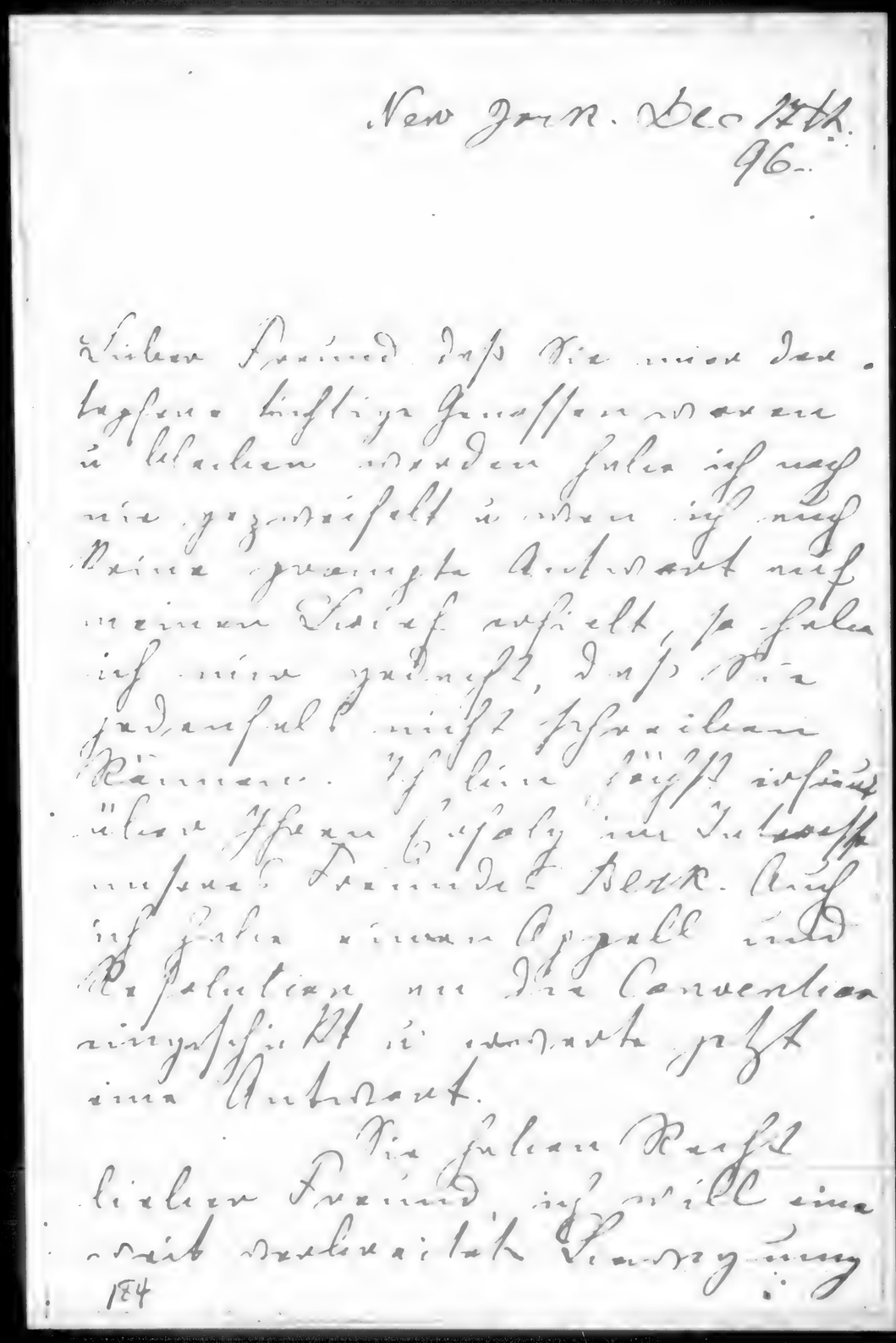
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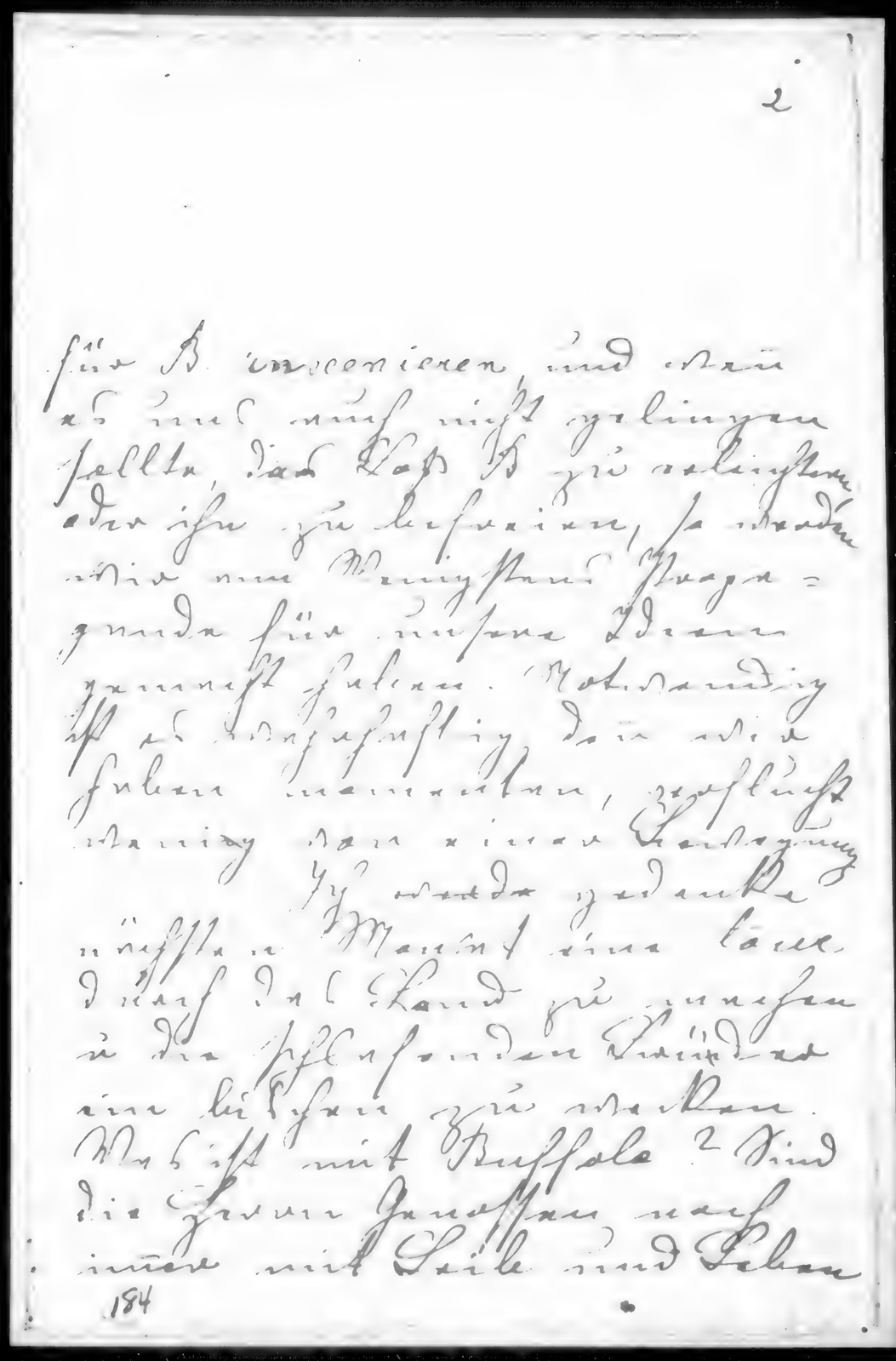
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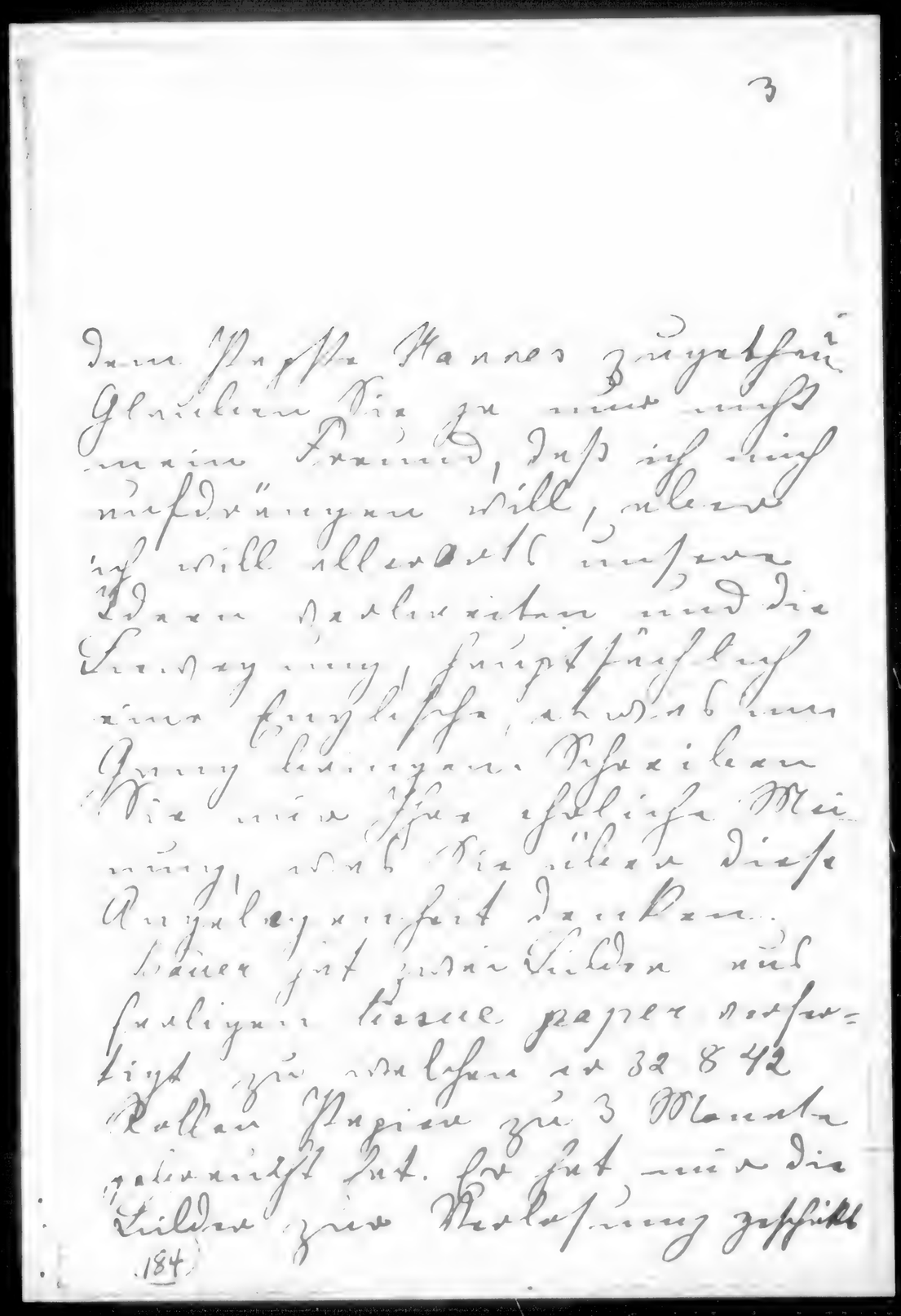
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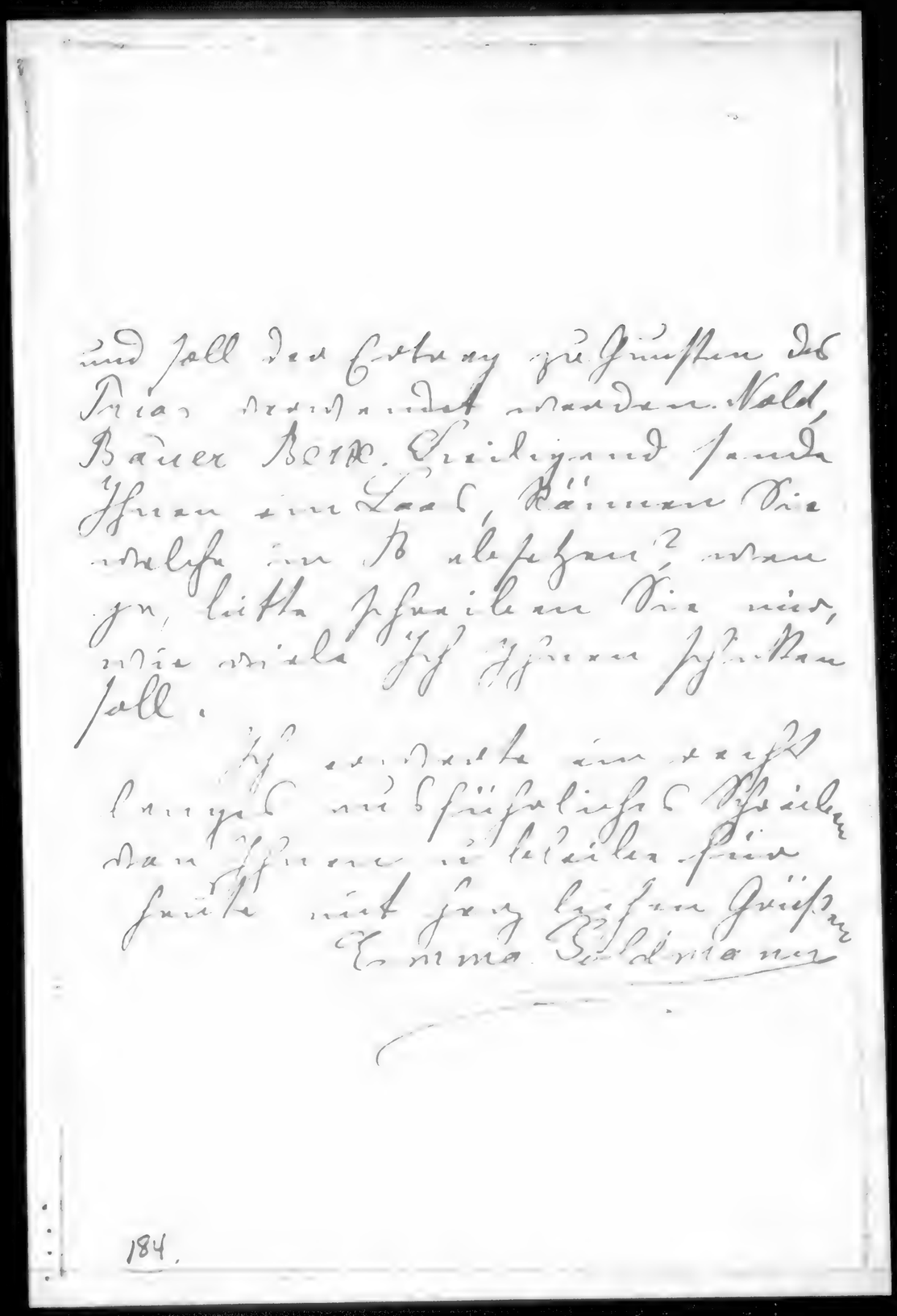
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und soll der Ertrag zu Gunsten des Prinz Arbeiter Verein. Freidenk und sonde Ihnen ins Haus, können Sie welche in Polnisch? wenn ja, bitte schreiben Sie mir, wie viele Ich Ihnen schicken soll.

Ich wünsche ein recht langes und gemütliches Beisammensein Dann Ihnen in herzlicher Gruß und Kuß

Emma Goldman

184.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]96 Dec. 17, New York [to Augustin Hamon, Paris] / E[mma] Goldman.—
3 p.; 21 × 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Augustin Hamon Archive.

SG HA

New York. Dec. 17th.
96

My dear comrade. Your letter and the issue Socialisme et Congrès de Londres to hand. Thanx you very much for both.

I have not been able to look your valuable issue through, as I have been very busy. You ask me to publish a criticism on your work in one of our papers, Freiheit, Sturmglocken, Freie Gesellschaft, etc. Sturmglocken, are not in existence any more, the Freiheit will not accept any thing of my pen and Freie Gesellschaft is read only by the german republican and is of minor importance.

I shall however try to

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insert a criticism in some other paper, if I will leave the book. You also say, that you would be very happy, if I could publish an American edition in english. I certainly could publish it, If I had the means. You know, no doubt that in order to publish a book, one must have money something, I lack in, very badly. I have seen very little of the Gold which was to come in, after the election of Mc Kinley. Times are fearfully hard here and I think, that within the next four years we will have a rebellion

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dere. The American people
are practical, as you remarked
at my visit, but when they
find out that practicability
is no policy they also happen
to loose their temper occa-
sionally, I am sorry to say
they do not loose it too often.

I would like to hear
your suggestion about the
publications of your dear boys,
~~do you intend~~ I can transa-
late both, but as I said
before, I have no money
to have it printed.

Hoping to hear from
you soon I remain with
fraternal greetings. E. Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]96 Dec. 30, New York [to Max Metzkow, Buffalo, N.Y.] / Emma Goldman.— 4 p. ; 19 × 23 cm.

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(4)

Deutsche Sprache, sowie für Kunde zu Gründe genommen hat. Ich brauche mich nicht weiter zu erklären, Sie werden mich verstehen. —

Der Anfang, betreffs 6 Sac Bücher, wäre ja nun für gut. Immerhin, ich könnte ihn jetzt gut zu Ende führen, zu einem sicher lucrativen, sogar zu intelligenten Menschen, sowie zu einem edlen Character gesündet. Es ist eine Aussicht, und also tausend Mal besser als die Meisten der „Genossen". Er würde sich gleichen wie jetzt gut zum Redacteur passen, gleichfalls, daß man die Sendung nicht besonders zu fallen wird, ich meine den Herrn Genossen zu allgemeinen Kassen wie sehr sehr viel Freunde und Leser, weil er zu radical

New York. Dec. 30th 96.

Lieber Freund!

Habe Ihnen nun die Bestellung 100 Exemplare geschickt. Dieselben kosten nun 10c per Stück da die „Freiheitinnen" sich genöthigt sahen 50 Stück à 25c zu nehmen, so glaube ich daß sich diese „edlen Menschen" mit 100 Stück à 10c zufrieden werden. Die Leute schreiben ja auf 2.500 Leser, wenn sie ja dann einen Schmutz" zusammen lassen können. Nun Freund, vielleicht nach 40 Exemplare wieder das 100 Stück bestellen können, dann werde ich Ihnen welche schicken. Das Geld für die Exemplare müssen wir mich gesandt werden, da ich 600 Stück von der L. T. zum Verkauf genommen habe u für alle zusammen abrechnen werde. 184

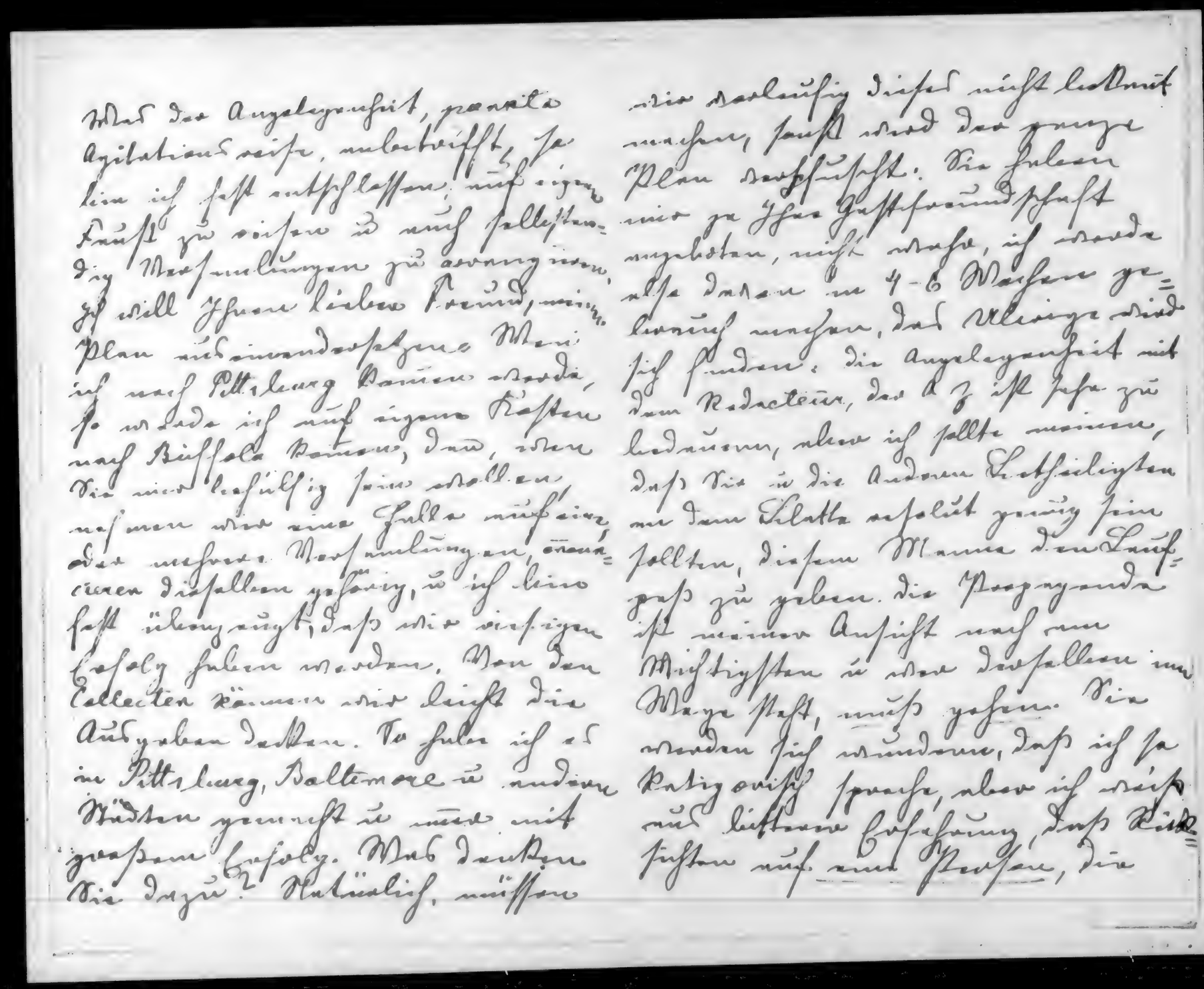
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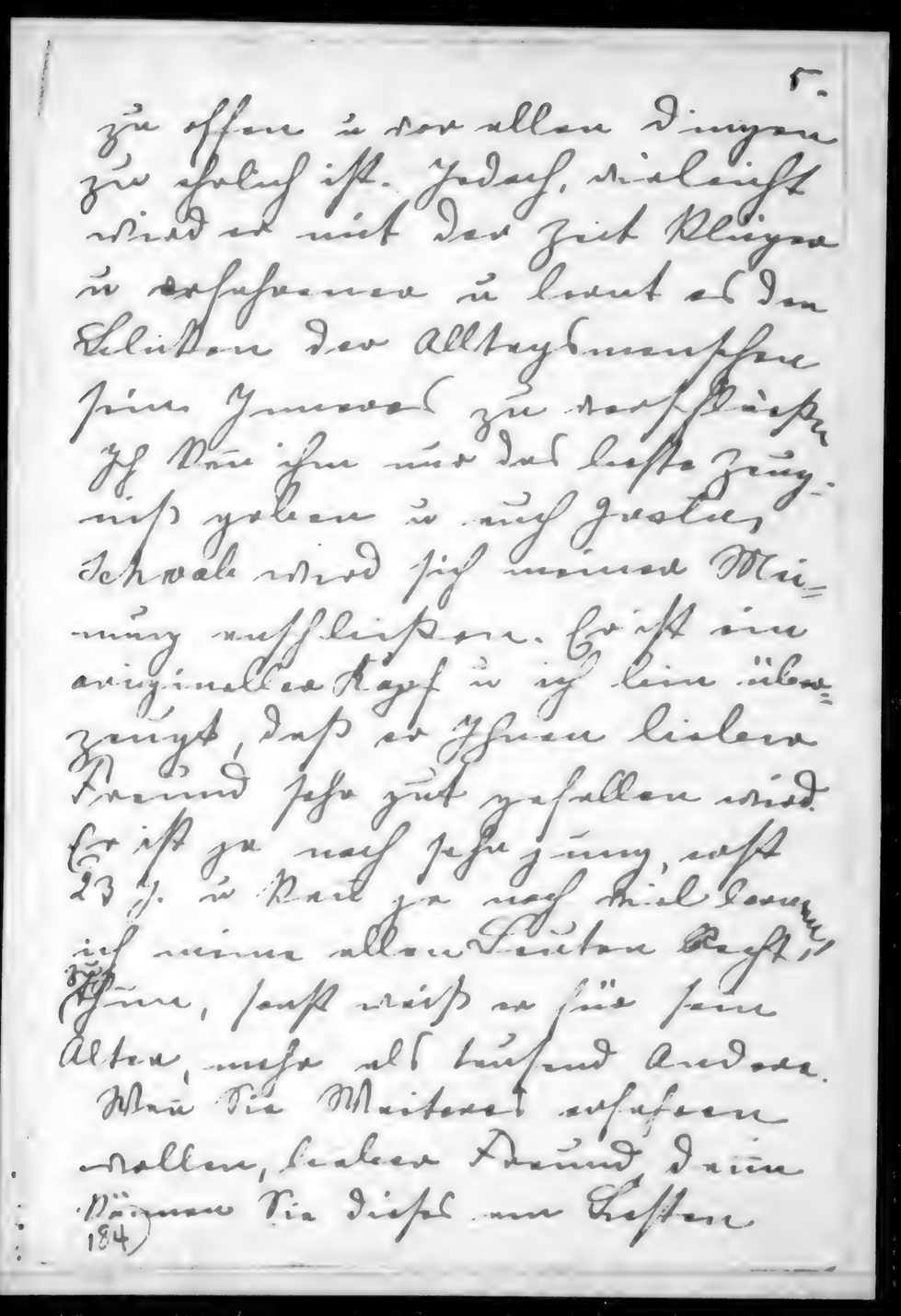
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5.

zu offen u vor allen dingen
zu stolz ist. Jedoch, vielleicht
wird es mit der Zeit klügen
u erfahrener u lernt es den
Leiden der alltagsmenschen
sein Interesse zu versagen.
Ich wäre ihm wirklich gut
wenn ich ihm nur das beste Zeug-
niss geben u auf jeden
Schein wird sich meine Mei-
nung aufklären. Er ist ein
originelles Kopf u ich bin über-
zeugt, dass es Ihnen lieben
Freund sehr gut gefallen wird.
Er ist ja noch sehr jung, erst
23 J. u hat ja noch viel Lernen
in seinen alten Tagen, Ihnen
Söhne, sehr viel zu für sein
Alter, mehr als tausend Andere.
Wenn Sie Meinetwegen schreiben
wollen, lieber Freund dann
bitte ich Sie diesen an Ihren
184)

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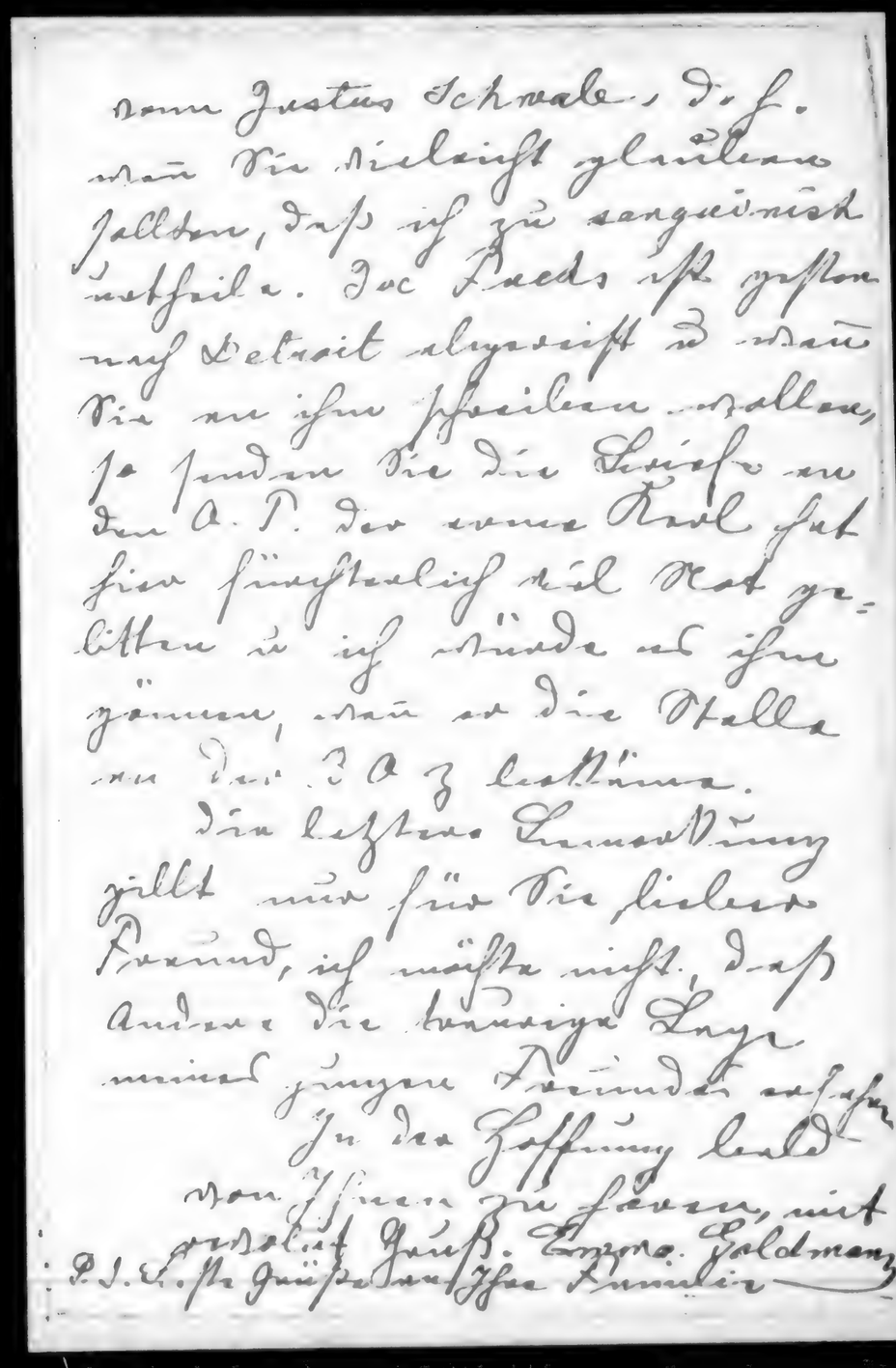
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]96 Dec. 30, New York [to Max Metzkow, Buffalo, N.Y.] / Emma Goldman.— 4 p. ; 19 × 23 cm.

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dann Justus Schwab, d. h.
wenn Sie vielleicht glauben
sollten, daß ich zu sanguinisch
veranlagt bin. Der Fall ist genau
wie Detroit abgemacht & wenn
Sie mir ihre Meinung wollen,
so finden Sie die Briefe an
den A. P. der arme Karl hat
sich fürchterlich viel Mühe ge-
geben & ich würde es ihm
gönnen, wenn er die Stelle
wo der Hase hockt bekäme.

Die letzten Ereignisse
gilt nur für die lieben
Freund, ich müßte nicht, daß
andere die traurige Lage
meiner jungen Freunde erfasse
In der Hoffnung bald
von Ihnen zu hören, mit
herzlichen Grüßen Ihre Emma Goldmann
P. S. Ich grüße Ihre Familie

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831115061

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]97 Feb. 1, New York [to Max Metzkow, Buffalo, N.Y.] / Emma Goldman.— 1 p. ; 16 × 22 cm.

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New York II/I 97.

Werther Genossin. Wirst Ihnen nicht scheinen
dass, die A.L. Zeit die Antwortung bis
zum 4ten April verschoben hat, weil sie
noch nicht genügend Geld beisammen hatte
so wäre wir leid, wenn Sie diese in
der Agitation irgendwelche Störung
Wir sind ja mit dem Radikalismus-
Material. Glauben Sie, die Hoffnung für
unsern Freund Fuchs verschwunden ist.
Hoffe Ihnen bald wieder zu hören
Mit Gruß.
Ihre Freundin
Emma Goldmann

184)

831115062

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]97 March 25, N[ew] Y[ork to Max Metzkow, Buffalo, N.Y.] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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N.Y. March 25th 97.

Mother Genosse u Freund. Ich habe Ihr letztes Schreiben mit einliegendem check nicht beantwortet, weil ich 1) sehr beschäftigt war u 2) mich nicht Stunde zu schreiben hatte. Jetzt rückt die Eröffnung bald heran u so mächte ich die den beiden Bundes Geld nur für die übrigen tickets zu schicken, die ich absenden muß. Hier giebt es wenig Neues, Most u das Gesangsfestival liegen sich in den Haaren u Raiser steht abseits. Die Communefeier arrangiert vom Gesangs-Verein wird pflanzt beschränkt, weil Alle mit aller Anstrengung dagegen gearbeitet hat. Wir sind beide Hände geschieden u ich gehe nicht wieder einmal hin. Ich wende im ganz Rüngsten Zeit Zeitungen mit Riedenkopp u Zimmermann ein Licht freundschaftes u muß eine längere Reise nach dem Westen unternehmen im Interesse für Berkman, aber muß [illegible] im Allgemeinen für unsere Ideen zu wirken. Bald u Bauer kommen am 25 Mai heraus, da wird es mich mehr

184

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]97 March 25, N[ew] Y[ork to Max Metzkow, Buffalo, N.Y.] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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Leben sie der Linda gelesen. Was macht
Fischer Paginsky sie der Zeitung? Er ist ein
lustiger Kerl & überschickt ihm zuletzt eine
Zeitung. Schreiben Sie mir bald & so
viel sie wollen.

Mit Gruß & Handschlag.
Emma Goldmann

831115064

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]97 April 5, New York [to Max] Metzkow, [Buffalo, N.Y.] / E[mma] Goldman.— 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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New York April 5. 97

Lieber Freund Metzkow. Wie es scheint haben Sie mein Schreiben von vorigter Woche nicht erhalten, da ich heute ist Ihnen Antwort zugehen lasse. Ich muss Ihnen heute wieder schreiben, betreffs der Gelder für die Lecture, die ich unbedingt abrechnen muss.
Ich bitte Sie Freund dringend, mir mit= wieder das Geld oder wenigst günstige= liche Lecture zu senden. Die Woche kann garnicht stattfinden weil dieselbe bereits 3 Wochen voraus datirt werden. Sie weiss sich K Baginsky in wie fest die Verbindung in Buffalo im allgemeinen. Ihnen Freunde Wald in Seiner Person am 25 May sowie. Ich gedenke zu der Zeit auch P. zu lassen um in Gemeinschaft mit den Andern für Berkmanns Befreiung wei= ter zu arbeiten.

Ihr herzlich Antwort erwartend
mit freundlichen Gruss. E Goldmann

Beste Grüsse an K Baginsky.

184

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46

890128044

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]97 April 13, New York [to Augustin Hamon, Paris] / E[mma] Goldman. – 4 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

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workes, that deal with
poletical criminals. As
America does not admit
the existence of such a
specified class. Political
criminals, are classed in
the line of comon criminals
They do not enjoy any other
priveleges, nor are they
treated differently. I have
been told, that the place
to find out anything on
that subject is; the office
de travail in Paris, of which,
no doubt; you know.
The president of the insti=
tution is Mons. Dinance.
I suppose, you know all

SG HA

New York. April 13th
97.

Dear Comrade. Your favor
of March 22th. to hand.

I regret very much that
I am ever in such a position
that prevents me from carrying
out your request and I fear
that I shall not be able to
do much better this time.

I will see that the publishers
of „Freie Gesellschaft" forward
you their paper.

In regard to the publi=
cation of your book „Socialism
& the London Congress" in the
english language in this

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[Letter, 18]97 April 13, New York [to Augustin Hamon, Paris] / E[mma] Goldman.— 4 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

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country, I can only tell you that no american publisher would consent to publish it, because the american public could not be interested in that.

The Comrades of course would appreciate it, but I do not wonow of any of them that furnish the necessary funds for the publication.

I think I might find a house that would publish "Psychology du militaire professionel."

Please send me the original copy, (I mean in french of course) and let me know if it ever ~~was~~ has been ~~published~~ translated in the english language before; you will also have to send me a letter of special authority, otherwise the publishers might not accept me as your representative. Write the letter in french.

At present my time is too fully occupied to write an article for the Humanité Nouvelle; later on perhaps I may be able to accomodate you. I could find out nothing about Isaacs, or any

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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4 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

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IISG HA 5

particularies about our
Chicago Comrades, Spies Parsons
est. If not, let me know
and I will give you all
the details, also about the
Homestead affaire. I would
have gladly given you
particularies in this letter,
but my time is too limited
as I am about to leave
for Philadelphia and other
cities on a lecturing tour.

We no. paper published
in the english language on
Anarchism Communism, in the
East of N. A.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]97 April 13, New York [to Augustin Hamon, Paris] / E[mma] Goldman.—
4 p. ; 18 × 23 cm.

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Fultons paper, I consider
a very poor affaire.

The propaganda in
this country is at present
very weak. All inclines re=
ports a general feeling
of lethargy.

Times have never
been worse, thousends
and thousends are out of
work and destitute, still
they dope and wait and
suffer. Even the radical
element that knows the
evil of our present system
lack the courage of action
and try to satisfy the agonies
of hunger of the people
either with the ballot hoax,
free carriage of letter,
tarif, or other rubbish.
Those, who are willing
to carry the torch of
real education, in to
the masses lack the
means to carry on the
work.

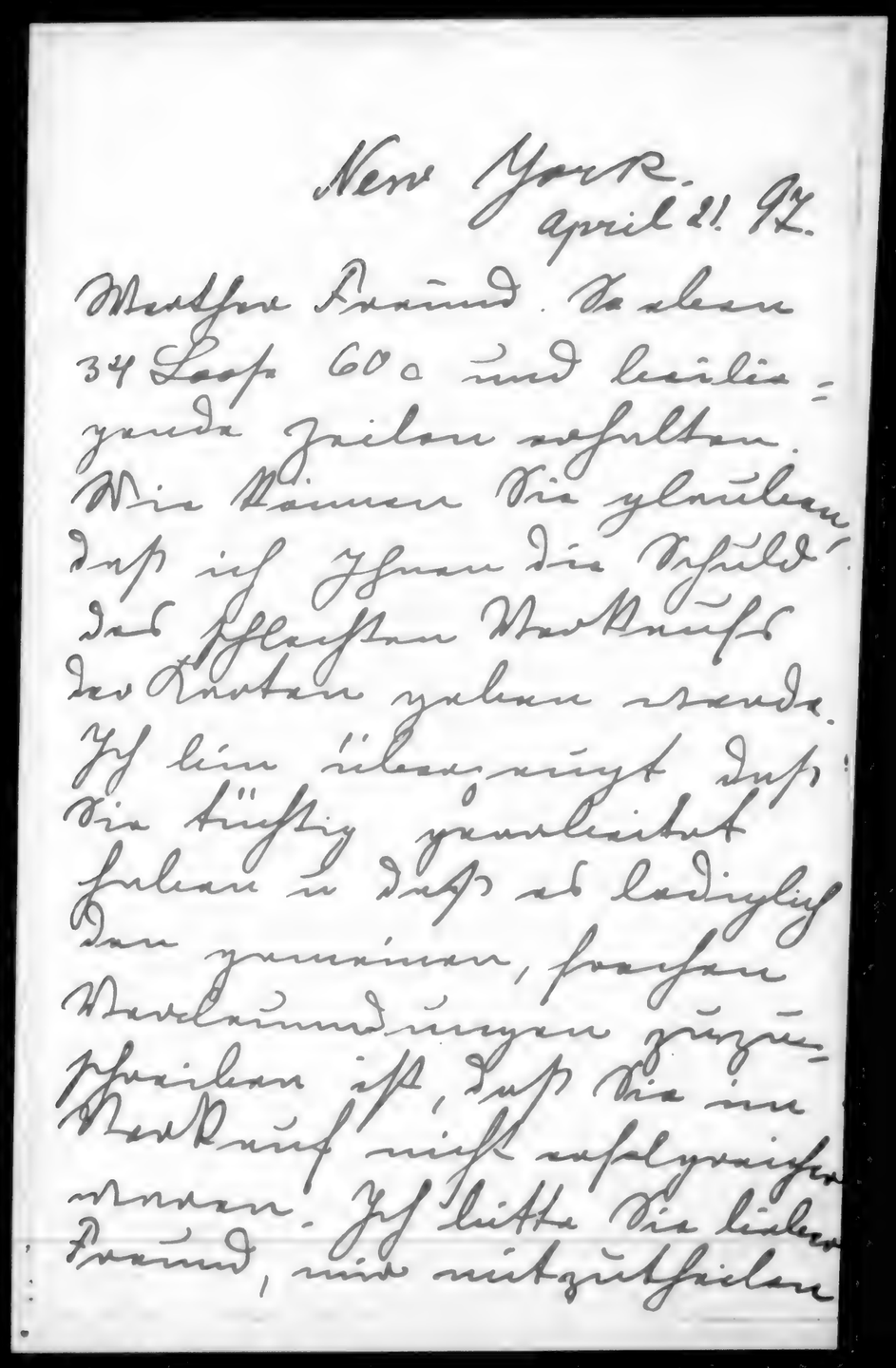
I assure you, it is
not very pleasent to
live in a country where
the almighty dollar is
all and love passion
truth, honesty and earnest=
ness are laught and scared
at. Hoping to hear from
you soon. I remain
Fraternally. E. Goldman

831115042

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]97 April 21, New York [to Max Metzkow, Buffalo, N.Y.] / E[mma] Goldman.— 2 p. ; 18 × 12 cm.

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New York.
april 21. 97.

Werther Freund. Haben
34 Loop 60c und beurlie-
gende Zeilen erhalten.
Wie Sonnen Sie glauben
dass ich Ihnen die Schuld
des Pflasters Werthers
der Autor geben könnte.
Ich bin überzeugt dass
Sie künftig genügend
Zeilen in dass so lästiglich
Dem gemeinen, prosaen
Verhältnissen zügen-
Zeilen ist, dass Sie mir
Werther nicht enthalten
werden. Ich bitte Sie lieber
Freund, mir mitzutheilen

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831115042

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]97 April 21, New York [to Max Metzkow, Buffalo, N.Y.] / E[mma] Goldman.— 2 p. ; 18 × 12 cm.

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welche Art die Gründe sind, die Ihnen mit Bitte[r]berg zugekommen sind. Dann es handelt sich nicht nur um meine Person sondern um andere, denen ich mit Rat und Tat beistehen möchte. Da Sie mir mitgeteilt haben, daß mit P. Gründe zugegangen sind, so ersuchte ich mich, daß Sie mir schreiben möchten, welcher Art diese Gründe sind. Die Abreise findet nächsten Mittwoch statt so werde ich Ihnen sofort das Resultat mitteilen. Mit Gruß E. Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1897 June 25, New York [to Augustin Hamon, Paris] / E[mma] Goldman.— 4 p. ; 22 × 15 cm.

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N. Y. Recorder,
15 Spruce Street.
EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

HA

New York 25 June 1897.

Dear comerade. Your letter of May 29 to hand. I could not answer it at once, because I was very ill from the effects of operation on my foot, at the time when your letter reached me. I am better now, but far from being well, and I therefore have to prospone the affair with your book until later. You need not send me a french copy of Psychologie du militaire professionel, because I have found the one you gave me. Together with this letter, I send you all the material for your lecture, that I could get a hold of. The tings are as follow. a short Biography of Alex. Berkmann Carl Nold, Henry Bauer with Photo's Ban, a copy of the Chicago Verdicte of 1887 with the pictures of the 8 Comrades and there Biography I have not translated it into English, since you have to

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15 Spruce Street.

EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

SG HA 2

translate it in to french. Never
this copy I must have returned dear
Camrade, because that is the
only copy left of that number.
Besides that I send you a pamphlet
by Gen. M. M. Trumbull Gov. John
P. Altgeld - reason for pardon-
ning our Camrade, and a
pamphlet by Prof. Edward W.
Bemis of the Chicago University
on the Homestead strike. The
last pamphlet does not belong
to me, and I have promised
to return it to the owner, I there-
fore beg of you to send this
back to me, as soon as you
are done with it, together with
the copy of De Varlaste.
The discription of the Homestead
stearke by Prof. E. W. Bemis is
correct, only when he criticisism
of Berkmans act and its in-
fluence on the strike, is wrong

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[Letter] 1897 June 25, New York [to Augustin Hamon, Paris] / E[mma] Goldman.—
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EDITORIAL DEPARTMENT.

IHA 3

and from a prejudiced point of view. De Stirce was not lost, because of B's act, but because the strikers were betrayed and sold by their leaders and because they did not have enough munition and money to continue the battle. I admit, that had B.'s act been successful, it would have made more propaganda, but the failure is not due to B. nor anybody. I have been in Homestead after the act, and have found out that the sympathy of the strikers was with the act, their only regret was, that it did not kill Frick.

I will try to get specimen of writing of the Chicago comrades later on, at present I can get nothing else. I am going to make a propaganda tour through the West next septe and, as I also

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15 Spruce Street.

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SG HA 4.

will viste Chicago, I will
try to get you more material
in regard to the Corr. from Mrs
Parsons. at What months in
1900 do you intend to lecture
in Brussels? I am asking
because I intend to go to Eng-
land and France the same
year and I would like to
meet you in Paris.

Hoping that the articles
I sent you, will be of some
use to you, I remain with
best greetings
E Goldmans

50. First st.

P. S. Please reply, as soon, as you
receive this letter and ~~package~~
package, also be kind enough
to send back, Voltaire and pamphlet
of E. W. Bemis, as soon, as you
will get done.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1897 June 25, New York to Augustin Hamon, Paris (enclosure)] / [Emma Goldman]. – 7 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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IISG HA

1)

Henry Bauer ~~is~~ is the son of payents and was born 28 April 1861 Prentel. (Hessen) He learned the Capenter traede and as he had to serve in the army, he preferred to go to America, he landed here Mai 1880 and went to Philadelphia, thand to Cumberland Md and finely to Pittsburg, he became foresman in a Capenter Shop, but this did not keep him from taking active part in the Labor movement during that time he got acquainted with the revolutionary Ideas. After his strike was lost, he was discharged and could frain that time find no steady employment. De Chicago trial and the legal murder of our Camrades, has drawgen him intirely in to the anarchistic ranks and since than he was one of the most active Comrade. In the Homestead strike he distributed revolutionary ~~leaflets~~ leaflets and after Berkmans act he was arrest, ~~for~~ and at the beginning of 93 he was sentenced to 5 years peneten-

2

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tiary for distributing incendiary printing matter. Her time expired last May 24th having received one year reduction for good behavior.

Karl Nold was born 26 Sep. 1869 at Weingarten, Wurtenberg. He was a child of love what is called to day an illegal child. His father was a physician in the Army. He fought in the German-Franca War of 1870-1871 and after a long absence he came home ill and broken down, he died soon afterwards. The mother of little Nold went to America and left the child with his grandparents, where he was brought up as a strict good Catholic. With 14 years he came to his mother, who in meanwhile had married. He was sent to his uncles to learn the Trade of blacksmith, but after one year he left his relatives because he could no longer stand the cruel and inhuman treatment. He first got acqueinted with Socialistic and than with anarchistic Ideas and after having worked in different cities, he decided in 1889

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3

to tramp to Chicago, but he did not came further than Pittsburg, where he settled down. He studied much and finely rendered great service to the cause, as a speaker and writer. He was well known to the police authorities and after Berkmanns act, was arrested as a conspirater and was in Feb 1893 sentenced to 5 years Penetentiary. He also was released from prison the 25th of last May. Nald has a boy af 6 years and lives with his wife, of course in a free Union.

Alex. Berkmann My friend and Comrade

Was born the 24 November 1870 in Wilna, west russia. His father Joseph Berkman, was a merchand in leather and had a large business in St Petersburg, where to his family af 3 boys and a girl moved, right after Alex birth. His father was wealthy and gave all his children a first class education, first with private tutors and than he sent

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to gimanasium. He died, when Alex was
12 years old and his brother with the
4 children moved to Kowna in the
western part of Russia. Here Alex
continued his studies in the Gimanasium
his one brother having left to Leipzig,
to study medicin, his second brother
studying pharmacy and his sisters, was
with Alex in Gimanasium. Soon Alex
aroused the anger of the authorities for
his liberal and revolutionary ideas
and shortly before his graduation from
the 6th class he was expelled from high
scool and put on the black list, that
means, that he could no more enter
any college of Russia. After that, at the
age of 17 year Alex sailed to America
where he landed in 1888. Not beeing
accustomed to phisical labor, he suffered
very much and for over a year he lived
one 5-7c per day. Then he worked on different
traden, as Cigarmaker, taylar and finely
he learned typesetting and went to
work on the Freiheit, the german
anarchist Journal, with Most, as editor.
During all this time, Berkman, studied
the social question, political and economica

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5

He was always a scolar and was well acqueainted with all scientific work. He became an Anarchist and was very active, speaking, writing and assisting the movement financially. Alexe Berkman, was such an enthusiast, that he cared go without proper food for days and give his earning for the cause, he was an Nihilist of the Bakunien type, he did acknowledge friendship love or any other feeling save the cause and this also led him to his act. He was of a very independend nature and would submit to no dogmas or rulership, he could not stand the dictator-ship of Most and left him in 1891. Berkmann had somewhat of a ~~stare~~ caracter like Casarice Santo. He went from New York to Pittsburg at the time of the Hoamstead strike, with 5 rc in his pocket. No one accept one friend of his knew of his plan. His intention was to use denamite, but he changed to a revolver, because

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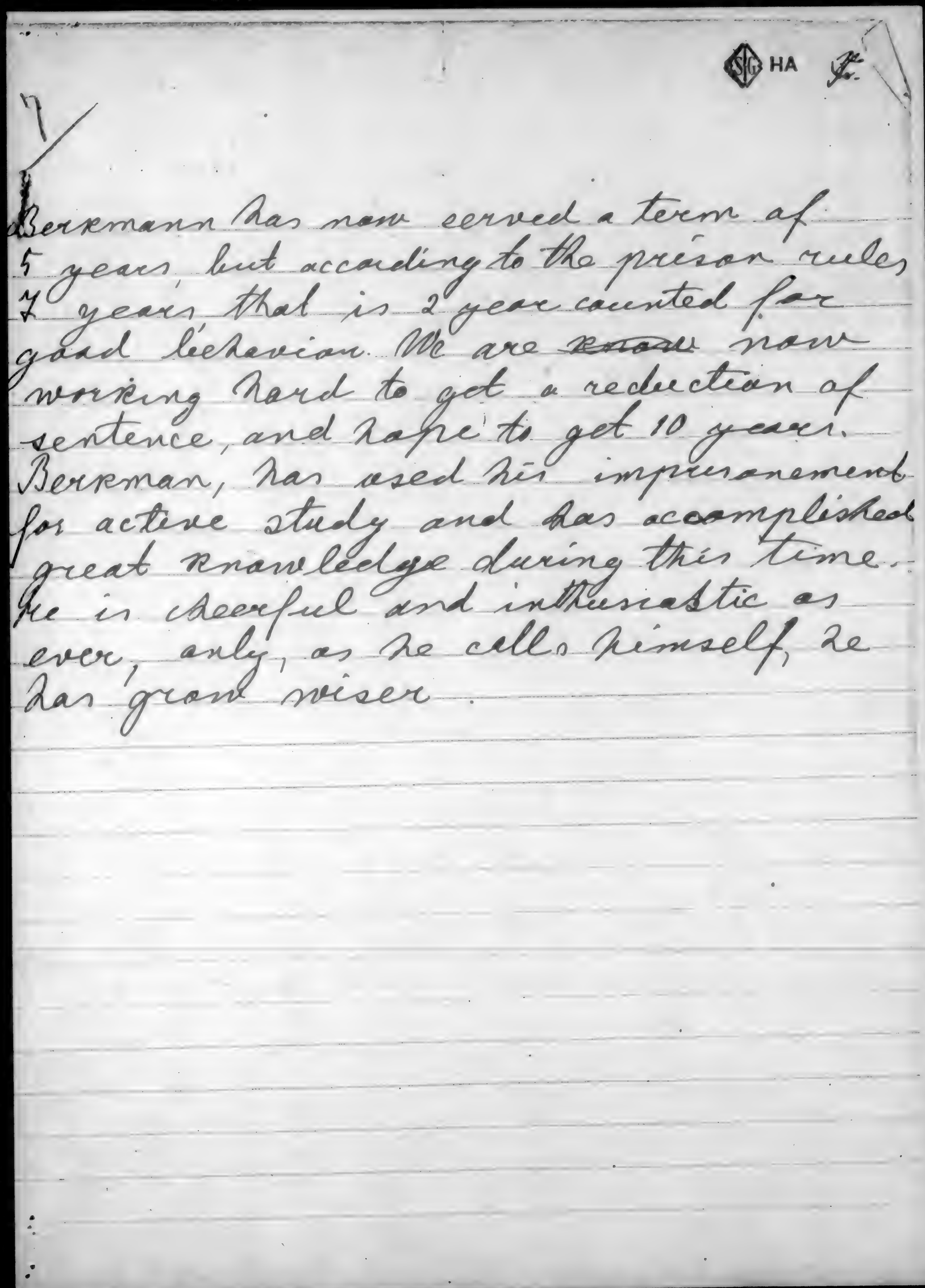
the time was too limited and he could
not aptain the necessary quantety
On Saturday the 22 July 2 à clock in
the afternoon he entred Frick office
and fired 5 times at; 3 times struck
him and two bullets went by. Frick
was severly wounded but through
skilful medical attendence he soon
recovered. Alx Berx. after 2 month
of inprisonement was after a trial
which lasted 1.1/2 sentenced to 22 years
inprisonement. He had refused legal
deffence and hoping that he will bee
allowed to deffend himself but this
was not granted, as the whole trial
was led on with the greatest of
prejudice here were 5 charges
against him, carrying concelled
weapons, ~~entring the of~~ forcing his
way into the Office of Frick attempting
to kill Frick, attempting to kill the
Secretary of Frick, (which by the way was
a lie) and camtempt of court, Had there
not been so many charges against him,
he could only have been given 7 years,
that is the, highest limit of the law.
of Pennselvania

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7

Berkmann has now served a term of 5 years, but according to the prison rules 7 years that is 2 year counted for good behavior. We are ~~now~~ now working hard to get a reduction of sentence, and hope to get 10 years. Berkman, has used his imprisonment for active study and has accomplished great knowledge during this time. He is cheerful and enthusiastic as ever, only, as he calls himself, he has grown wiser.

831115044

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]97 Aug. 2, New York [to Max Metzkow, Buffalo, N.Y.] / E[mma] Goldman.— 2 p. ; 16 x 22 cm.

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New York August II 97.

Mother Jennie. Ich muß Dir immer wieder denken, daß ich nach so Leben kein, daß Du liebes Freund Ihnen Dich gewiß um diese Zeit sehr zu bekümmern, just würdest Du öfter schreiben. Wir sind jetzt tüchtig an der Arbeit in den Interesse für Berk. case. die Arbeiter nehmen die Angelegenheit sympatisch, und indossiren die resolutionen. Anfang Sept gehe ich auf eine tour und gedenke dieselbe bis St Francisco zu erstrecken Wie steht es mit Buffalo? Ich habe Ihnen schon öfters geschrieben, daß ich mich den Gedanken nicht aufdrängen, wenn Sie aber glauben, daß es

154

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]97 Aug. 2, New York [to Max Metzkow, Buffalo, N.Y.] / E[mma] Goldman.— 2 p. ; 16 × 22 cm.

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Buffalo stand gestern abend an, ich
natürlich sofort ~~nach~~ Ihnen. Genossen Gordon
und Ettelsberg schreibt mir, dass er Ihnen durch
Turner 2 Namenlisten für Berkman 67-62 ge-
schickt hat, wie fast 2 mit diesen Listen.
Ich frage darum, weil wir fast alle alten
Listen einziehen und nun, von Nold in
Berkmans Comité in 6 Exemplaren versucht a
zugehen wurde. Ich habe auf letzten Minute
eine Liste von R Baginsky geschickt, als er
noch in Philadelphia wohnte, wollen Sie
ihn gütigst fragen, ob er dieselbe hat, und
wenn ja, sie von Gordon zu senden.
Könte nicht auch in Buffalo in den englischen
Lokalen für B gearbeitet werden.

Mit Gruss in Eile E Goldmann.

P. S. Viele Grüsse an R. Baginsky.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]97 Aug. 13, New York [to Max Metzkow, Buffalo?, N.Y.?] / E[mma] Goldman.— 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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New York. Aug 13. 97.

Lieber Freund.

Leider Konte ich Ihrem Wunsche, den beiliegenden Brief an Burke abzugeben, nicht nachkommen, da ich seine Adresse nicht weiss; ich fuhr aber den Abenden unsern Freund Jacobs Schwab übergeben, da bei ihm Leute verkehren, die ohne Zweifel B's Adresse wissen. Also Sie wollen B zum Redacteur für die Englische Zeitung haben? Haben Sie den jetzt Niemand speziellen Plan? Er ist ein ganz guter Mensch, aber meiner Ansicht nach, nicht fähig eine Zeitung zu redigieren. Warum schicken Sie nicht den Jacob Fuchs und probieren? Ich habe Ihnen vor einiger Zeit meine Ansicht über ihn geschrieben, und dann nur hinzufügen, dass er ein Handelsmann ist und der Geschäft hat, überall nützlich sein kann, aber sonst ist er unbedingt nur mittelmässiger literarischer Kraft. Wenn die Freunde aber Fuchs nicht als Redacteur wollen, vielleicht Kürbis er

184. /.

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66

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]97 Aug. 13, New York [to Max Metzkow, Buffalo?, N.Y.?] / E[mma] Goldman.— 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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just Einlösung bringen, so geht ihm
möglichst bald Nachricht.

In der Hoffnung bald
wieder von Ihnen zu hören

Mit Gruß
E Goldmann

P. S. Grüß an R Baginsky. Er möchte
mich doch benachrichtigen wenn er mir mein
Adresse nach Philadelphia senden
würde, wo die ich mich inzwischen von der
Liste streichen könnte

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67

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1897] Aug. 20, New York [to Augustin Hamon, Paris] / E[mma] Goldman. – 4 p. ; 21 × 14 cm.

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EG HA New York Aug 20

1897

Dear Comrade:

Your letter of July 10th received but have been unable to answer before. up to the present I have been unable to find any one to write the articles you desire the following are a few names of officers of some of the largest trade unions. here Samuel Gompers Pres. American Federation of Labor Washington D. C. Frank Morrison Secretary American Federation of Labor Jas. R. Sovereign Grand Master Workman K. of L. Little Rock Arkansaw. M. M. Garland Pres. Amalgamated Association of Iron & Steel Workers. Pittsburg Pa. W. B. Prescott Pres. International Typographical Union, Desoto Block Indianapolis Ind. M. D. Ratchford Pres. United Mine Workers. Columbus Ohio

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G. W. Perkins Pres. Cigar Makers Interna-
tional Union Chicago Ill. P. J. McGuire
General Sec. Brotherhood of Carpenters
+ Joiners of A. Philadelphia Pa. and
Jas. A. O'Connell Pres. International
Association of Machinists. Monon Bldg.
Chicago Ill. also write to Eugene V.
Debs Chicago Ill.

As to your book I have been to one
of the largest publishing houses here.
Scribners. and they could not handle
it, several other publishers would not
pass judgement on it until they saw
an English translation of it and at the
present time I can hardly tend to it
as I start away on a three months
propaganda tour in two weeks. still
there is a Comrade in Boston who I will
see about translating it and then try
again.

What effect did the death of the
Canovas del Castillo have on the general

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public in France, here in America it
created a big sensation and it is safe
to say that Anarchism has not been
talked about by the newspapers and
public at large since 1886 & 87 as during
the last 10 days. Pages of the daily
press have been taken up by a descrip-
tion of the tortures and while all of the
American newspapers have admitted
that Canovas was a monster, still when
we held our meeting to celebrate the
event on Monday night we were denoun-
ced as glorifing murder, the New York
Journal the most sensational paper
in American daily papers had some
remarkable Editorals on the subject. which
could hardly have been improved on by
Anarchists. yet they turned tail when we
had our meeting and denounced us in
the most bitter terms. hypocrisy of the
press is one of the features of American
Journalism.

How do the Comrades in Paris

890128046

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1897] Aug. 20, New York [to Augustin Hamon, Paris] / E[mma] Goldman. – 4 p. ; 21 × 14 cm.

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Institutional Location: Augustin Hamon Archive.

AH

regard the recent bomb explosions in Paris, as genuine attempts on Faure's life or police pilots. the address of Mrs Parsons is as follows. Mrs. L. E Parsons 1777 Troy st. Chicago Ill. U. S. A. with kind regards to all Comrades.

Fraternally
E Goldmann.

P. S. I send you by same mail clippings of N. Y. papers.

891207001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1898 Jan. 5] New York [to Lucifer the Lightbearer, Chicago] / Emma Goldman. – 2 p. ; 40 × 28 cm.

Obtained from the Stanford University Libraries, Stanford University.

Thought is free of necessity. No one can fetter or bind it, though its utterance may be suppressed.

Love is equally free. You cannot love at will. But each loves as compelled or impelled by circumstances. It is quite time that the hyphenated word, free love, was cleansed of the impurities cast upon it by the ignorant and unthinking; and some more truthful and distinctive term used in place of it by varietists, and those who advocate and practice what is called illegitimate love unions.

While I claim to be a Dianite free lover, I abominate whiskey, dissipation and wrong-doing (see Northcote in No. 690 of Lucifer) as much as any bound lover could do.

I commend Mrs. Swaysgood's plea for more kindly feeling among our writers. Calling hard names and "sitting down upon" our brothers and sisters illy becomes true liberals. Sound and clear argument is the only road to success. Give your ideas in a plain, honest and fair setting and time will place truth upon its throne.

> The wonder is always and always
> How there can be a mean man.
>
> —*Whitman.*

[In theory Mrs. Slenker does not believe in "calling hard names and 'sitting down upon' our brothers and sisters." In practice, however, she would deny the designation of "free lover" to any person who assumes the right to love more than one person simultaneously. And even love relations which are exclusive are, in her estimation not to be called "free love" unions when they are "what is called illegitimate love unions." "Called" by whom? Who is to have authority to stigmatize any union as "illegitimate"? Or does Mrs. Slenker give the technical meaning to the term, and condemn all *illegal* unions? If not, what does she mean?

Certainly the "unfailing criterion" which Mrs. Slenker calls for in the opening of the article, is needed when her words are read. If we are to take words in their commonly accepted meaning, she thinks that "free love"—that is, what she calls "Dianite free love"—is pure and good; but that any love which desires manifestation other than Dianism should be denied freedom. We all know what whiskey is, and can understand what she means when she says she "abominates" it. But what does she mean by "dissipation"? and what does she consider "wrong-doing"?

I have observed Mrs. Slenker's request to "see Northcote in Lucifer 690" and fail to see that he either advocates or condemns "whiskey, dissipation and wrong-doing." He quotes H. L. Green's statements that free love leads to this trinity of evils; but he does not thereby adopt those assertions as his own. L. H.]

VARIOUS VOICES.

Mrs. C. Williams, Newport, Ky.:—Please find enclosed twenty-five cents for Lucifer. Sorry it is not more. Will send more as soon as I have it. It is worth its weight in gold—Lucifer I mean.

Wm. Humble, Weir City, Kan.:—I enclose two dollars,—one dollar and fifty cents for Lucifer, twenty five cents for "Helen Harlow's Vow," and twenty five cents for combination offer. I thank you for continuing paper to me, after time had expired. I am no writer but I think the work you are at is the greatest reform of this century.

Jennie Wade, Bradford, O.:—Enclosed find fifty cents for subscription to your valuable paper, Lucifer. You sent me a sample copy and I consider it a gem, more precious than diamonds to mothers. Could we only induce the masses to read and become enlightened this earth would become the paradise that they expect in the future.

J. G. Hunter, Sheridan, Wyo.:—Some one has kindly sent me three numbers of Lucifer. I am interested in the question of sexual freedom and do not want to study the question at any other person's expense; but am certainly greatly obliged to the party who sent me those copies, as I had made an effort to find out the address of Lucifer and failed. Enclosed please find one dollar and thirty cents for which please send Lucifer for one year; also your Combination Offer, and "Sexual Enslavement of Women."

Ira P. Holcomb, Jr., Dinuba, Calif.:—Enclosed find check for one dollar and seventy-five cents for which send me "The Adult" for one year, fifty cents; "Hilda's Home" (paper cover) fifty cents; "Fountain of Life," fifty cents; "Discussion of the Social Question," by Dr. Juliet H. Severance and David Jones, fifteen cents; "What the Young Need to Know," ten cents.

Either I am changing my views or else Lucifer is growing better and better all the time. These are surely questions of vital importance to all of us.

Samuel Ragendorf, Cincinnati, O.:—Many thanks for last article by Northcote, "Free Thought and Free Love." In my humble opinion it is one of the *very best* I have ever read. I notice Warren (city) has Lucifer on sale at his news stands. "Adult" (January issue) will *cost more*, just what I don't know. I enclose twenty cents for same. Will renew my subscription to Lucifer in a very few weeks.

[The price of the January "Adult" will be twenty cents,—except to regular subscribers who have sent us fifty cents for a year's subscription. For these no additional charge will be made. After January 1 the price will be one dollar per year—twelve numbers. M. H.]

B. F. Odell, Flagler, Colo.:—Enclosed I send one dollar for books and subscription, and twenty-five cents for the Portland martyrs. I will take three copies of "Hilda's Home." The story has caused many to read Lucifer who otherwise would not have read it. If possible you should commence another serial story soon. Serial stories will reach many in this novel reading age, that would pass sober discussions by, and they sow the seed of freedom.

In regard to the Propaganda I am already an *active member*—not of an organization, but of the great movement for freedom. I was waiting to see whether to enroll my name in the organization that has just been formed. I see but one thing that makes me hesitate. Lucifer has the confidence of all sex reformers and is already the recognized head of the propaganda movement. If Moses Harman had been chosen manager of the Propaganda, I know several who would have added their names. At least I am certain they would have done so.

[The failure to affix my name to the "call" for national organization was not because I disapproved the object or the methods proposed therein. For many years I have been working along the same lines, in my own way, and did not see the need of putting my name to the new organization. If, however, the lack of my signature to that list of names is keeping back others from the work, then this objection shall be removed. The organization is welcome to my name so long as it is managed as I now think it to be. M. H.]

Emma Goldman, 50 First St., New York City:—I was glad to see the report of Comrade Lees from Cleveland in last Lucifer. It is to be regretted that I could find no one to report the meetings in Buffalo and Rochester, especially those at Detroit, as I consider them the most important and successful of all the meetings I addressed during my three months' tour. I spoke at two German meetings in Turner Hall, one being the commemoration meeting of the death of our Chicago heroes. Though both meetings were unusually well attended, yet none of my meetings have caused so much comment in the press as the one of Friday, Nov. 18, at the "People's Tabernacle"—a church.

Fancy an Anarchist addressing a congregation from the pulpit! Well, I am generally not conceited but I frankly admit, I am very proud of the success of my lecture in the church on Anarchy. The newspapers have ever since been circulating all

891207001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1898 Jan. 5] New York [to Lucifer the Lightbearer, Chicago] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 40 × 28 cm.

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sorts of stories about that broad minded minister, Mr. McGowan, who had more courage than any other in his profession, but the truth is that his church is now far better attended than ever before. Undoubtedly people go there to find out whether the church is still on the same spot, and whether the devil has not taken up his quarters in it since Emma Goldman spoke there.

The minister certainly deserves all credit for his broad-mindedness and courage.

In Buffalo I also had good meetings; one in the Trade and Labor Council Hall; one in the Spiritualist Temple, and a German meeting. In Rochester, N. Y., I addressed three meetings, two arranged by friends and one in the Labor Lyceum of that city.

Take it all in all I am satisfied with the work done during the three months, and with the hospitality and kindness extended me by comrades, friends and sympathizers all over the country. I hope to start on a tour again, next March or April, and of course, shall then see all the friends at Lucifer Circle again.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1898 March, Pittsburg[h], Pa. [to] Solidarity, [New York] / Emma Goldman.— 1 p. ; 31 × 7 cm.

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SOLIDARITY.

A LETTER FROM EMMA GOLDMAN.

Dear Comrades—Hurrah for the new paper! Though I don't care for the name "Solidarity" (we have had experience with it before), yet I hail its appearance, knowing how sadly a paper is needed in New York. After all, what's in a name? The principles and tendencies of a paper are all-important, and knowing the comrades who are to conduct "Solidarity," I am satisfied that our ideas will be ably set forth in its columns. I cannot tell you how many people are now interested in the philosophy of Anarchy. Even the most conservative clubs and organizations, that only a few years ago would have refused to listen to a professed Anarchist, are now inviting Anarchist lecturers. They have learned that conservatism is fast losing ground, and that nothing but advanced and radical ideas meet with popular approval. The Friendship Liberal League, of Philadelphia, for instance, has heretofore been controlled by its older members, who for twenty-five years have been killing God one night and reviving him the next; who have ceased to believe in a heavenly Lord, and yet have stood by without protest while earthly lords were robbing the people. Even these "pillars of society" have been taught the lesson that the old order changes and gives way to the new. The comrades of Philadelphia, who arranged five meetings for me in the city of Brotherly Love, had a hard battle with these gentlemen, who had decided that no Anarchist should speak from the platform of the League. The younger members, however, together with our energetic comrades, won the victory. In spite of the strenuous opposition of the "respectable element," we had two glorious meetings at the League, in the afternoon and evening of Sunday, Feb. 20th. I lectured on "Patriotism" and on "Charity." The comrades have sent reports to "Free Society" and other liberal papers, so I will refrain from telling you the details.

In Pittsburg the comrades have arranged meetings for almost every night of the three weeks I expect to stay here, to try my endurance they say, but you know how much it takes to tire a woman of talking.

Here, too, I have had proof that our ideas are marching on. The Glass Blowers' Union, No. 36, of Monaca, Pa., the largest and most conservative labor organization of the country, had me down to speak on "Majority Rule," Saturday, Feb. 26th, at a meeting specially arranged for me. I must say that I was treated with unusual politeness by the committee, who showed me every attention. Of course, I care little for such formalities, but I think we have cause to be satisfied with the progress of the propaganda, when we, who have until recently been treated like criminals, or who, according to the "Christ of the Free Thinkers," Bob Ingersoll, ought to be treated like lunatics, are invited to expound our doctrines, and are listened to with enthusiasm by people who a few years ago joined in the plutocratic cry, "Hang the Anarchists!"

I will be able to give you a better report of my tour when I return home, which will be in the latter part of April. So far, meetings have been arranged until March 12th in this city. After that in Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago for two weeks; in Cincinnati by the Liberal League of Ohio, another free thought society that has never invited an Anarchist speaker before; in St. Louis and other cities. In fact I think of extending my present tour as far as San Francisco, Cal.

I need not assure you of my hearty co-operation; it is a matter of course that I will do my best for "Solidarity." Please send me several hundred copies of the first number. With heartiest wishes for the success of your undertaking, fraternally,

EMMA GOLDMAN

Pittsburg Pa., March, 1898.

LATTIMER.

Society is saved again! The Lattimer jury has returned the verdict which all level-headed observers expected from the first. How could it have been otherwise? A lot of workingmen, whose only function in our society is to earn dividends, interest and profits for their masters, became dissatisfied with the rations, shelter and clothing allowed them, and laid down their tools. They struck for higher wages, better treatment, and what not. This, I believe, is still permitted them. The "injunction" method has not as yet been adopted against coal miners, but the strikers must be very peaceful and law abiding, as the law is construed and executed by the servants of the masters.

Of course, the labor leaders and labor politicians tell us that these poor slaves of Hazleton were all of them peaceful and law abiding.

Quiet, peaceful behavior was preached to them by their priests, and respect for the law and good citizenship generally, was most strenuously recommended them by their champions of press and forum; and peaceful they doubtless were, for the coal mines are still in operation and the towns are still standing. Nevertheless, we need not believe that "scabs," workingmen who would not join the strike, were treated all too gently by the strikers.

But in spite of all their protestations of peace, it is doubtless true that the mine owners and managers were afraid of them. It is impossible for the well-fed and well-conditioned exploiters to realize how awfully degraded are the victims of their exploitation.

In such cases they always imagine the strikers will act like men. And what would have been left of the coal barons' possessions if the coal miners had acted like men—that is, like men accustomed to walk on their hind legs, and believing in their right to live on this earth?

An evil memory and certain legal documents, I fancy. And just as a mediæval baron went to sleep at night—with visions of a horde of invading serfs in mind, so our modern barons live always in the shadow of an imagined uprising of their victims.

It is quite easy to understand, therefore, how the young gentlemen of that region faced the crisis. They seized their Winchesters or shotguns and, taking their humble servant, the high sheriff of the county, along, proceeded to meet the foe like valiant men, defending their right to live in their own way (the lawful and constitutional way, be it remembered).

The miners of Hazleton had decided to march on Lattimer to persuade their fellow workers of that place to join the strike. They were fools enough to go unarmed, in obedience to the advice and entreaties of their leaders. They were met on the way by Sheriff Martin and his masters, who advised, implored, and ordered them to go back, but they relied on certain vague words, printed in certain musty old books, about the right of peaceable folk to walk on the public highways, and insisted on going. Sheriff Martin, making use of a convenient trolley car, intercepted them on the road and drew up his force of deputies, largely increased on the way, on one side of the road, leaving room for the strikers to pass if they still insisted on going to the Lattimer "breakers." Then, when the procession of miners came up, he went forward to meet their leaders. These leaders carried the star-spangled banner, emblem of freedom, etc. The sheriff carried a couple of revolvers and the riot act, which he started to read to them. Here the story becomes a little confused. Martin says a man named Novotny hit him in the face, and he tried to shoot him, but failed, because his revolver would not work. Others say that there were angry words, and thereupon Martin shot his man. At any rate, the deputies fired a volley and kept on firing, while the miners, who could, sensibly enough ran away. Nineteen were killed and many wounded, most of them shot in the back.

Again the priests came forward. They dispensed the consolations of religion to the dying, they buried the dead, and they preached peace and obedience to law. And so also did the labor leaders and politicians. Of course they did; for is not this a country of law, constitutional law, before which all men are equal? Why, surely; the very school books teach us that. And our glorious free press—does it not proclaim it? And our statesmen—don't they tell us about it every time they want our votes?

Of course! These poor Slavs, Hungarians and Lithuanians were persuaded to await the vengeance of the law. And, strangely enough, the priests and the foreign consuls succeeded in getting the Grand Jury of Luzerne County, Pa., to indict the sheriff and his deputies for murder. An utterly un-American proceeding, that astonished many an old-time observer of the American labor movement.

The trial was one of those grotesquely terrible tragedies that excite one's laughter even while they chill the heart with horror.

The Judge was a fellow who lives on the rental of coal lands, a pillar of society as it is, a personal friend of the accused deputies. The jury was necessarily selected from dependants of the barons, for they selected the whole panel, and the prosecution had to choose between bad and worse. The accused were released on bail, and so lightly was the matter regarded by them that the bail bonds expired in the course of the trial, and one of the miners' lawyers made a fuss about it. The Judge, rather than imprison the gentlemen over Sunday, let them go free without any bail at all from Saturday until Monday. (Talk about equality before the law after that!) And before this Judge appeared the poor workingmen and told their simple tales, and exhibited their terrible wounds, and were ridiculed by the lawers for the defense. Day by day the ghastly farce dragged its slow length along. The sheriff denied having given the order to fire, and only one of the deputies admitted having fired a shot, although the nineteen dead men were sufficient evidence on this point, I imagine. The lawyers on each side gave their employers their money's worth in eloquent speeches, the Judge delivered his charge, and the jury retired. They soon came to an agreement—but as it was evening, and it would cost them hotel bills if they reported at once, they decided to save the expense, and earn two dollars more by reporting in the morning. Of course the final act was played with due observance of form and state, and "justice" is done. Bourgeois justice.

The last few days of the trial were very exciting. A certain hysterical doctor overheard two foreigners conspire under her chamber window to throw a bomb among the deputies immediately after their acquittal. A number of people, including the judge, were warned of awful outrages to be perpetrated, and policemen guarded the court and the judge. The deputies nervously fingered the revolvers they had carried all through the trial, all nerves were strained to the highest tension, but, alas! nothing happened.

Law has triumphed, the workingman has been taught another lesson. I wish I could say has learned another lesson, but however that may be, our masters may be relied on to continue the teaching; and surely the heads of the workingmen which can so easily be perforated by bullets can not be impenetrable to ideas.

J. EDELMANN.

We have received reports from comrades in various cities of Emma Goldman's meetings. Unfortunately, they came too late for this issue.

MAJORITY RULE.

In the age-long struggle for freedom the dominant idea has always been to take power from the king or nobles, from the few, and hand it over to the people—the many. In brief, the idea has been that the people should "govern themselves."

The outcome has been that we are now governed by "the will of the majority," and call it freedom, justice, equality before the law, and many other deluding names.

The strange thing about all this is that people should still be unable to see that majority rule is only the same old tyranny over again, and in a much less manageable form. All the old forms of tyranny were simply the domination over the whole by a portion of the whole. In what is majority rule any different? The truth is that the doctrine of majority rule, the logical outcome of democracy, was the reduction of all governmental ideas into a form that showed the ultimate absurdity of democracy, and the stupid folly of attempting to govern at all.

In practice it soon became clear that social wisdom could not be attained by any process of counting noses and being guided by the will of the party having the highest number of noses.

The struggle, which was always honestly one for freedom and justice, works out, under government and law, through majority rule, into force alone. It is only the old "might makes right" in another form. Where do freedom and right come in?

The majority rule system created the politician, who soon saw how the new form of alleged freedom could be used just as well as the old; indeed better, to climb into power over majorities obtained by bribery, private arrangement and alluring false promises.

The system worked out, in practice, into a change of masters only, with newer and better methods of plunder on a scale undreamt of in "days of old."

The evils of the system became so apparent that it had to be defended from criticism. To the objection that majority decision did not give us social wisdom, it was at last frankly replied that it did not pretend to, that all you could do was to ascertain the will of the majority, and be guided by that. The inborn stupidity of majority rule stood revealed, and was further emphasized by its advocates having to admit as one of the reasons for submission to it that if it came to a fight the majority "could lick the minority." There you have it in its naked simplicity. But think of the absurdity of the long struggle for right against might ending (logically enough) in the assertion by the popular party of the old form of tyranny, of might against right, the right of force. It is like going into a blind alley. The thing to do is to turn round and attack the real cause of mischief, the folly of rule. To the lover of freedom majority rule is contradictory and tyrannical from any point of view, and for the same reason in all cases, that any interference in the form of control is a violation of personal freedom.

Take the case of religion. In this country at least, no one claims the right of the majority to tax the minority, or any one, for the support of any religion.

Religion is admitted to be a matter for the private judgment of the individual, and he is left the personal freedom to lead what form of religious life his own judgment recommends or to reject all religion, if he so choses.

What just ground is there for controling opinion and conduct in civil any more than in religious matters? None whatever. My opinions on questions of tariff, franchise, conduct in life, politics, social economy, and everything else, are equally matters for my own private judgment and individual notion. The forcing on to the individual, by government, in the name of the "will of the people," of the majority view, on

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1898 July, New York [to] Solidarity, New York / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 35 × 14 cm.

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SOLIDARITY.

An International Review of Anarchist Communism.

PUBLISHED SEMI-MONTHLY

at No. 60 First Street, New York City.

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A SHORT ACCOUNT OF MY LATE TOUR.

I had promised friends and comrades to give a detailed account of my tour through the States in the form of traveling notes, either in "Free Society" or in "Solidarity." But on thinking the matter over, I concluded that this would be impossible, for if I should give a full history of all my experiences, all I encountered and the many incidents which I recall, the people I met and their characteristics, during eighteen weeks on the road, it would fill a book of considerable size. As time and space will not permit me to do this now, I must beg my friends to accept a short account.

I left New York with $2 in my purse and a ticket to Philadelphia, my first stopping place. Through the kind assistance of various comrades I traveled to the Pacific Coast, South as far as Los Angeles, and North to Portland. I have visited in all eighteen cities, among them Philadelphia, Pittsburg, and in the Western Pennsylvania mining districts, McKeesport, Roscoe, Newton, Manaca, and Homestead, where six years ago the slaves of Carnegie's iron and steel mills fought like men to protect their lives and liberty for a time, only to return to greater hardships and humiliations than ever. I was in Cleveland, Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Denver, Salt Lake City, San Francisco, San Jose, Los Angeles and Portland, but was compelled to cancel engagements in Tacoma and Seattle and other places on account of misunderstandings. I addressed 66 meetings and conducted a debate with a leading Socialist in San Francisco. On looking back over my tour I can say without flattering myself too much, that I have done good work. I have made friends for the cause of liberty, have done away with a good deal of prejudice formerly entertained by different people against Anarchy and Anarchists, and have won a number of personal friends. In fact I was received with open arms wherever I went, and the comrades did their utmost to make my visit pleasant in every respect. Of course I also made enemies. I do not understand why some people assert that America is a poor place for the spread of radical ideas. My experience in my last two trips has been that this country is an excellent field for them. I believe that if we only had a few able, energetic workers going constantly back and forth between the Atlantic and Pacific we would have a strong movement in a short time.

It will surprise many of the comrades to learn that very little is known of Anarchy in the West. Yet much money and time have been spent in literature, papers, pamphlets, etc., some will exclaim. That is true, but unfortunately the papers, pamphlets and leaflets have only reached the few, not the many. It is only of late that a Western paper has been doing good work in propaganda, and that is "Free Society." The Western people are ready to accept radical ideas, and "Free Society" is now paving the way for Anarchy very rapidly.

The condition of the workers is, of course, much the same everywhere poverty, lack of work, want of the necessaries of life, misery and starvation are at home in each large city; still, the West is not so much in the grip of politicians, bigots and hypocrites as the East. Sunday laws, moral laws, laws prohibiting speech in the open air, etc., are little known in the far West, and I hardly think ever will be. This alone makes life pleasanter on the Pacific than here, where every bluecoat exercises the power of a Czar.

Therefore, if the time, energy and money used in propaganda in the East had been devoted to the Pacific Slope we would have had a very different movement. However, better late than never. Philosophic Anarchy is still new to the American tongue. Let us continue our efforts, carry on an energetic propaganda, and we will soon see that intelligent Americans will join hands with the intelligent people of all countries in the battle for liberty.

I have often heard reformers say that the working class does not revolt because it is not yet wretched and starving enough, and that the sooner economic conditions get worse the sooner they will revolt. This is another wrong conception of men and conditions. Take the coal miners, the most ill paid and ill treated wage workers in existence. To try to describe the condition of the miners of Western Pennsylvania is to attempt the impossible. In many places grown men, with families, have not been able to earn more than $1.50 a week. They are herded together in miserable, filthy hovels, 12 or 15 people occupying one room. Somehow else can they pay rent? Yet these men do not revolt, and never will, for they have not the strength. They are like animals, dumb, stupid, indifferent, ready to lick the hand that lashes them. But when I reached the districts where they earned $3 and $4 a week (a fortune, if as they work), I found men carrying themselves with more pride and self respect, and open to ideas. It is therefore an unpardonable mistake to sit with folded hands awaiting the development of things to such a state that it will be too [illegible]. Men with empty, [illegible] for freedom. They fight for bread, and as soon as they get the crust, gnawing on it they forget their good intentions to fight for more. I have not spent 18 weeks in missionary work without learning that it is useless to appeal to the crushed, but only of less use is appeal to the underfed. To be successful we must reach that class whose brains have not yet been destroyed by starvation.

The convention of the Social Democracy, held in Chicago June 7th, which I attended as a visitor, was a fiasco, as many such have been. For the credit of the colonization side, however, be it said, that it was their intention to develop a sound, healthy, economic movement, leaving all politics to the politicians. The will was strong, but the flesh was weak, not strong enough to maintain their position to the last, they compromised, that is, they dropped one, politics, but accepted the other, the colonization propaganda. I have no faith in either, for I know that nothing short of the propaganda against political control and against economic dependence will satisfy.

I will write no more of my tour, as most of the meetings have been reported in "Free Society" and in "Solidarity." I will add that some of my lectures are to appear in "Free Society" shortly. Let me also add that before long I will start on another tour. Therefore, not good-by, but au revoir.

Fraternally, EMMA GOLDMAN

New York, July, 1898.

OUR "TAGGED" SOLDIERS.

The "Coming Nation" says:

The soldiers who go to Cuba wear numbered tags. Private soldiers are not worth knowing by name. None of the generals, majors or colonels will wear tags. They are on a different basis, you see. The "incentive" offered by the competitive system is something fearful and wonderful to behold. Tagged and numbered citizens fighting a battle for the liberty of people who have not progressed so far as

How curious it is that whenever a State Socialist friends come to

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1898 July 25, New York [to] Detroit Sentinel, [Detroit, Mich.] / Emma Goldman.— 1 p. ; 49 × 22 cm.

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MISS EMMA GOLDMAN

Answers to Questions Asked by F. B. Livezey.

She Does Not Favor Compulsory Education or Force as Anarchistic Propaganda — Interesting Letter.

To the Editor of The Sentinel:

In your paper of July 2d I notice an item headed "Emma Goldman Wanted," in which Mr. F. B. Livezey, of Sykesville, Md., sends me his compliments and inquires whether I am in favor of "compulsory education," and whether I advocate "force" in the propaganda of anarchy. He also states that he is in sympathy with my antagonism to marriage and the clergy, and with my appreciation of Jesus Christ.

May I ask that you be kind enough to publish this reply to Mr. Livezey's queries:

I do not favor compulsory education; nor have I ever lectured in favor of it. Not only do I not believe in it, but I am entirely opposed to our present school system, considering it injurious to the natural faculties of the child. I know by my own experience that instructors and teachers can seldom regard the individual abilities and inclinations of their pupils; they must follow the lines laid down by the board of education and stuff the children's heads with a lot of rubbish, which only burdens the little minds and which is of no benefit to the children.

Until instructors will make it a special study to understand the nature of their pupils, their physical, dimental wants, their trials and worries, their pleasures and sorrows, children will leave their schools as automatic machines and not thinking and reasoning young men and women.

I have never advocated "force" for the propaganda of anarchy, nor do I know of any anarchist who has done so. Every student of anarchist philosophy knows that anarchy has nothing to do with force and violence; that it desires peace, safety and liberty, and does not recognize the right of one to rule, injure or coerce the others.

But every anarchist is also a student of history, and as such he or she must recognize that the ruling classes have never granted privileges to the oppressed until forced to do so by the latter.

Judging from the events of the past and present, there is no doubt in my mind that the struggling masses of the present century can expect nothing from their masters, and if they want to change their conditions and bring about a state of society in which no one shall enjoy the toil of his fellow man they will only succeed through the social revolution, never through peaceful methods.

As to individuals using force: well, whether we agree with them or not, whether we like them or not, such cases will occur from time to time, as a natural result of the causes existing in society. Let me give you an example. You will no doubt remember the shooting of Prime Minister del Castello, of Spain, by the young student Angelillio Goll.

If Canovas had not re-established the inquisition in Spain, if he had not caused 300 innocent workingmen to be tortured in the most barbarous and inhuman way in the prison of Montjoich, the world had never heard of Angelillio Goll. He, whose heart was filled with love and sympathy for his fellow men, would not have thought of shooting Canovas, as he was too gentle, refined and noble even to hurt a fly. But Canovas del Castello, with his murderous genius, has produced a Goll, just as Caesar produced a Brutus.

We might as well fight against cyclones, earthquakes, tornadoes, lightning and other phenomena, as to fight against individual acts of violence. They have been and will be as long as we retain the causes which produce them; and I look upon such occurences as warnings of the coming danger to the tyrants of the world.

Of course I understand that violent acts do not change conditions unless a change has taken place in the minds of the people. Yet individual acts often set men to thinking and then books, papers, lectures and other methods of propaganda develop the first thought, which deeds like Angelillio Goll's, Santo Caserio's, Alexander's, Bergman's and

Shafer's Store is the Hub of the City's Commerce.



THIS WEEK (Monday) we began a grand UNLOADING SALE of our entire stock MEN'S and BOYS CLOTHING. This is no half hearted effort—no ordinary cleaning up sale with only the profit sacrificed—but a gigantic trade convulsion—a cutting into cost that will create a commotion, not only among Clothing dealers, but throughout the community generally. Everybody in Michigan who wears Clothing is personally concerned in this sale. We will not carry a dollar's worth of Clothing over from this season to the next if we can possibly avoid it. We are about to take our first inventory; our record of sale for the first six months will soon be determined and we want to make it a big one. For these reasons and also because we desire to close our first half year's business with a huge advertisement for unprecedented value-giving—we offer Clothing to the men and boys of Detroit and Michigan at prices *guaranteed to be near the lowest ever named here or anywhere else for like quality.* That you may comprehend the full import of this offer, we might add that it includes

Choice of any Suit in this store—the pick of the Very Finest Tailor-made Outfits (Heavy Clays alone excepted) —a selection from ALL styles of cut—ALL materials—ALL sizes—for only **$7.50**

When you stop to consider that this sale embraces hundreds of Suits that have retailed all this season at $15, $18 and $20 you will begin to appreciate the full import of this announcement—the extraordinary character of this offer. Medium and low priced Suits go at proportionately reduced prices

YOUTHS', BOYS' and CHILDREN'S SUITS are correspondingly cut to close out, it being the intent, as already stated to make a clean sweep, dispose of everything in the line of Clothing now in this store.

Don't procrastinate—an opportunity like this is not likely to come again in a life-time. The chance to select ANY Suit in Shafer's store—to choose from all—for only $7.50 is a proposition that no other dealer can duplicate—a concession that, in human probabilities we will not care to repeat under any circumstances. Orders by mail promptly filled.

C. A. SHAFER

General Outfitter.

Boss Comstock. Certainly Mr. Livesey must know by this time that free press and free speech are things of the past; that Comstockism is fast spreading in this country, destroying the liberty of each victim it reaches. True, Comstock has not succeeded in crushing the right of expressing one's opinion entirely, but the pen can no longer be used as openly as at the time when such bigots as Comstock were not known.

Every liberty-loving man or woman must be antagonistic to the clergy and our marriage institutions, and oppose them as obstacles in the way of freedom and as impertinent meddlers in private affairs.

I do not recollect ever having expressed my appreciation of Jesus Christ, and therefore I do not consider myself deserving of Mr. F. B. Livesey's compliments.

If Christ existed, of which I am not quite positive about, as there are so many pros and contras, he undoubtedly was a reformer; but unfortunately he advanced ideas based on sentiment and not on reason. I suppose this is the reason why priests, parsons and preachers have been able to use his teachings for their own benefit, causing humanity so much suffering. I prefer modern reformers, who base their philosophy both on sentiment and reason, knowing full well when people will learn to reason there will be no room for gods, devils or their emissaries, priests, Comstock and other parasites.

In conclusion I would like to thank Mr. Livesey for his high appreciation of me, but as he has gained this only from a description in Free Society, he may yet change in opinion should he ever meet the original of that description.

EMMA GOLDMAN

New York, July 25, 1898.

GENERAL LABOR NOTES.

Cry for the Label.

Butchers are on strike at Indianapolis.

Haltnorth's Garden Theater at Cleveland is still on the unfair list.

At Geneva, Switzerland, 1,000 carpenters and cabinetmakers are on strike.

The bone, sinew and brains of the western hemisphere will celebrate Labor Day.

Twenty Socialists were elected to the municipal council at Zurich, Switzerland.

The Perrington Paving Brick Co.'s yards at Galesburg, Ill., have been unionized.

In the late elections Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, went strongly Socialistic.

It is probable that Victoria will soon follow South Australia in giving women

ing "homes" for the new comers at $9.80 for each house.

A simplified combination of the Thorne and Cox typesetting machines will soon be on the market.

The city of Hamilton, Ont., has decided to employ only union labor in the construction of sewers.

The Italian parliament has seated Signor Norfri, Socialist, who was cheated by the capitalistic parties at Turin.

The labor forces of Brisbane, Australia, have organized a new labor party and adopted a strong Socialist platform.

Cramp & Sons, Philadelphia shipbuilders, will construct two battleships and 10 gunboats for the Russian government.

Notwithstanding times are dull in the slack barrel line in Chicago, Coopers' Union No. 15 continues to grow in membership.

The officers of the Wes Union, the new western federa that they are deluged with for charters.

Charters have been issued t Polishers to unions in F Thompsonville and Stamford, Kewanee, Ill.

The English Association o Cotton Spinners has a fund c an increase of £36,000 in one membership is 17,760.

The Birmingham, Eng., ma the latest to follow the examp erpool and Sheffield and buy private electric lighting company

Machines to turn out 288,00 week have been put into a gla Washington, Pa., and the fac to close down during summer.

Forty local coopers' unions in favor of paying strike ben members of local Union No. on strike at Swift's packing ho cago.

In Hamburg, Germany, 1,0 men bakers are on strike: 55 employing 200 men, have acc demands of the men and are

The unions of Colorado a their members 5 cents per w support of the miners at Lea who have been on strike for

As a distributing concern Industrial Co-operative societ tinued business. The organiz kept up as a social educat tion.

Brooke Pete—Did ye lyn thief ye caught over at Red Ike—Nope. The dure sneak an injunction forbiddin' it bef

tion will be the protege of Standard Oil company, and a New York companies are in

The New South Wales go decided to do without the pri men contractors in building tion of the Inverell-Mores ra work is to be carried out by d der government supervision.

Since 1887, when it was in government whiskey monopol the Swiss people $8,600,000, otherwise have gone into pri This monopoly has also tend puratively decrease the con whisky.

Ten large envelope compan solidated into the United Stat Company, with a capacity for 17,000,000 envelopes a day, o of commercial envelopes. Si

the host.—New York Journal.

The slack barrel bosses of C say that if the Coopers' Unio accept the reductions of 25 cen

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76

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1898 Sept. 18 [to] The World, [New York] / Emma Goldman.—
2 p. ; 28 × 41 cm.
Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

W YORK ANARCHIST LEADERS DENOUNCE THE MURDER OF AUSTRIA'S EMPRESS.



...Reason—

...that Lucchesi Is ...ral Result of ...vailing Conditions but They Do Not Excuse His Crime.

New York Anarchists denounce ... repudiate Lucchesi, the assas... of the Empress of Austria. He ... fanatication" according to their ... saving a woman who was ... unhappy and not unkind. ... not nationality is recognized) ... anarchists: they call each other ... of Italian Anarchists located ... who plotted against the life ... the Duke of Orleans and ... Empress is discredited by ... police, and also by well-known ... here.

... Lucchesi is not known by ... while he may have called ... Anarchist he did not, so far ... members know, belong to ... Anarchy does not ... with its ... is the ind... ... the leading ... was found at his ... at the rallying place ... Macdougal street.

... reporter conv... ... Him in divers ... ... writes with ...

... Anarchy.

... Anarchy does not mean death but life. ... We do not wish to kill man but to ... destroy a bad social system, to regenerate humanity.

... We want to build on the debris of present kingdoms, empires and bourgeois republics the kingdom of peace, justice and true liberty for all.

... Anarchia contra la the ordinary ... condemned by the profetti di pro... ... hence you will find a great number of Anarchists there.

And look at the measures against them. Don't you know that whenever oppression is greatest crime grows to gigantic proportions?

The Meaning of Anarchy.

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... Anarchia contra la the ordinary ... condemned by the prefetti di pro... ... The penalty is

hence anarchy accepts it and I personally approve of it.

Carnot was certainly a good man, but when Vaillant threw a bomb in the Chamber of Deputies, whatever his motive might have been, no life was lost. Carnot, in order to terrorize irresponsible Anarchists, sentenced Vaillant to death.

This injustice was resented by Angiolillo and Caserio, who stabbed Carnot, was the avenger and martyr.

The Case of Canovas.

It is needless to say that Canovas, the Spanish Premier, deserved the fate he met at the hands of Agniolillo, my countryman.

Canovas was a diplomat, a bright man, he should have known better than to torture unjustly scores of innocent citizens in order to find the one guilty of throwing the bomb in a Barcelona

ing, sorrowful appeal of a mother for her son?

You may try to ...come his incentive in the hatred the Italians have for the Hapsburgs for their injustices, but do not accuse Anarchy of deeds entirely unworthy.

S. PALLAVICINI.

BY EMMA GOLDMAN.

To the Editor of The World:

EVEN if this man Lucchesi declared himself an Anarchist, I would be the first one to say he is not one.

Any man who understands the philosophy of anarchy could never commit such folly. The philosophy of anarchy forbids the destruction of human life, particularly in a useless manner.

Had this man chosen Francis Joseph for his victim I could have approved

obance to defend themselves by arms or law, ordering them shot down like dogs.

The most conservative people of his land opposed this act as unworthy of a monarch.

Had Lucchesi immortalized his name by the dethronement of the Spanish Queen Regent it would also be accepted by me. She did not utter one word to prevent the Barcelona horrors.

It was there that, during a religious procession last year, a bomb was thrown by a man whose identity remains hidden up to this day.

The Barcelona Horror.

Yet for his crime more than three hundred radical workingmen, professional men and artisans were arrested

First Signed Statements Given to a Newspaper by New York's Italian Anarchist and "New York's Louise Michel."

country and none of them would approve of this murder.

EMMA GOLDMAN.

VIEWS OF OTHER LEADING ANARCHISTS.

I do not like the killing of a woman, but I feel that Lucchesi has been called to do this bloody act by reasons that are above my right to judge.

N. SLOTTO.

I do not approve the bloody murder at Geneva. I am unable to understand the causes which impelled Lucchesi to act as he did.

C. FERRARA.

No, Lucchesi has not done a logical deed. Women are to be respected. But before I pronounce a definite opinion I would like to read the reports of the trial. I have very little faith in the official telegrams.

G. IMPERATO.

A SIBERIAN TRAIN.

Surpasses in Cozy Luxuries Any American "Limited."

A new Siberian railroad train which has just received the approval of M. Khilkow, Russian Minister of Ways and Communications, is something of a marvel even in these pleasure-loving days.

This is what the "semi-barbarous Russ" has provided for passengers in the wilds of Siberia. There are five coaches, two second class, one first, one dining-car, one baggage-van. There is a bathroom with gymnastic apparatus, a library in several languages, a piano and selection of music, maps, guide-books, albums of views, an ice-cellar, an arrangement for boiling water in three minutes, plates which indicate the next stopping-station and show how long the train stops.

The windows are protected by plate-glass guards. The last coach is an "ob-

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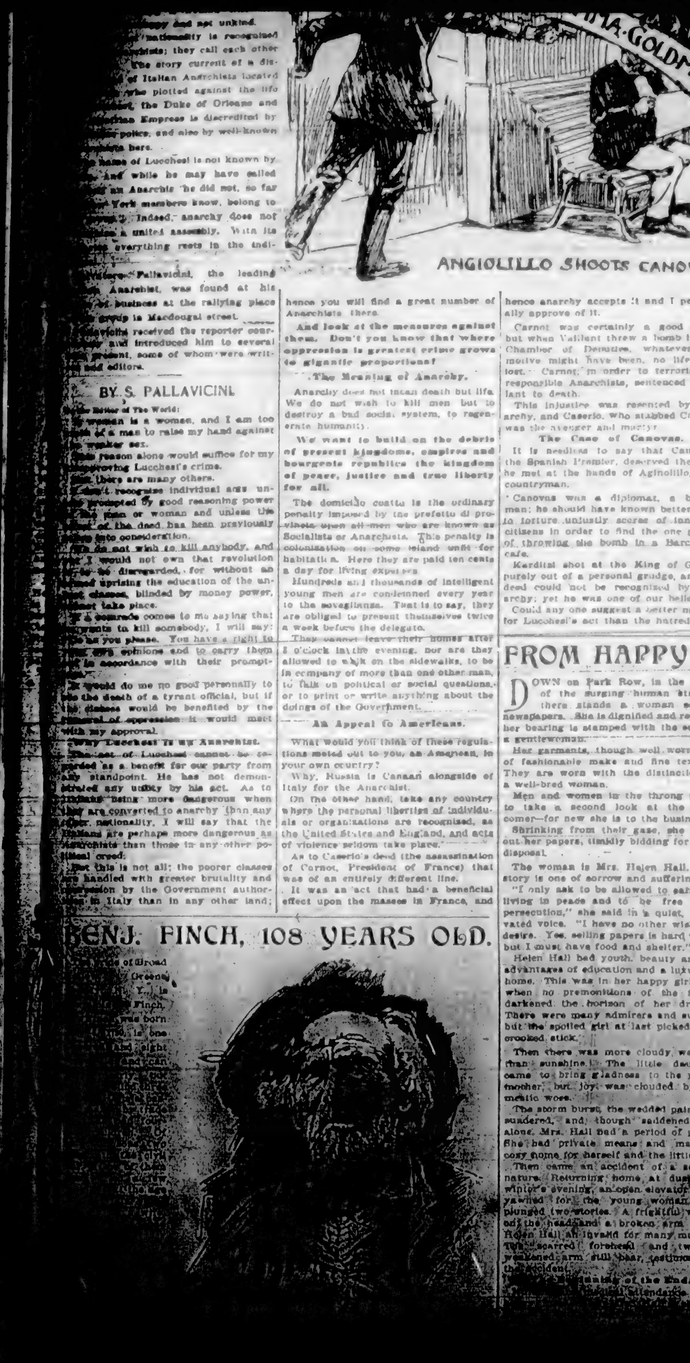
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ANGIOLILLO SHOOTS CANOVAS



LUCCHESI STABBING THE EMPRESS OF AUSTRIA

BENJ. FINCH, 108 YEARS OLD.

SADA, HYPNOTIC VIOLINIST.

The Pretty Girl Violinist of Chile.

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78

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1898 Dec. 7, New York [to Benjamin R.] Tucker, [New York] / Justus Schwab, Ed[ward] Brady [and] Emma Goldman.— 1 p. ; 7 × 9 cm.

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

a moral condemnation, but from a sudden disgust and shudder. Whence this intensity of feeling? Perhaps we shall be told that at bottom we are not quite sure of ourselves? That we set about us betimes thorn-edges of the sharpest contempt, in order to make it impossible for us to leap over our own contempt in the decisive moment when old age makes us weak and forgetful? In all sincerity, this supposition is false, and he who makes it knows nothing of what moves and determines the free spirit; how little to him does the *change* of opinion in itself appear as contemptible! On the contrary, he reveres in the *ability* to change one's opinions a rare and high distinction, especially if it continues unto old age! And his ambition (and *not* his pusillanimity) aspires even to the forbidden fruits of the *spernere se spernî* and the *spernere se ipsum*; while the fear inspired thereby in the vain and the comfort-loving is with him entirely out of the question! In addition to all this, the thesis of *the innocence of all opinions* is as certain to him as the thesis of the innocence of all actions; how could he turn judge and executioner before the apostate of intellectual liberty! The aspect of this apostate rather affects him as one afflicted with some loathsome disease affects the physician; the physical disgust engendered by the spongy, soft, overgrowing, festering masses dominates for a moment the reason and the will to help. Thus our good will is overcome by the thought of the enormous *dishonesty* which must have operated in the apostate of the free spirit,—by the thought of a general degeneration affecting the very frame-work of the character.

An Undelivered Speech.

The following correspondence explains itself:

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 7, 1898.

Dear Mr. Tucker:

The Alexander Berkman Defence Association is making an attempt and moving heaven and earth to have our friend, Alexander Berkman, pardoned.

It becomes necessary to plead with Mr. Carnegie, and solicit his aid for that purpose. Mr. Carnegie is reported to be in New York at present.

Will you kindly coöperate, select others you may choose, and act as spokesman?

If so, we will ever pray, etc.

Fraternally yours, for the committee,

JUSTUS SCHWAB.
ED. BRADY.
EMMA GOLDMAN.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 11, 1898.

To Justus Schwab, Ed. Brady, and Emma Goldman, representing the committee of the Alexander Berkman Defence Association:

FRIENDS,—Answering your letter of December 7, honoring me with an invitation to act as your spokesman on the occasion of a proposed visit to Mr. Andrew Carnegie to solicit his aid in securing the release of Mr. Alexander Berkman, I hereby gratefully accept your trust, and I submit herewith a draft of the remarks which it is my intention to make to Mr. Carnegie, should the plan be carried out in the manner proposed.

I beg to add that, should the tenor of these remarks prove unacceptable to you, a withdrawal of your invitation would be received by me in perfect good part.

Awaiting your pleasure, I am

Yours sincerely,

such an errand, must be taken to indicate that what they once regarded as a wise act of heroism they now regard as a foolish act of barbarism; that the method of reform by violence which they once thought efficacious they now think futile; that they keenly regret the attempt upon the life of Mr. Frick; that the six years of Mr. Berkman's imprisonment have convinced them of the error of their ways; and that henceforth they will neither commit, counsel, or approve any acts of violence whatsoever. Any other explanation of the prayer of these petitioners is inconsistent with their lofty character. Certainly it is not to be supposed for a moment that men and women of their courage and dignity, after shooting a man down deliberately and in cold blood, would then descend to the abject and basely humiliating course of begging their victim and his friends to leave them the freedom to assault him again. It is obvious, then, that they come here to-day in an attitude of sincere repentance,—no longer as reformers, but as reformed, and asking for liberty as a reward of their reformation. Now, sir, you are too close a student of social problems to need any argument of mine to convince you that punishment of the truly penitent is not politic on the part of society. In thus establishing the reality of their contrition, I am sure that I have commanded your assent to their petition.

But I cannot close without saying another word, no longer as their spokesman, but for myself. My own attitude in asking you to favor mercy for Alexander Berkman is not that of these petitioners. I do not appear here to-day as a repentant sinner. In my record on this matter there is nothing for which I have occasion to apologize. I reserve all my rights. In the past, in the exercise of my liberty, I have refused to commit, counsel, or sanction violence, but, since circumstances may arise when a policy of violence will seem advisable, I decline to surrender my liberty of choice. I have never so much favored force as to attempt assassination, and I have never so much opposed force as to be willing to pledge myself never to resort to it. If I, then, ask your intercession in favor of Mr. Berkman, I do so without occasion for penitence or promise, and less in his interest (although I shall be glad to see him free again) than in your own and that of good order, hoping that such a concession on the part of those who now have him in their power will lessen the temptation to a renewal of the policy of violence, and will induce a state of public feeling that will insure enlarged opportunity for that peaceful evolution of opinion which alone can avert social upheaval and all its attendant terrors. And, each in his respective way, your petitioners will ever pray.*

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 13, 1898.

Mr. Benj. Tucker:

DEAR SIR,—Prompted by humane feelings, we may perhaps have gone too far to invite you to so excite the sympathy of Mr. Carnegie in an act of justice,—viz., the pardon of Mr. Alexander Berkman.

We will by no means enlist the aid of Mr. Carnegie, the author of "Triumphant Democracy," from your point of view, and therefore respectfully beg to withdraw the invitation sent you.

Sincerely yours, for the committee,

JUSTUS H. SCHWAB.
EDWARD BRADY.
EMMA GOLDMAN.

* It should be stated that my representation of the attitude of the petitioners does not justly apply to such of them as have steadily [illegible] commands be dead from a day ante-dating Berk-

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1898 Dec. 11, New York [to] Justus Schwab, Ed[ward] Brady [and] Emma Goldman, [New York] / Benj[amin] R. Tucker. — 1 p. ; 34 × 17 cm.

Obtained from the University of California, Berkeley. Institutional Location: Doe Library.

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The Alexander Berkman Defence Association is making an attempt and moving heaven and earth to have our friend, Alexander Berkman, pardoned.

It becomes necessary to plead with Mr. Carnegie, and solicit his aid for that purpose. Mr. Carnegie is reported to be in New York at present.

Will you kindly coöperate, select others you may choose, and act as spokesman?

If so, we will ever pray, etc.

Fraternally yours, for the committee,

JUSTUS SCHWAB.
ED. BRADY.
EMMA GOLDMAN.

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 11, 1898.

To Justus Schwab, Ed. Brady, and Emma Goldman, representing the committee of the Alexander Berkman Defence Association:

FRIENDS,—Answering your letter of December 7, honoring me with an invitation to act as your spokesman on the occasion of a proposed visit to Mr. Andrew Carnegie to solicit his aid in securing the release of Mr. Alexander Berkman, I hereby gratefully accept your trust, and I submit herewith a draft of the remarks which it is my intention to make to Mr. Carnegie, should the plan be carried out in the manner proposed.

I beg to add that, should the tenor of these remarks prove unacceptable to you, a withdrawal of your invitation would be received by me in perfect good part.

Awaiting your pleasure, I am

Yours sincerely,

BENJ. R. TUCKER.

Mr. Carnegie:

Mr. Alexander Berkman, who is now serving a sentence in a Pennsylvania prison for an attempt to kill your business partner, Mr. Henry C. Frick, in 1892, and the Alexander Berkman Defence Association, which is seeking to shorten that sentence, have asked me to solicit, on their behalf, the exercise of your influence with the Pennsylvania pardoning power, to the end that Mr. Berkman may go free. In compliance with their request I come to you.

You, in considering this petition, will be largely influenced, and very properly, by the attitude of your petitioners. In determining what that attitude is, you surely will take it for granted, as I take it for granted, that they approach you as penitent sinners, asking forgiveness and seeking remission of penalty. Their very appearance before you, in person or by proxy, on such an errand, must be taken to indicate that what they once regarded as a wise act of heroism they now regard as a foolish act of barbarism; that the method of reform by violence which they once thought efficacious they now think futile; that they keenly regret the attempt upon the life of Mr. Frick; that the six years of Mr. Berkman's imprisonment have convinced them of the error of their ways; and that henceforth they will neither commit, counsel, or approve any acts of violence whatsoever. Any other explanation of the prayer of these petitioners is inconsistent with their lofty character. Certainly it is not to be supposed for a moment that men and women of their courage and dignity, after shooting a man down deliberately and in cold blood, would then descend to the abject and basely humiliating course of begging their victim and his friends to leave them the freedom to assault him again. It is obvious, then, that they come here to-day in an attitude of sincere repentance,—no longer as reformers, but as reformed, and asking for liberty as a reward of their reformation. Now, sir, you are too close a student of social problems to need any argument of mine to convince you that punishment of the truly penitent is not politic on the part of society. In thus establishing the reality of their contrition, I am sure that I have commanded your assent to their petition.

But I cannot close without saying another word, no longer as their spokesman, but for *myself*. My own attitude in asking you to favor mercy for Alexander Berkman is not that of these petitioners. I do not appear here to-day as a repentant sinner. In my record on this matter there is nothing for which I have occasion to apologize. I reserve all my rights. In the past, in the exercise of my liberty, I have refused to commit, counsel, or sanction violence, but, since circumstances may arise when a policy of violence will seem advisable, I decline to surrender my liberty of choice. I have never so much favored force as to attempt assassination, and I have never so much opposed force as to be willing to pledge myself never to resort to it. If I, then, ask your intercession in favor of Mr. Berkman, I do so without occasion for penitence or promise, and less in his interest (although I shall be glad to see him free again) than in your own and that of good order, hoping that such a concession on the part of those who now have him in their power will lessen the temptation to a renewal of the policy of violence, and will induce a state of public feeling that will insure enlarged opportunity for that peaceful evolution of opinion which alone can avert social upheaval and all its attendant terrors. And, each in his respective way, your petitioners will ever pray.*

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 18, 1898.

Mr. Benj. Tucker:

DEAR SIR,—Prompted by humane feelings, we may perhaps have gone too far to invite *you* to so excite the sympathy of Mr. Carnegie in an act of justice,—*viz.*, the pardon of Mr. Alexander Berkman.

We will by no means enlist the aid of Mr. Carnegie, the author of "Triumphant Democracy," from your point of view, and therefore respectfully beg to withdraw the invitation sent you.

Sincerely yours, for the committee,

JUSTUS H. SCHWAB.
EDWARD BRADY.
EMMA GOLDMAN.

*It should be stated that my representation of the attitude of the petitioners does not justly apply to such of them as have steadily discountenanced propaganda by deed from a day ante-dating Berkman's act of violence. Justus Schwab certainly is one of these exceptions; perhaps Edward Brady also.

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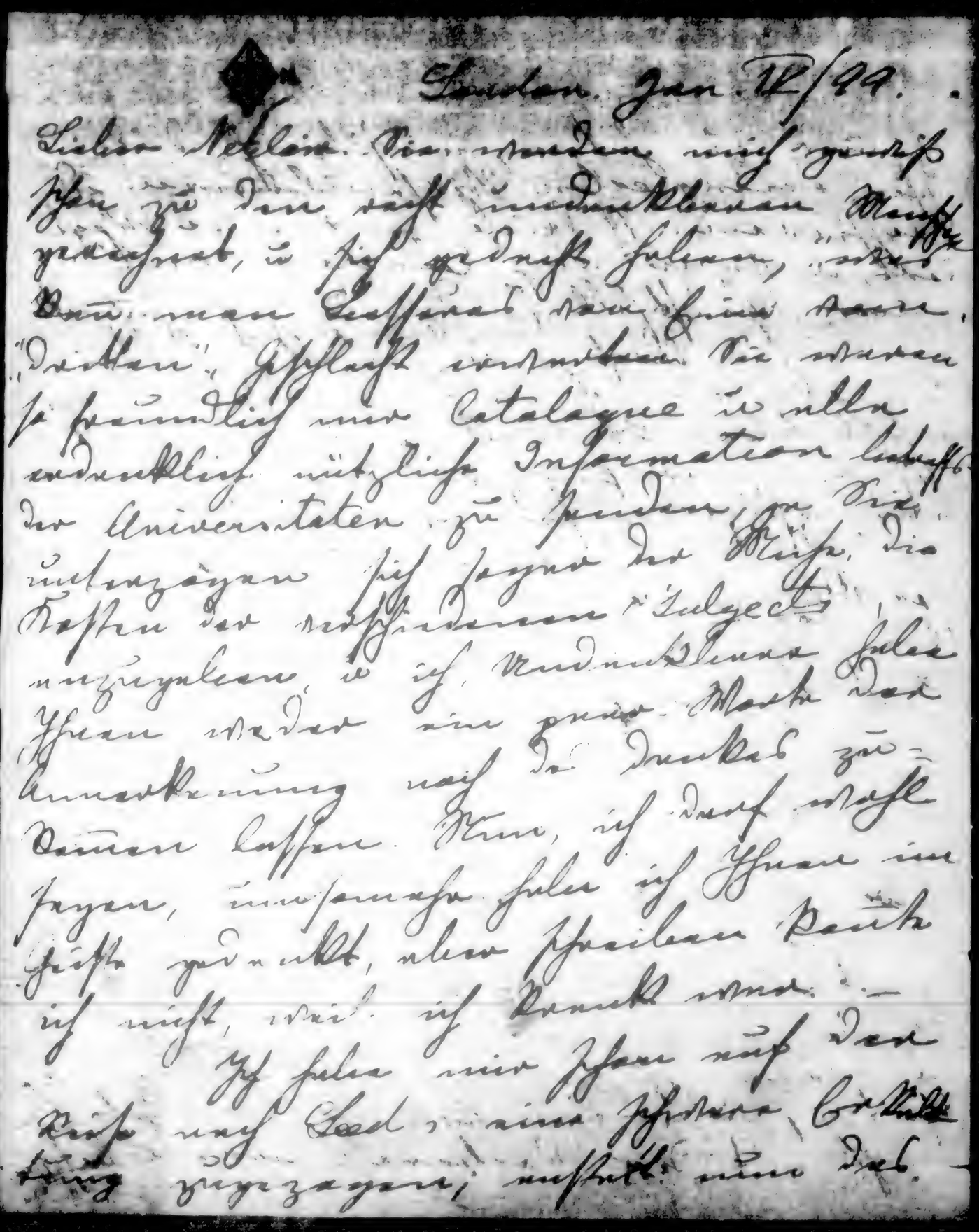
Mr. Berkman, on the other hand, is a penitent sinner, asking forgiveness and seeking remission of penalty. He is a believer in the right of any man to punish another for any reason whatever. He is a believer in the right of any man to forgive another for any reason whatever. He is a believer in the right of any man to punish himself for any reason whatever. He is a believer in the right of any man to forgive himself for any reason whatever. He is a believer in the right of any man to punish or forgive society for any reason whatever. He is a believer in the right of any man to punish or forgive God for any reason whatever. He is a believer in God. He is a believer in sin. He is a believer in crime. He is a believer in punishment. He is a believer in forgiveness. He is a believer in penitence. He is

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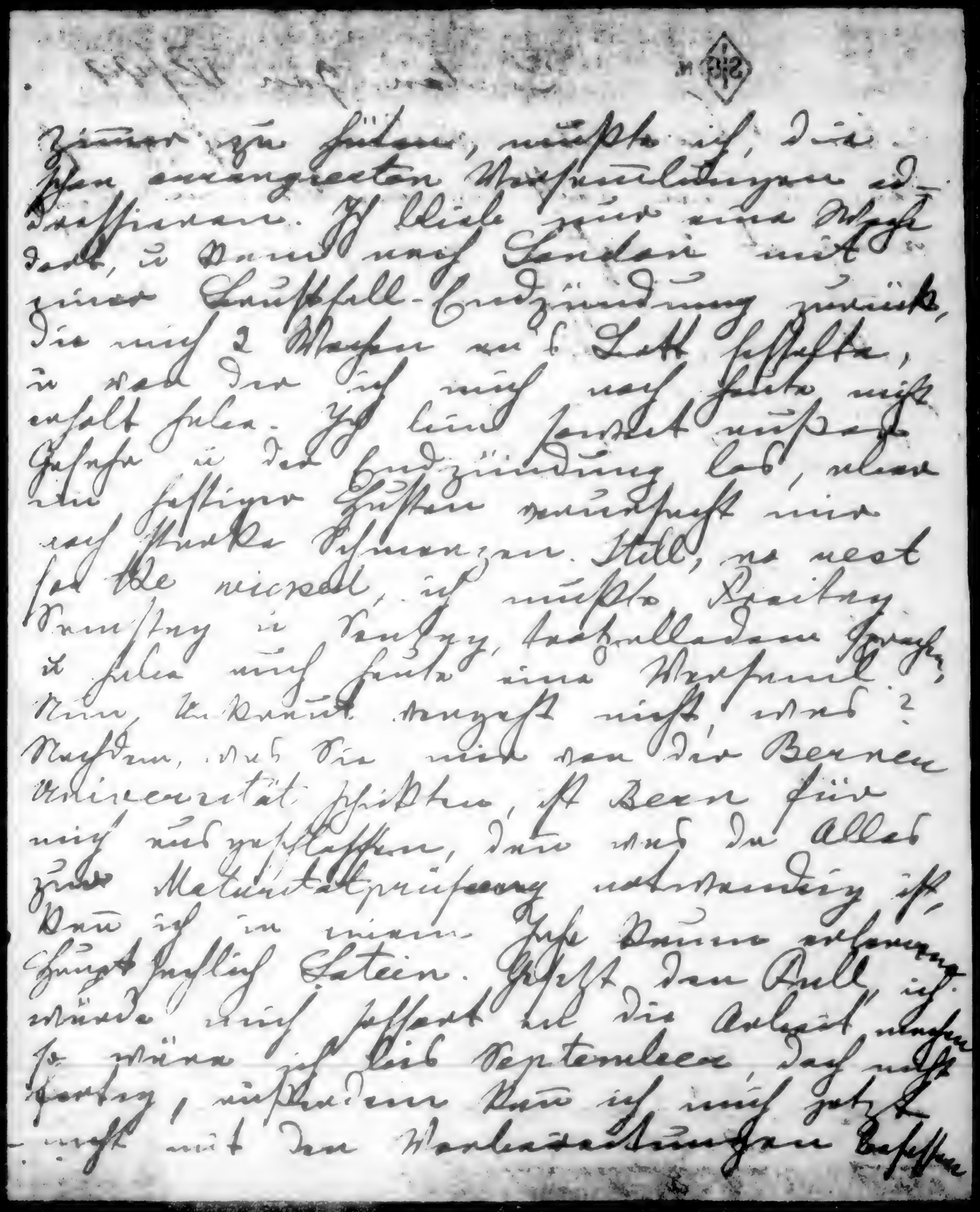
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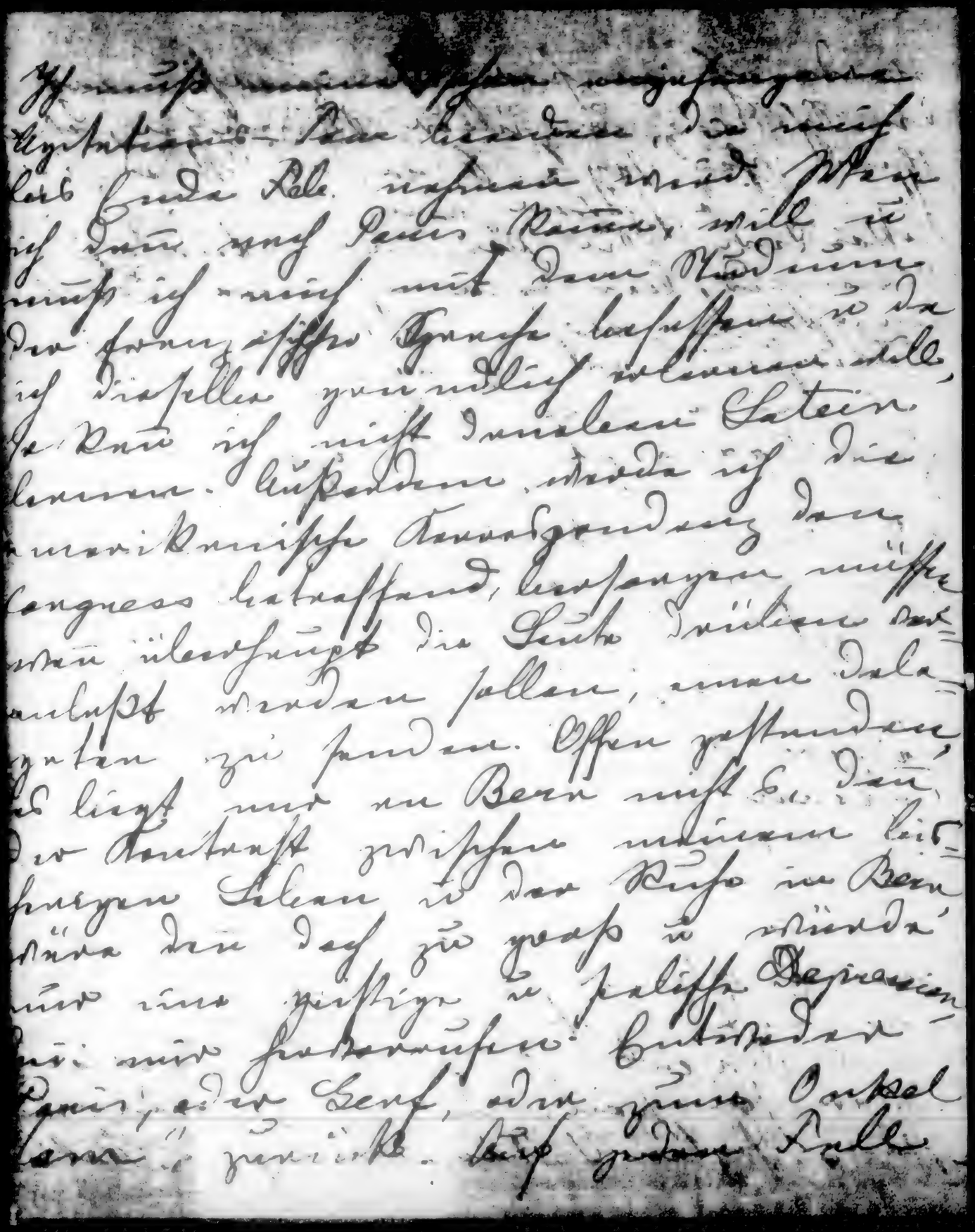
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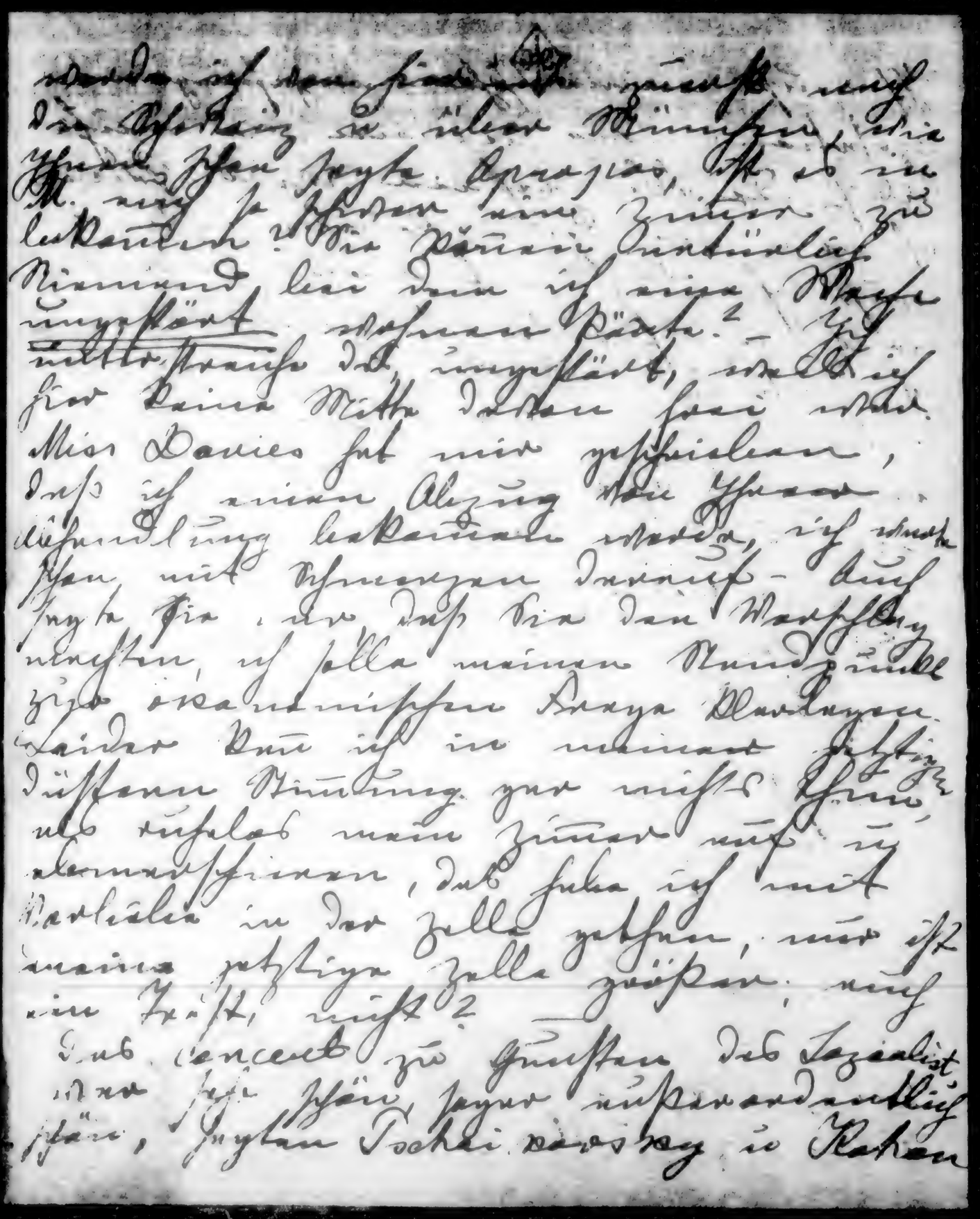
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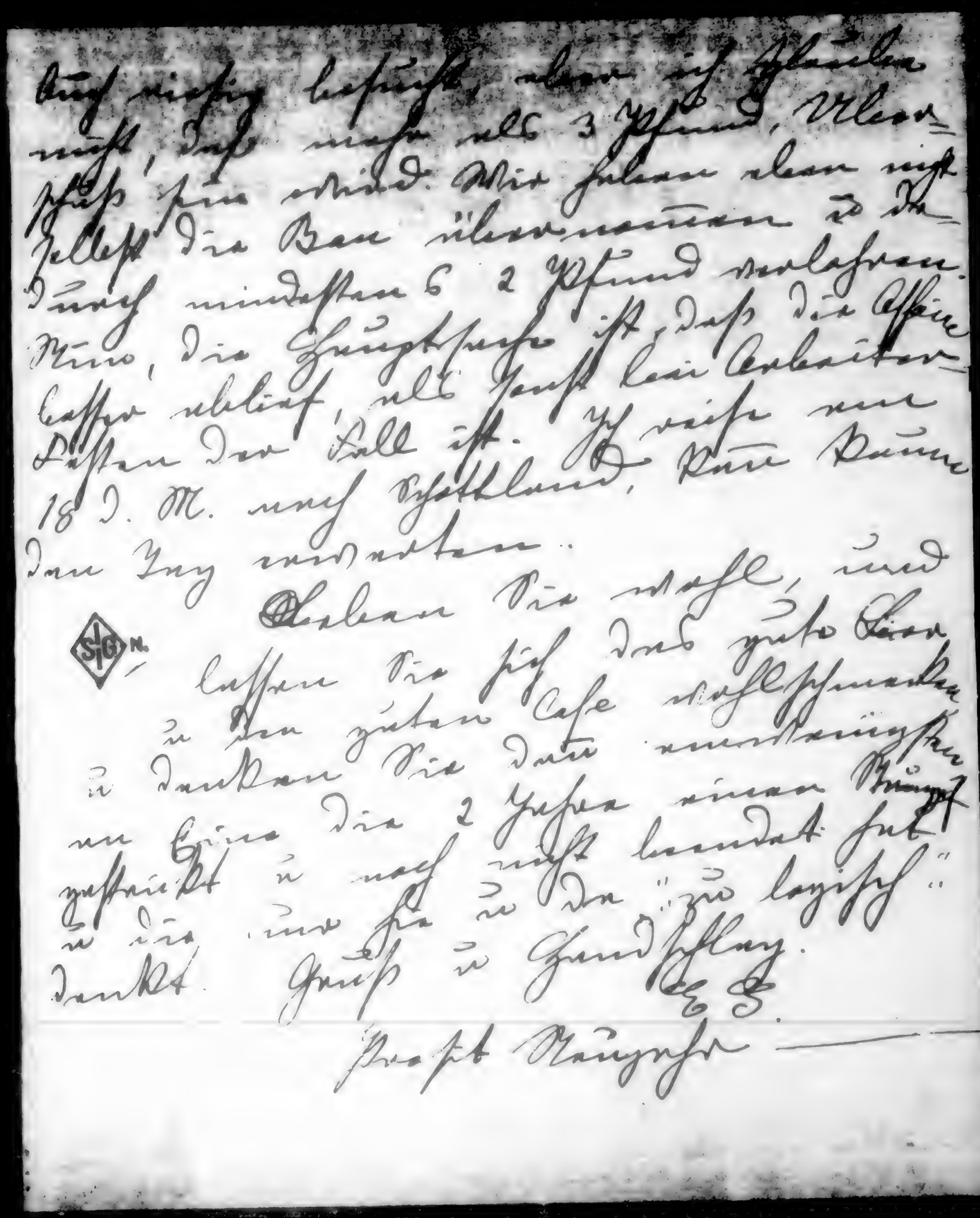
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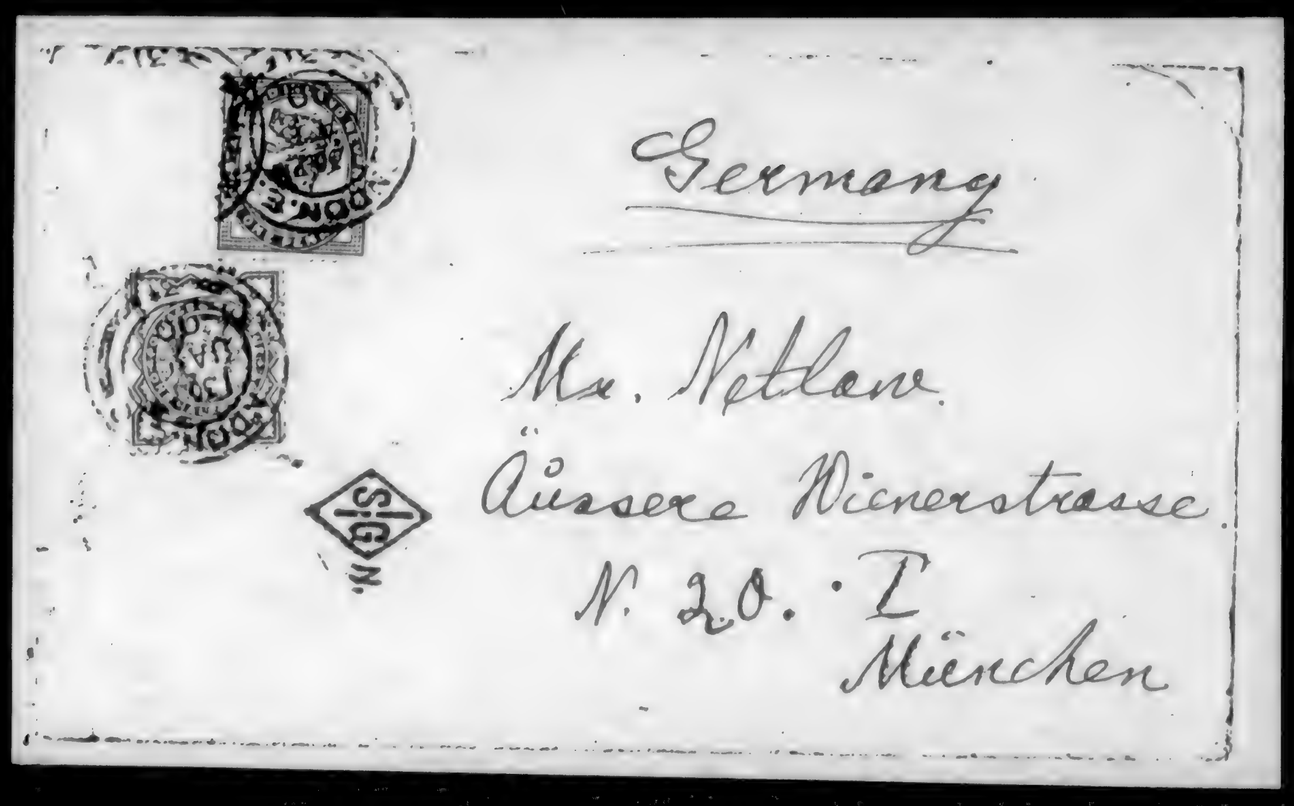
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]99 April 24, Chicago [to] Free Society, San Francisco / Emma Goldman.— 1 p. ; 34 × 27 cm.

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The retail price of the book is 75 cents, but to groups and individuals who purchase ten copies or more it will be sent for 15 cents per copy. Cloth, 60 cents.

Those friends who have so persistently urged us to publish "Moribund Society and Anarchy" will now please send in their orders. FREE SOCIETY.

• • • • •

NOTE AND COMMENT.

The small group of active Anarchists of this city had looked forward for months past with joyous anticipation to the first of May, happening to fall on a Monday this year; to the day on which they could celebrate independent and in spite of the capitalists. But, alas! they had counted the chickens before they were hatched. The governor of the State declared the first of May a legal holiday—Dewey day—upon which instead of the celebration of the creative forces of true civilization—labor—the barbaric forces of destruction, wholesale butchery and annihilation were to commemorate their bloody, murderous deeds of war. Thus some of our active comrades felt so discouraged that they did not participate in the private picnic of our own.

The intelligent American working people have now but the alternative of selecting another day upon which to protest against capitalistic exploitation, for the so-called "labor day" has been a farce from its inception and now even the first of May has been completely turned into a feast day of politicians and exploiters.

• • •

The report of the New York state board of lunacy states that on an average 7,000 young working women of that State go insane each year for want of sufficient food and clothing. Oh, what a terrible people these Anarchists are who strive to abolish these horrid conditions, the result of so-called "law and order!"

• • •

Seven thousand young girls committed suicide in this country last year to escape the pressure and agony and shame of the competitive system. And we believe this was the year we went to war to help suffering humanity somewhere else.—*Spirit of '76.*

Yes; and this was also the year in which the hypocritical and prostituted press raised such a terrible howl because a poor worker stabbed one single woman of the parasites.

• • •

"Two hundred employees of the united railroads of Cuba are on a strike. They demand the wage scale that existed prior to the Spanish war." Thus the Cubans enjoy American freedom and American protection. "American ideas are certainly taking swift and strong hold in Cuba. They have at least one strike a week there now," remarks a daily sarcastically.

• • •

That laws are not made for the rich and the ruling classes is now amply demonstrated in this State. The legislature recently passed the anti-cartoon and the signature law, the latter demanding that all articles and editorials [?] appearing in the press must be signed by the writers. The day these laws were supposed to go into effect the daily papers were full of cartoons of "prominent citizens" and not a single editorial ever bears a signature. The *Call* contained thirteen cartoons under which it sarcastically said: "We are glad the anti-cartoon law is now in force," and the article concludes: "The law goes into effect, but the press goes its own way." Thus the great dailies defy the laws with impunity and the guardians of "law and order" are making no attempts to enforce the laws. On the other hand the poverty-stricken editors of reform journals are harassed and jailed for making use of their constitutional rights. [illegible]

• • •

The Canadian government refused to [illegible] from the mails a poem entitled "An Eastern Hymn," a satire of the christian Easter legend. The editor, referring to the "free and equal laws" of Canada remarks proudly that "none but a nation of slaves would submit to its arbitrary exercise by any individual." Such is the language to his readers, but in his letter to the postmaster-general he crawfishes thus: "Should you favor me by rescinding your order, I will endeavor to see that no such objectionable matter shall appear in the future." Slave and master have now agreed to have the paper issued under the censorship of a christian postmaster.

• • •

"Fields, Factories, and Workers," by Peter Kropotkin, is the title of a new book published by Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, Mass. Many favorable and very extensive reviews have appeared in the daily press, but unfortunately we have so far not been able to obtain a copy of the book. We understand the substance of these essays was published in the *Nineteenth Century*, and one of them in the *Forum*, but a very considerable amount of new matter has been introduced and many chapters written anew.

• • •

The latest news of American imperialism is the exclusion of Prof. Atkinson's pamphlets from the U. S. mails for Manila. The following extract will show its "dangerous character and criminal aggression":

We are in full sympathy with the heroic struggle for liberty of the people of the Spanish island, and therefore protest against depriving them of their rights by an exchange of masters.

So much for American free press. A. I.

• • • • •

LEO TOLSTOI ON DISARMAMENT.

The editor of the *Independent* has supplied the New York *Journal* with advance proofs of a remarkable article on the Czar's peace conference. The following are among the most striking propositions contained in the article

It is said that *the surest and surest way to universal disarmament is the refusal of individuals to take part in military service.* This is most just. I am even of opinion that this is the only way to escape from the terrible and ever-increasing miseries of warlism (militarism). But that at the conference which is about to assemble at the Czar's invitation the question should be debated whether men who refuse military service may not be employed on public works instead appears to me quite a mistaken idea. In the first place, because the conference itself can be nothing but one of those hypocritical arrangements which aim not at peace, but, on the contrary, at hiding from men the one means of obtaining universal peace, which the foremost men are now beginning to discern.

"Obtaining or retaining by force can only be done by conquering. And it is always *les gros bataillons* which conquer. And, therefore, if a government has an army it should have as large a one as possible. That is its business. If a government does not do that it is unnecessary. A government may undertake many things in internal affairs; it may emancipate, civilize, enrich a people, build roads and canals, colonize waste lands or organise public works, but there is one thing it cannot do, viz. the very thing which this conference is summoned to do—i. e., reduce its fighting force.

"As long as governments continue to rule their people by force, and continue to desire as now to obtain new possessions (Philippines, Port Arthur, etc.), and to retain what they already possess (Poland, Alsace, India, Algeria, etc.); so long will they not voluntarily decrease their armies, but will, on the contrary, continue to increase them.

"With amazing effrontery, all governments have always declared, and still go on declaring, that all the preparations for war, and even the very wars themselves that they undertake, are necessary to preserve peace. In this sphere of hypocrisy and deception a fresh step is being made now, consisting in this: That the very governments for whose support the armies and the wars are essential pretend that they are concerned to discover means to diminish the armies and to abolish war. The governments wish to persuade the peoples that there is no need for [illegible] individuals to trouble about [illegible] themselves [illegible] the governments themselves, at their conferences, will arrange [illegible] and presently [illegible] armies. But this is untrue.

"Armies can be reduced and abolished only in opposition to the will, but never by the will of governments.

"Armies will only be diminished and abolished when people cease to trust governments, and themselves seek salvation from the miseries that oppress them, and seek safety, not by the complicated and delicate combinations of diplomates, but in the simple fulfilment of that law, binding upon every man, inscribed in all religious teachings and present in every heart, not to do to others what you wish them not to do to you—above all, not to slay your neighbors.

"Armies will first diminish, and then disappear, only when public opinion brands with contempt those who, whether from fear or for advantage, sell their liberty and enter the ranks of those murderers called soldiers."

• • • • •

TO MY FRIENDS AND COMRADES IN NEW YORK.

I have been notified that money has been collected in my name, of friends in New York, towards my tour. I have authorized no one in New York or any other city to open up a subscription for me, nor have I received anything that has been collected for me. There was a general call for a fund in *Free Society* some time ago directing the contributions toward my tour to be sent to *Free Society* or myself directly. As a consequence Comrade Isaak sent me $12.20, the proceeds of a social held in San Francisco for that purpose; and several friends, who do not wish their names mentioned, have sent small sums to me personally.

In the cities I have already visited, the comrades have covered expenses of meetings, and contributed towards my tour through either local subscriptions or socials which has enabled me to get along so far.

I am compelled to publish this statement, because I do not wish my friends, especially in New York, to contribute money, believing it to be for me, whereas it never reaches me.

With fraternal greetings to all,

Chicago, Ill., April, 24, '99. EMMA GOLDMAN.

• • • • •

ANENT PHRENOLOGY.

Sometime ago—in No. 190 of *Free Society*—when I classified phrenology among the modern shams and humbugs, C. L. James took exception to my position. Phrenology being also recognized by a number of other people of progressive tendencies, I solicited an expression of opinion upon the subject from Emil Lies, a noted scholar and lecturer of the German Freethought Society of this city and hereby append his reply. His communication is interesting with regard to the balance of shams as well and I therefore submit it in full. E. G.

COMMUNICATION OF EMIL LIES.

It is strange that upon the threshold of the twentieth century we are still obliged to take up phrenological tea-pot discussions, and it is still stranger that such controversies should occur among the readers of *Free Society*. I thought the readers of such an advanced journal are above such trash

With exception of a few non-essential details I fully endorse your article on "Superstition" in No. 190 of *Free Society*

Phrenology never has been a faculty either in medicine, natural history or philosophy, in any of the European universities. The anatomist and physician Francis Josef Gall, the first "scientific" founder of phrenology (born in 1758 at Tiefenbrunn, Baden; died in 1828 at Montrouge, near Paris) delivered a number of lectures on his "skull-science" at Vienna in 1791; they were entirely prohibited at first and finally allowed in a modified form. Subsequently he went to live at Paris and delivered lectures on phrenology there as well as in London. There never has been any recognition of phrenology as a science by any of the European universities to my knowledge. Gall's phrenology is based upon a lot of undemonstrated suppositions and assertions and is, in spite of an insignificant kernel of truth—such as for that matter may be found in any hypothesis—unsound. Gall, however, was at least an exceedingly honorable man who made no business of his phrenology, but really meant to serve science. The phrenologists of today, on the other

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]99 Sept. 27, Pittsburg[h, Pa. to Augustin] Hamon, [Paris] / E[mma] Goldman.– 3 p. ; 24 × 15 cm.

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IISG HA

Pittsburg. Sep 27/99.

Dear Friend Hamon.

It is a long time, since we have corresponded, I hardly know now, who was the last to write, at any rate I have not forgotten you. I am now finishing an 8th months tour through the states, having delivered 210 lectures, on econo-mic, sociological ethical and sexual subjects, and am about to start for England & Holland, at the latter part of Oct. where I am to lecture also. I hope to reach Paris, by next March., to stay there for some times, and of course, I also hope to meet you, if you have not forgotten me. When I was in San Fran-cisco, at the publishers of D.D. I saw the book, containing your

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HA

lecture before the Brusselles, University, which you wrote me about some time ago, I should very much like to have it, at least the english copy. Will you kindly send it to me, either to my N.Y. address, 50 Rivrst street, if you will do it soon, or do M. M. Kelly 266. Amhurst London. N. England.

also L'Humanité Nouvelle, and the price of subscribtion, and the bears; I will than forward the money; please send me the august numbers of L'Humanité Nouvelle. – I would like to ask you for the following information, if not to troublesome for you to reply; it is this. A nomber of my friends, including, Artists

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IISG HA

musicians, gournalists ve artists
leiderarians, have decided to
come to Paris for the ~~exhibi~~
exposition, 1900. They send me
as the emissary to obtain quotes
for them, so I would like
to rent a house, furnished if
possible, somewhere in the
Countries within 1/2 hours
from Paris, of ~~at~~ least 12-15 rooms.
Can you tell me, if such a house
can be rented, and what the
possible expence could be?
You would oblige me greatly,
as I know no one in Paris
except you, who could give
me satisfactory information
Hoping not to have asked
too much, and that you would
reply soon. Sincerely. E Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]99 Oct. 18, New York [to Max] Metzkow, [Buffalo? N.Y.?] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 3 p. ; 23 × 16 cm.

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New York October 18. 99.

Werther Herr Metzkow.
Sie sind mir Ihrem Versprechen sehr
zornig gewesen, so viel ist
sonnenklar. Warum?
Ich weiss nicht. Sie schreiben
sehr, doch ich bin Ihnen im
ersten Brief geschrieben haben
oder so schrieb mir, dass Sie
es ihm versprochen hätten. Die
Wahrheit, wegen B. 6
Einschreiben, werden Sie
mir wohl schon wissen
Ich glaube nicht, dass er
~~Sie absichtlich~~ einen Brief
zum Einkassieren unter-
nommen hat. Viel eher möch-
lichkeit ist es, dass es einen
Wortwechsel mit dem Wärter
gehabt hat, in dass Letzterer
auf B. geschossen hat. Wenn
dem es nun sei finden,
wäre man persönlich über

184

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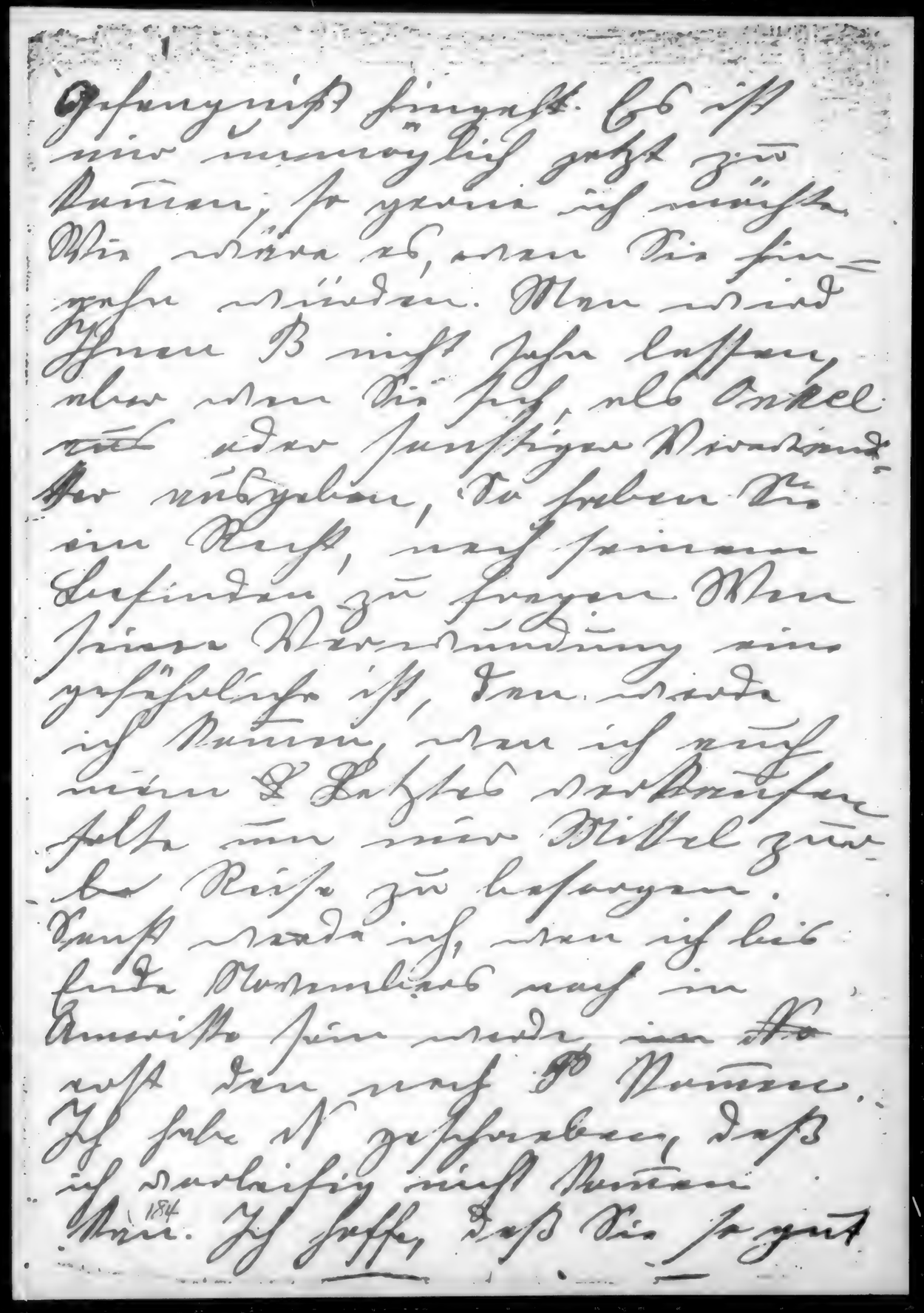
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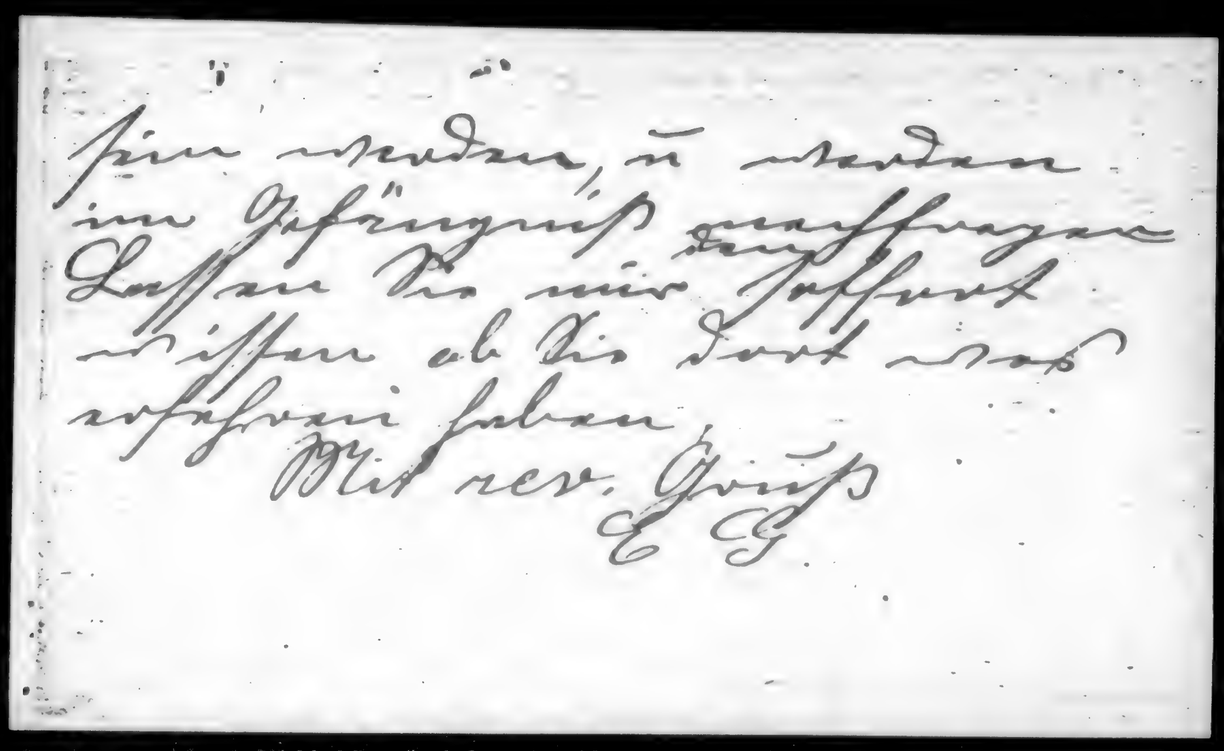
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 18]99 Nov. 2, Paris [to] Emma Goldman, [London?] / [Augustin Hamon]. – 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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IHA

Emma Goldman

Paris lè 2/11/99

Chère camarade,

I have received your letter from 27 September but I have too much busy to reply sooner. Excuse me for this delay.

I dont know if you are to New York or to London, also I write you in these two towns, hoping that you will receive my letter certainly & rapidly.

I have not my book: "The Illusion of Free Will ", but you will find th this book at the publisher: UNIVERSITY PRESS, to Watford near London. The price is 3 sh. 6 d. For L'HUMANITÈ NOUVELLE the price of subscrip tion is from 3 dollars by year. I dont know where I must to send the review , also I wait that you write me the address for this sending and the price of subscription for the publisher of L'HUMANITÈ NOUVELLE. Said also if your subscription begin in last July or in Janúary next.

I am occupied for the house for you and your friends. It is very difficult , and even impossible to find a like house with 12 – 15 rooms furnished. It is necessary to let for one year whole. the rent would be about 12 to 15 000 francs, without the service(attendance). I have seen a person who can to let 10 to 16 rooms furnished for one bed or two beds, only in 6 rooms. The rent for every room would be 30 dollars by month, with attendance,. The rent must to be payed for six months and by advance. It would be from 1o May to 15 November. These rooms are placed 10 in the suburbs to Paris , about 50 minutes from Exposition by tramway, 2 to 6 in Paris to 40 minutes from exhibition.

These rooms are in two houses. It is necessary to let all the rooms, I will say 10 rooms or 13 or 16 rooms and that for 6 months. It is not dear and it is impossible to find cheaper principally during the exposition.

Said me if this proposition please to you rapidly. If yes , I will write you some news details on the rooms and the furnishment.

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AH

Emma Goldman

If the proposition agree to you,it is necessary that the payment by advance is made by half :1/2 before 31 January,1/2 before 30 April.
Every room is large well aerated .There are some servants for the attendance;to blacks boots,to clean the rooms,etc.
Please to reply me rapidly on the subject.

Yours fraternaly

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SG HA

Emma Goldman

London. Nov 13 99.

Dear Comrade.

Your letter of the 2nd inst to hand. I thank you very much for your kind information regarding rooms & houses in Paris. I am afraid the prices you mention in your letter will be a little too high. I have seen Schoenbesson, yesterday, and he tells me, that I can get flats, much cheaper. He has promised to write to friends in Paris, about the particulars.

I will send you

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Emma Goldman — SG HA

Emma Goldman — SG HA

Jeniesmis. Do it really
true? I can hardly
believe it —
With kind regards.
Emma Goldman

your book, The Illusion of
Free Will, I find 3 sh. 6 d.
rather a cheap price, and
am only too glad to pay
for it, although I have
should have appreciated
it a greater favor, if you
had sent me the latest
complementary, and to
tell the truth, I really
regret you refused.
I will subscribe for
L'Humanite Nouvelle,
as soon, as I get to Paris.
I have been informed
that you too, are infected
by the decease of Anti —

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1899 Nov. 17 [London? to] M[ax] Nettlau, [Munich?] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 7 × 11 cm.

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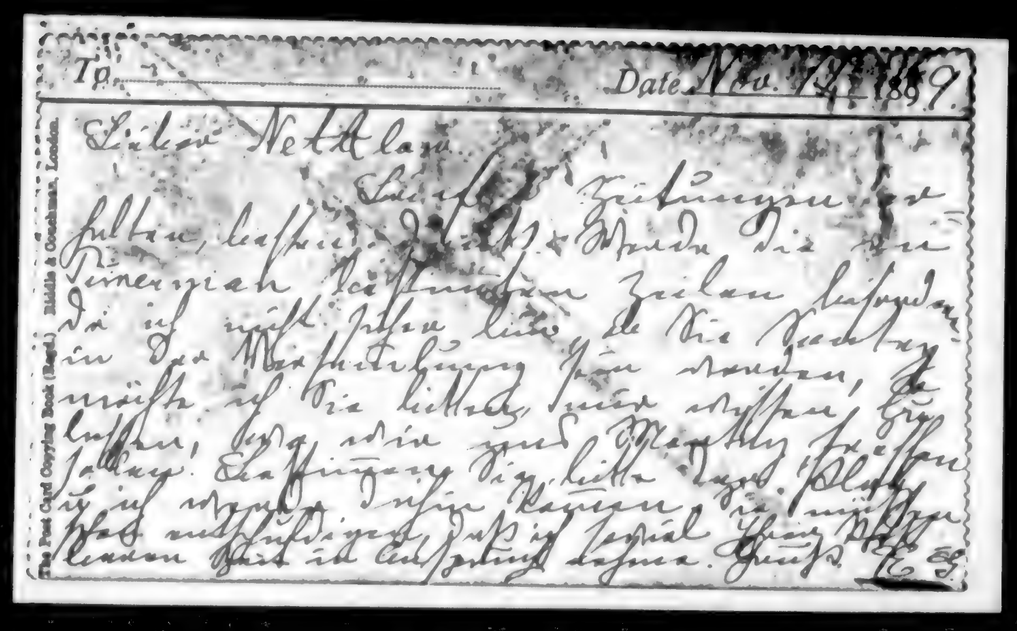
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M. Nettlau.
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Munchen.
Allemagne. Deutschland

673 - 677

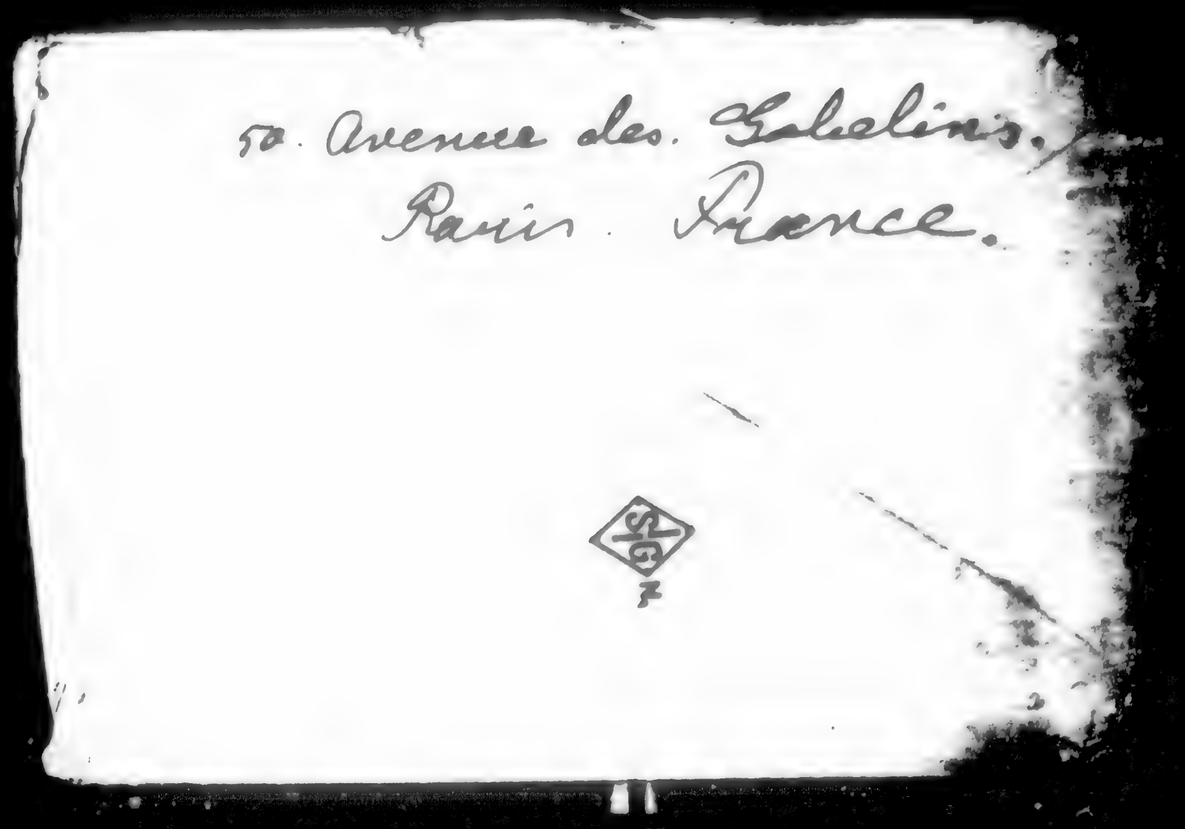
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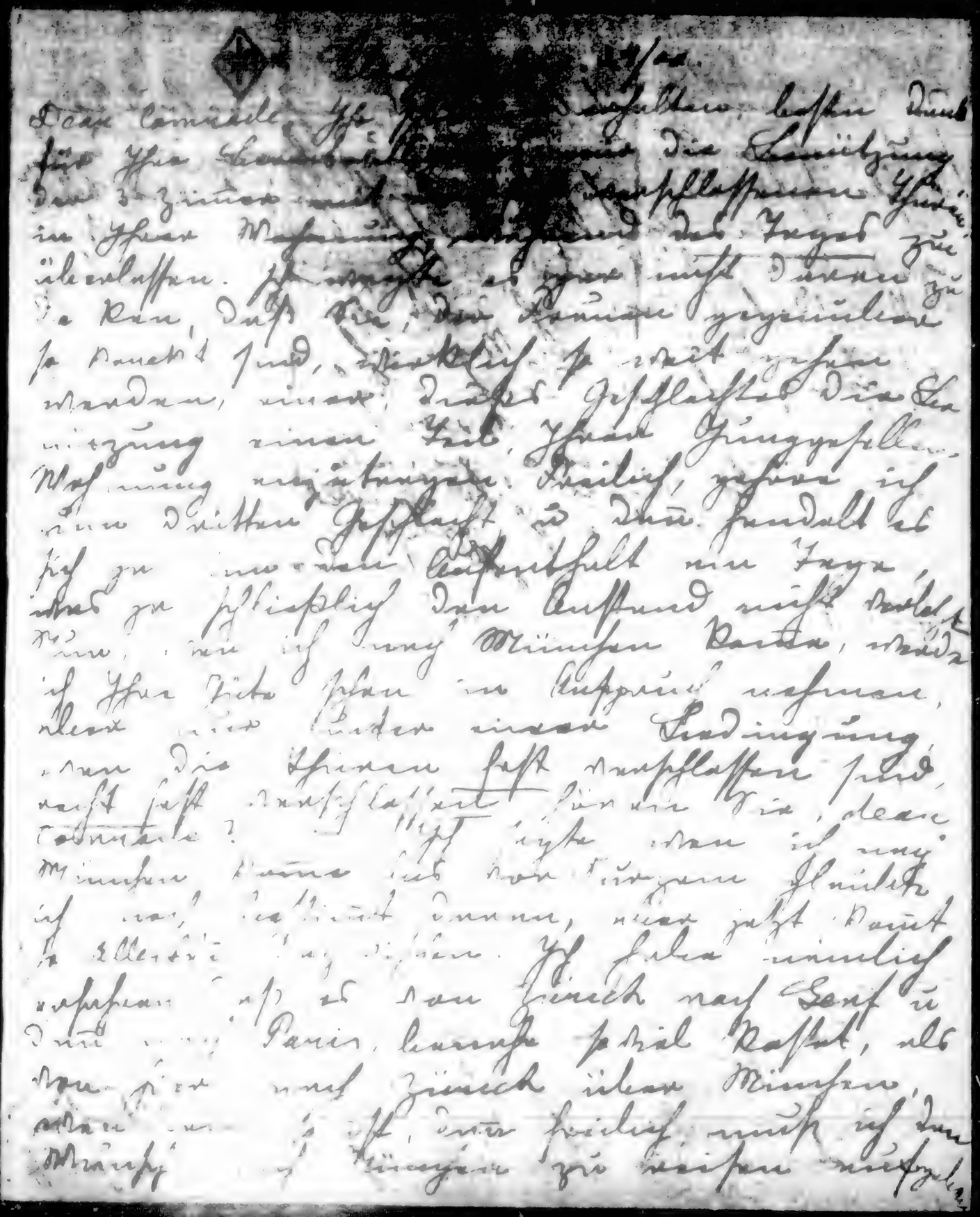
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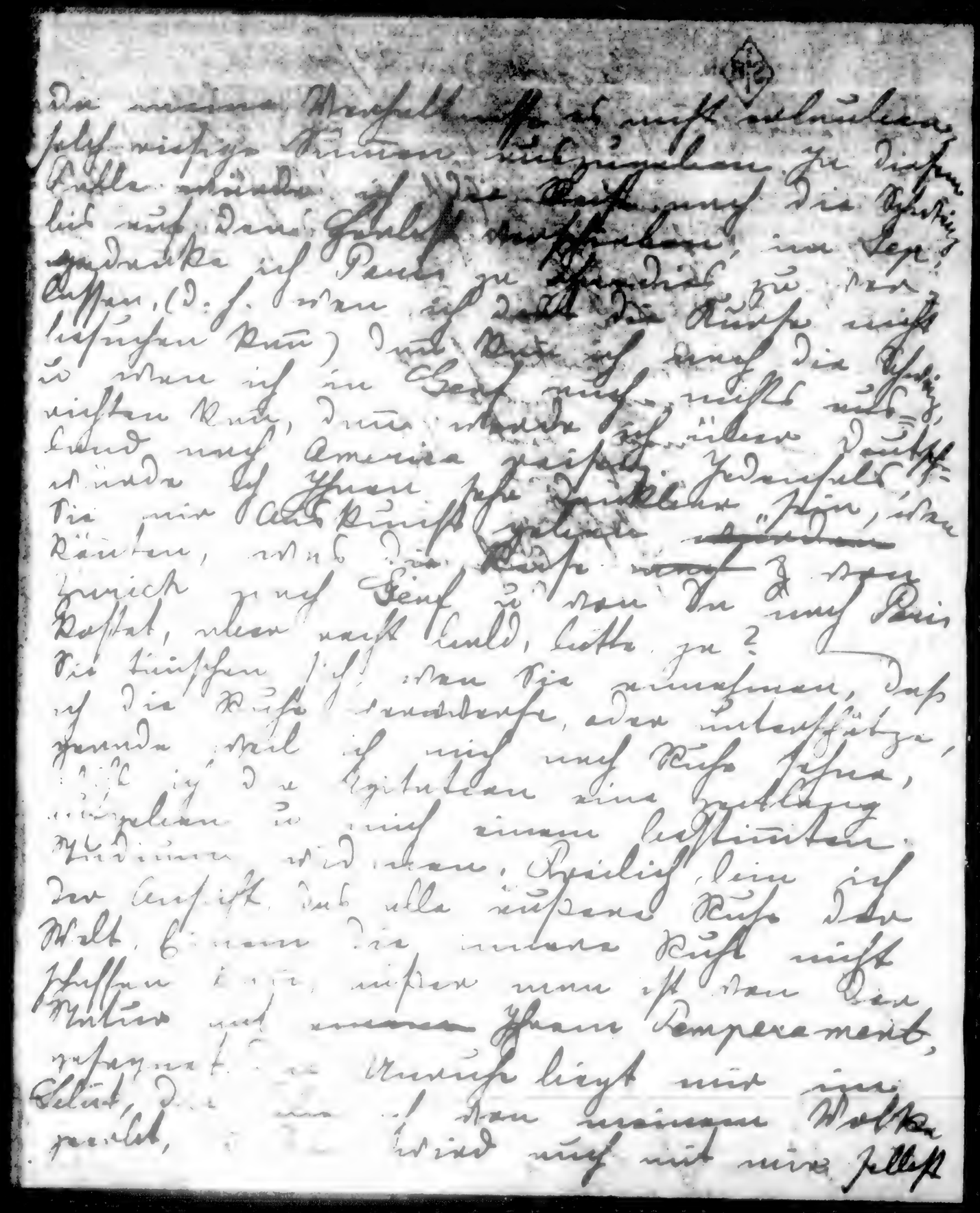
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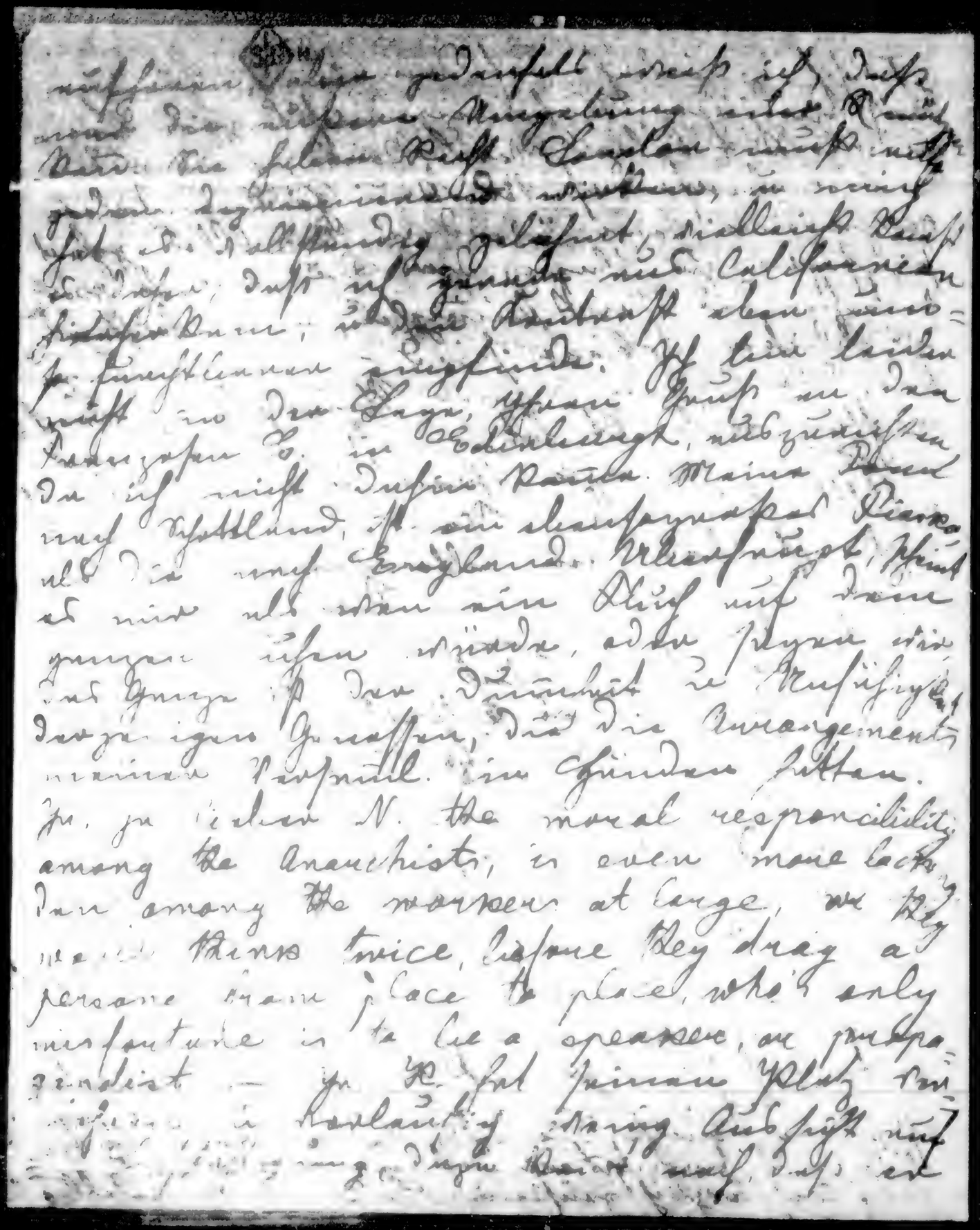
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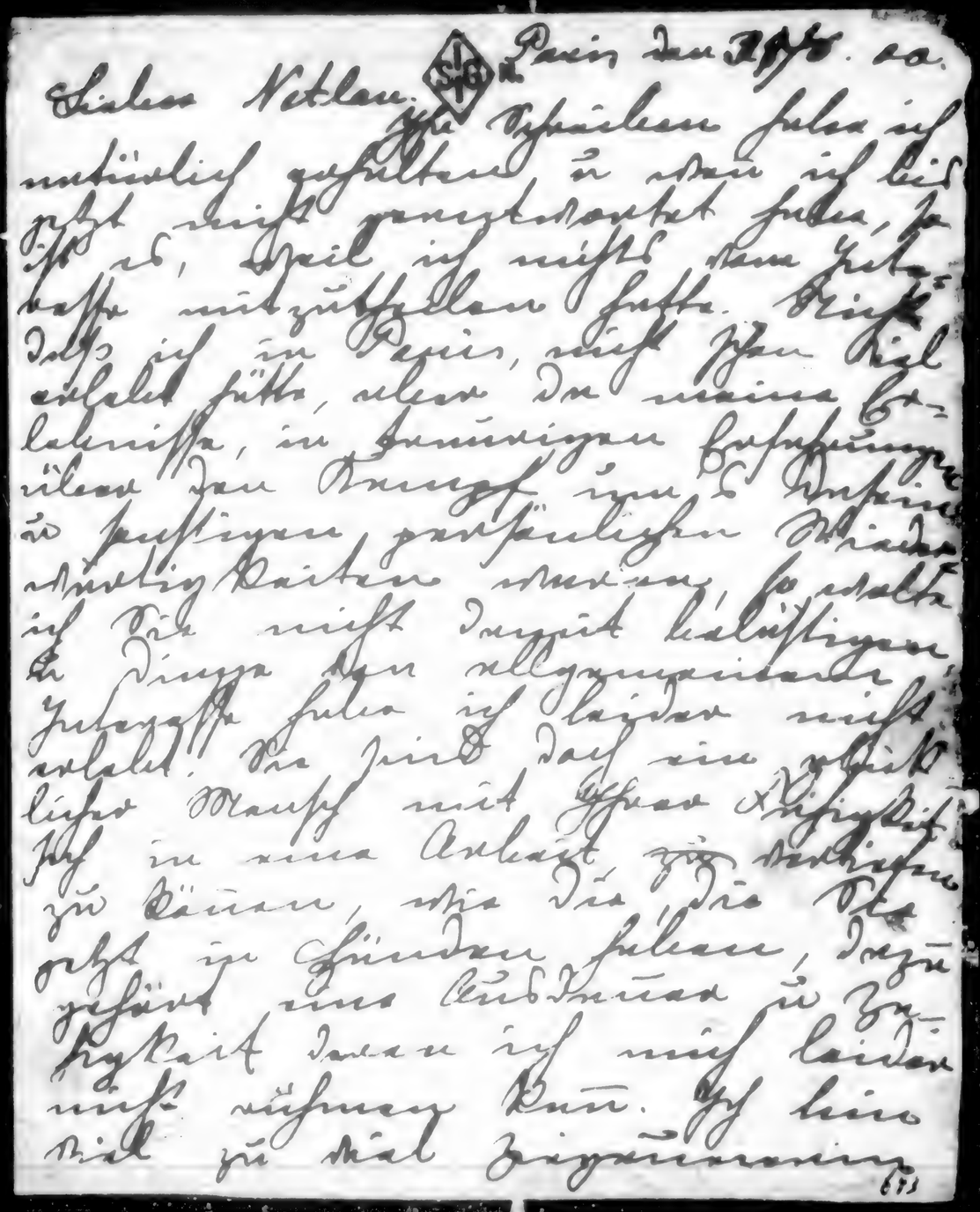
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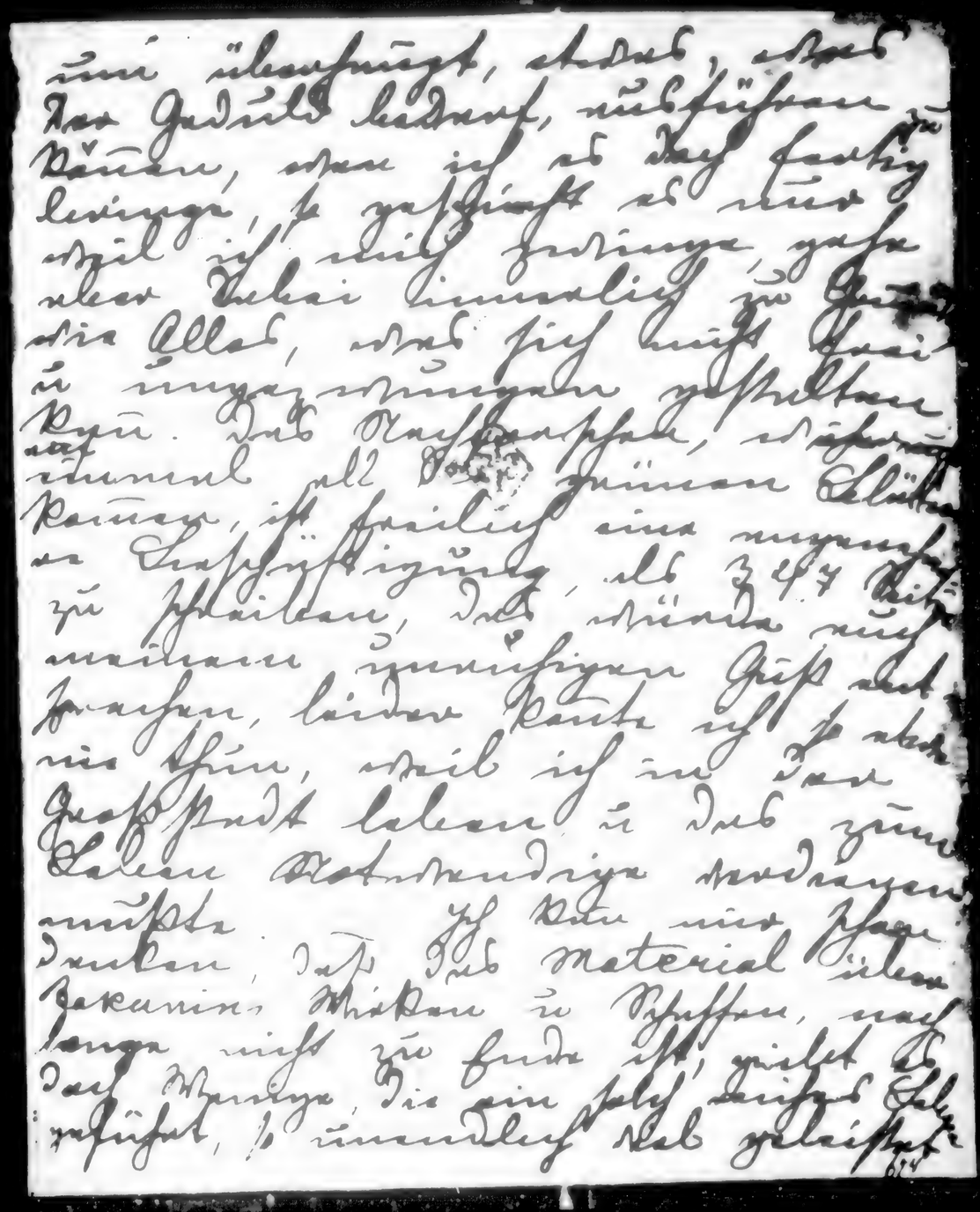
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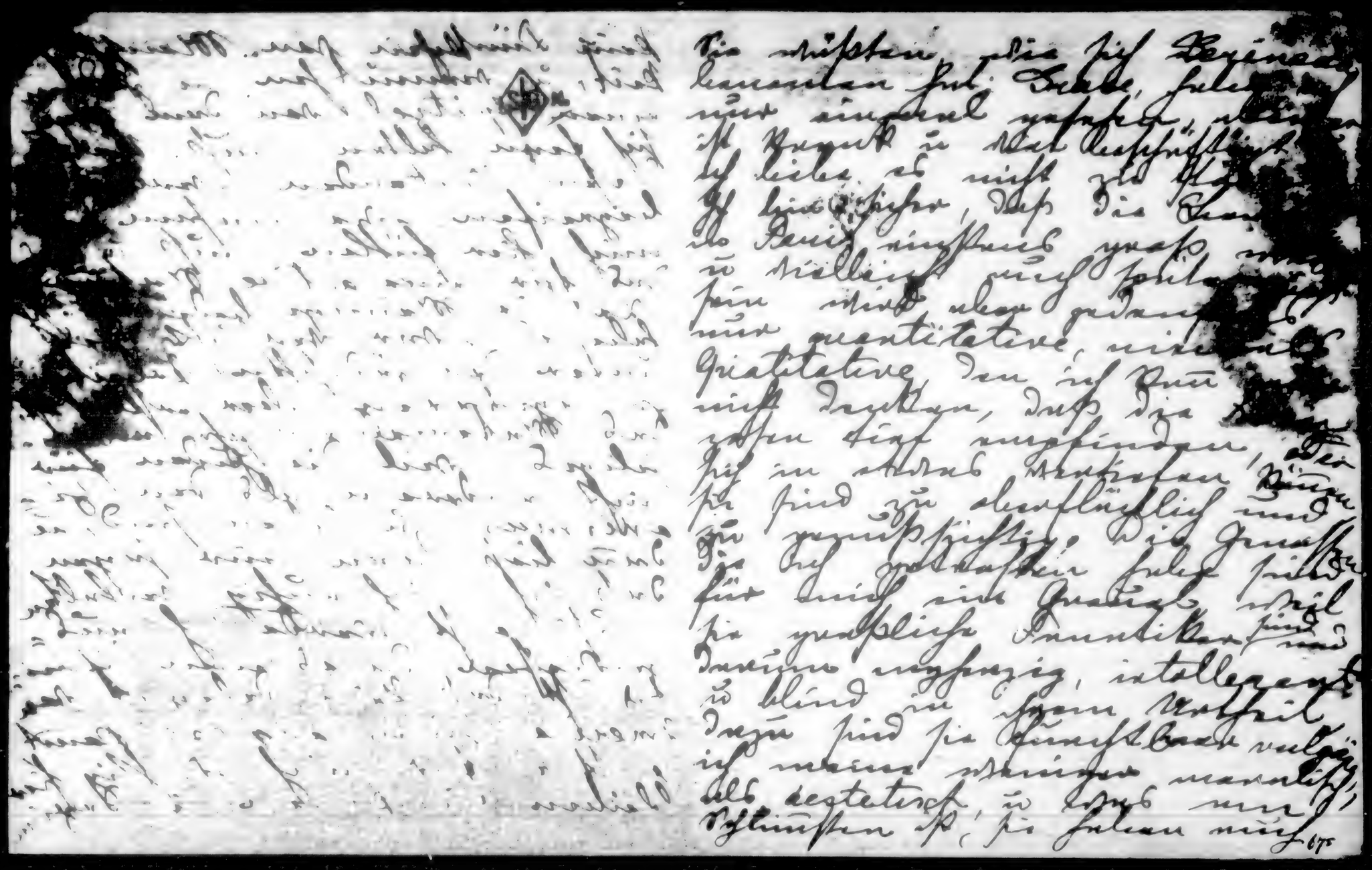
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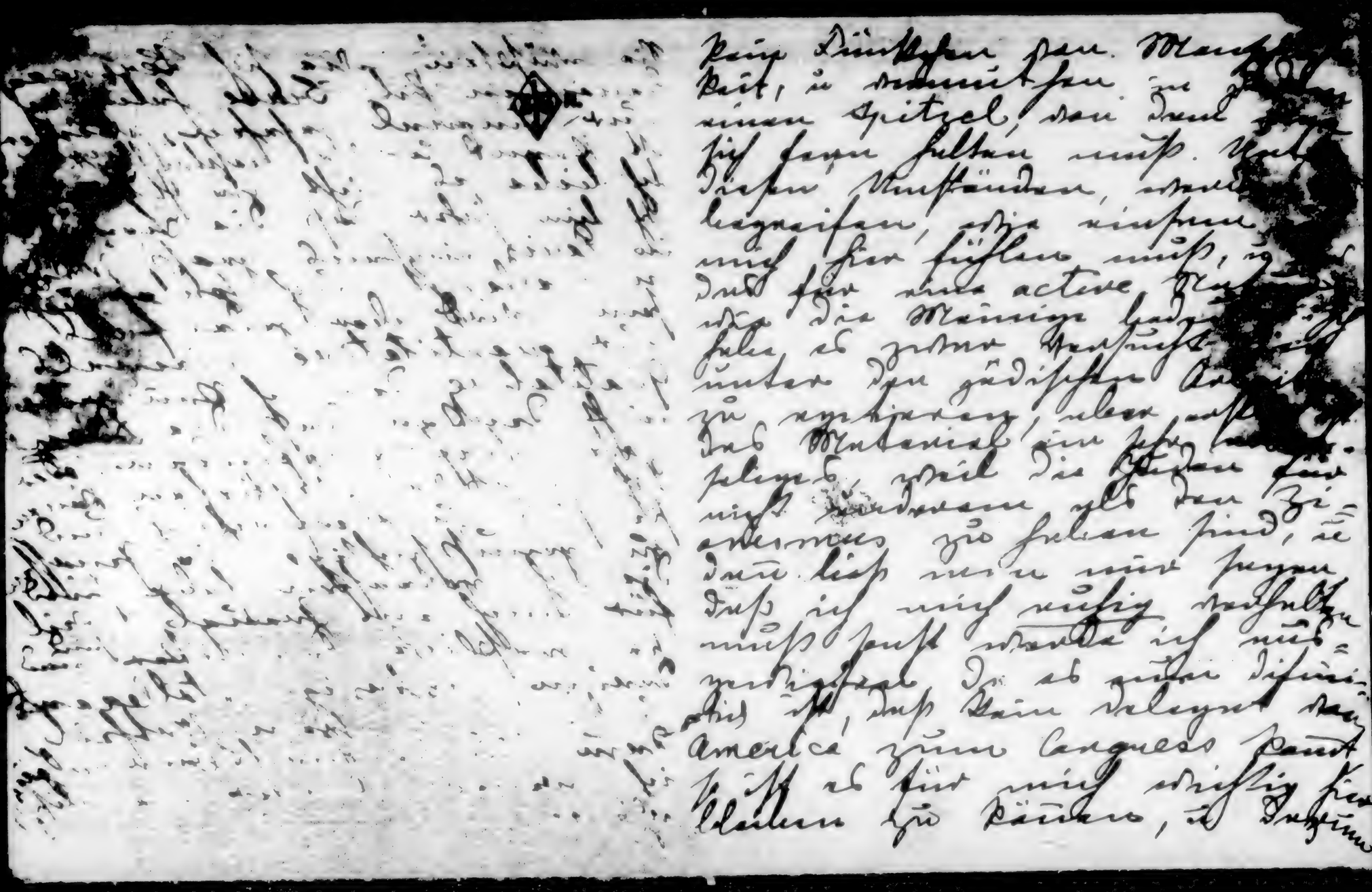
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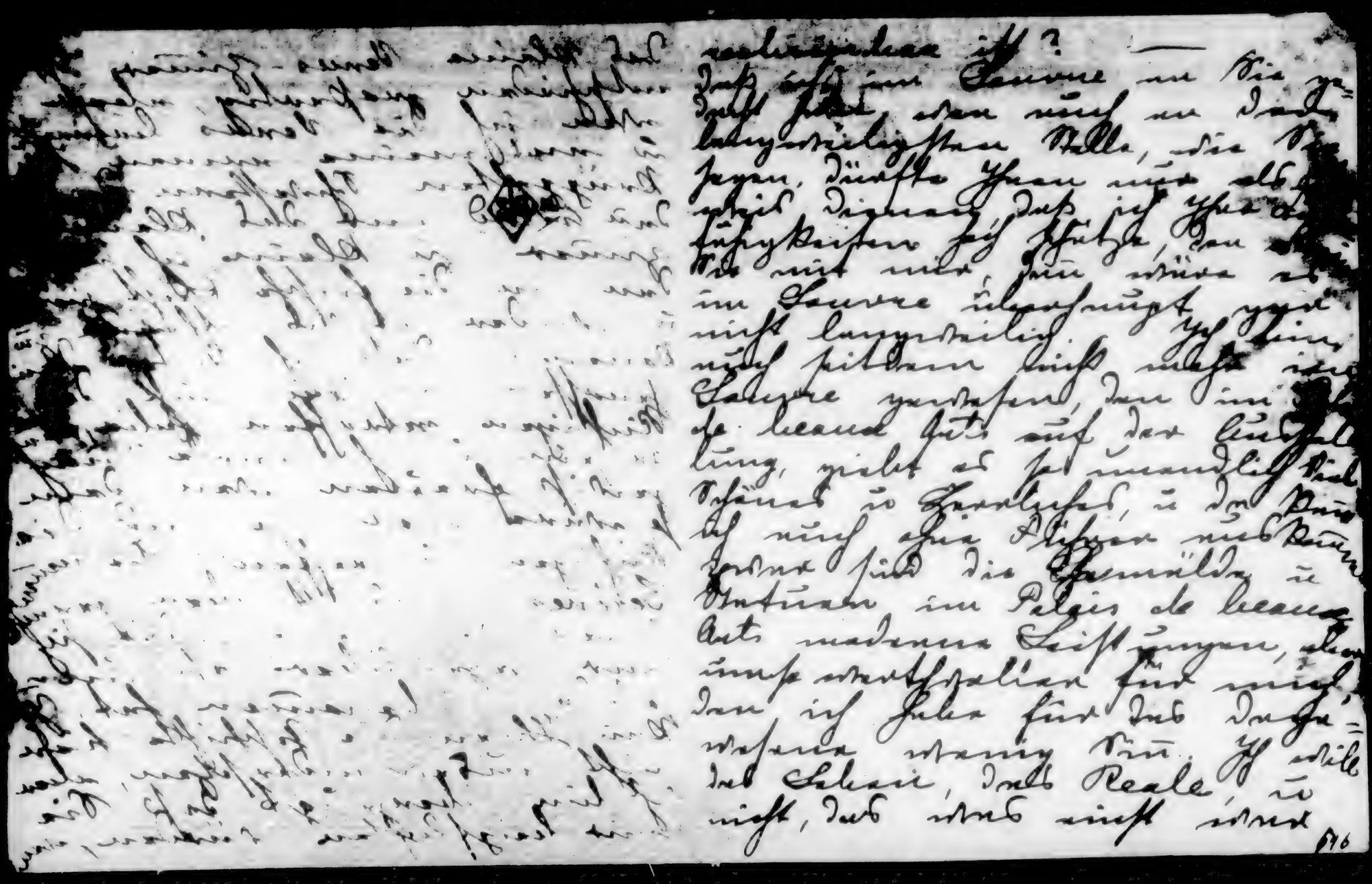
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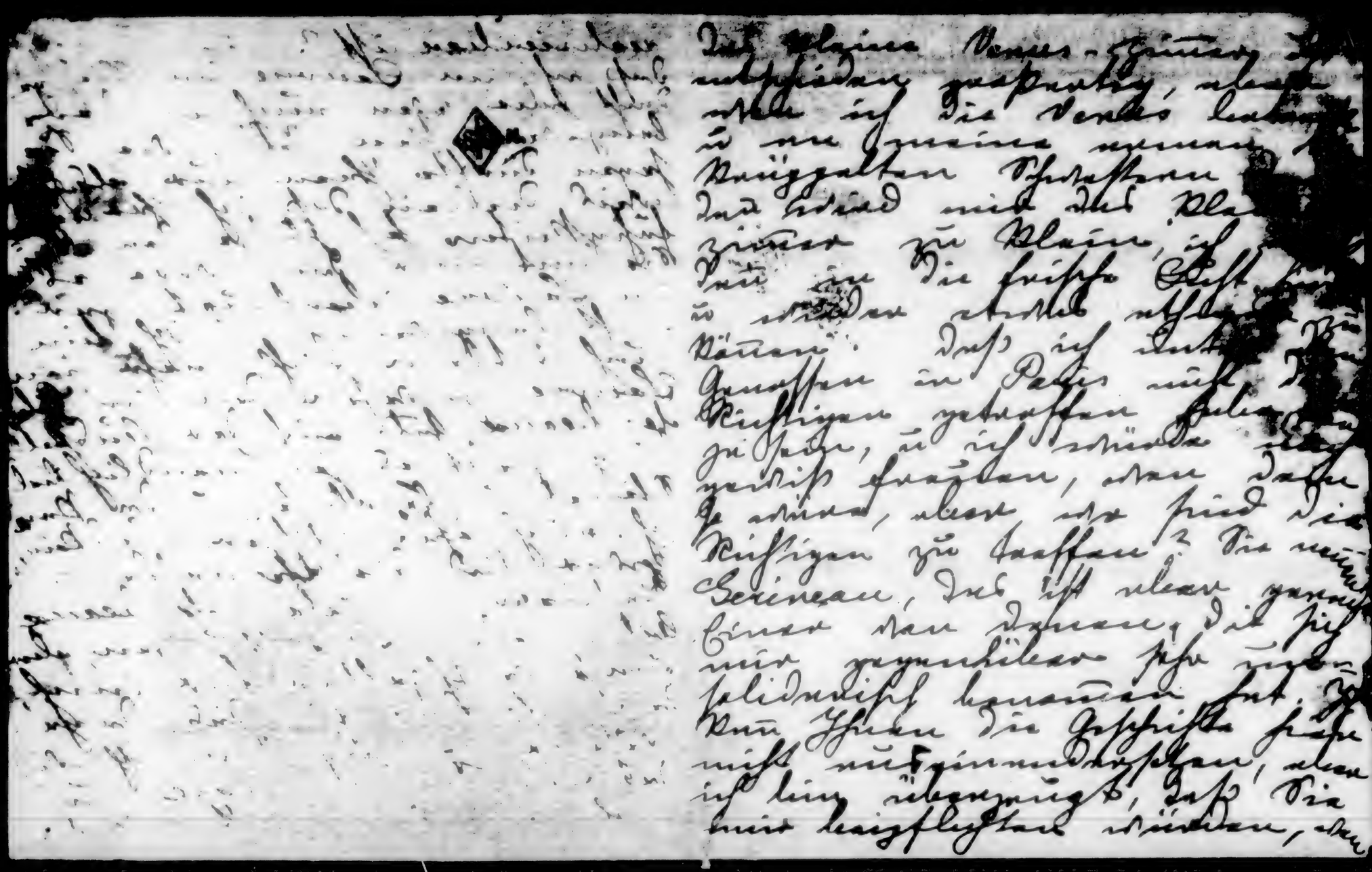
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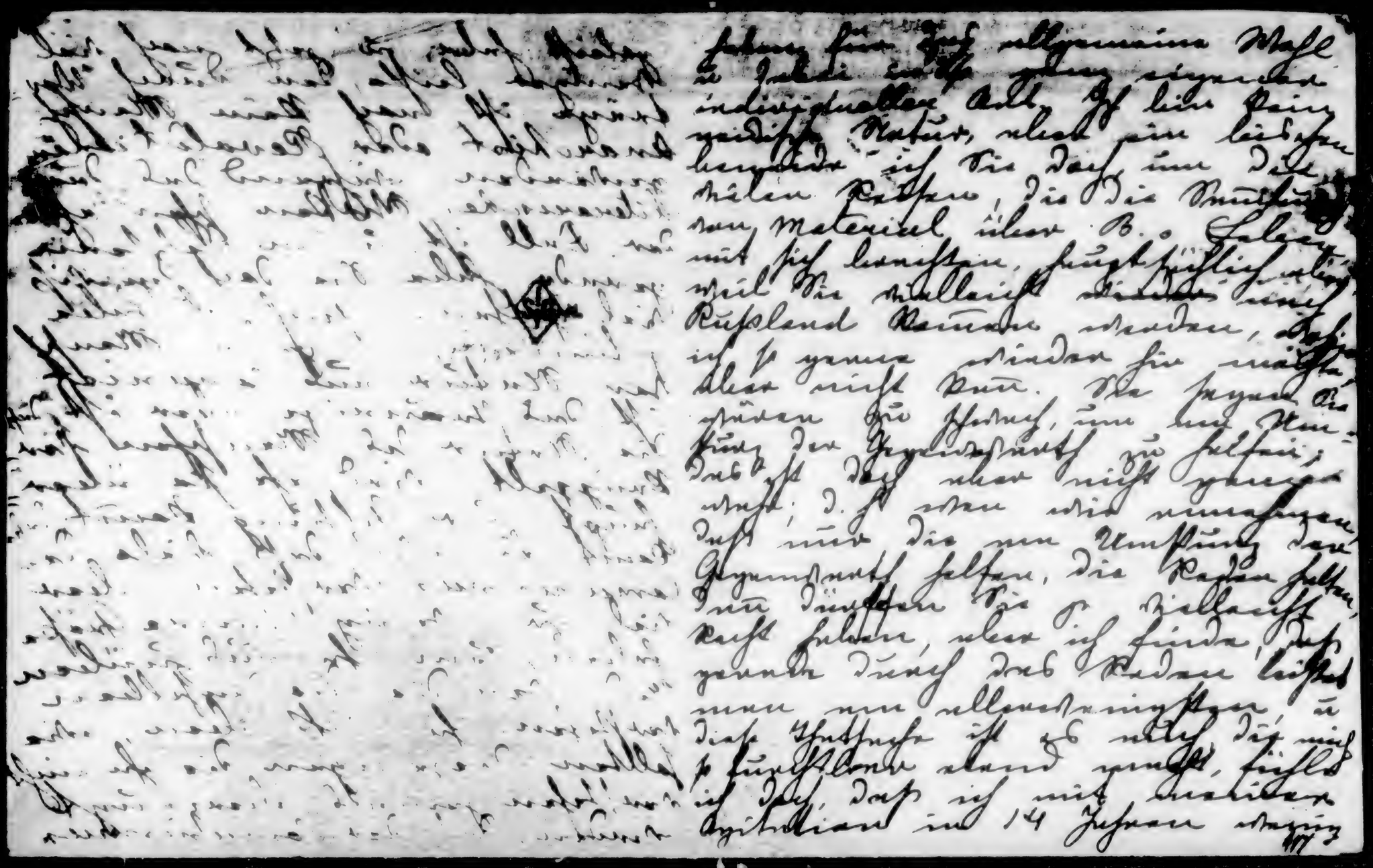
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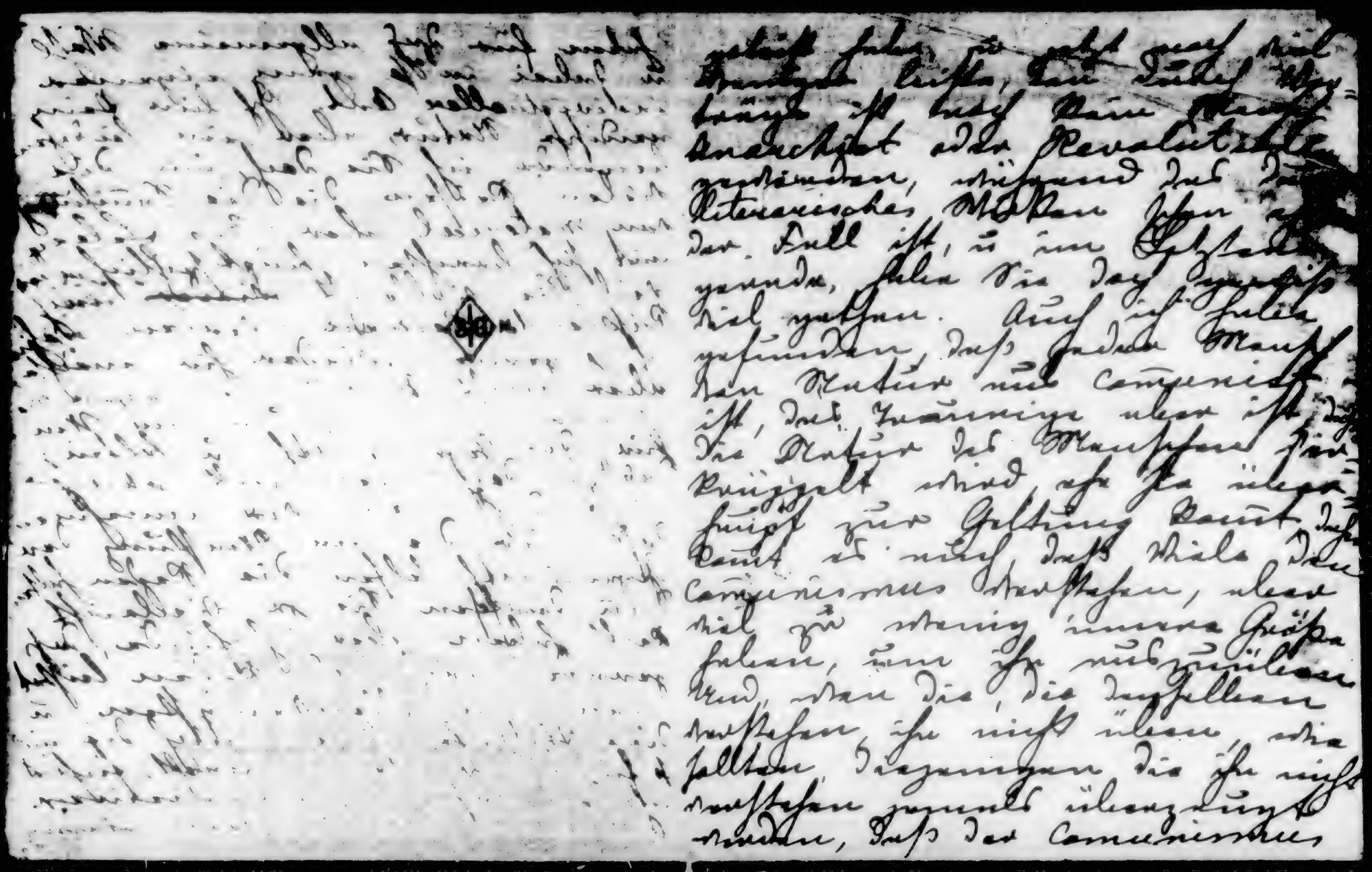
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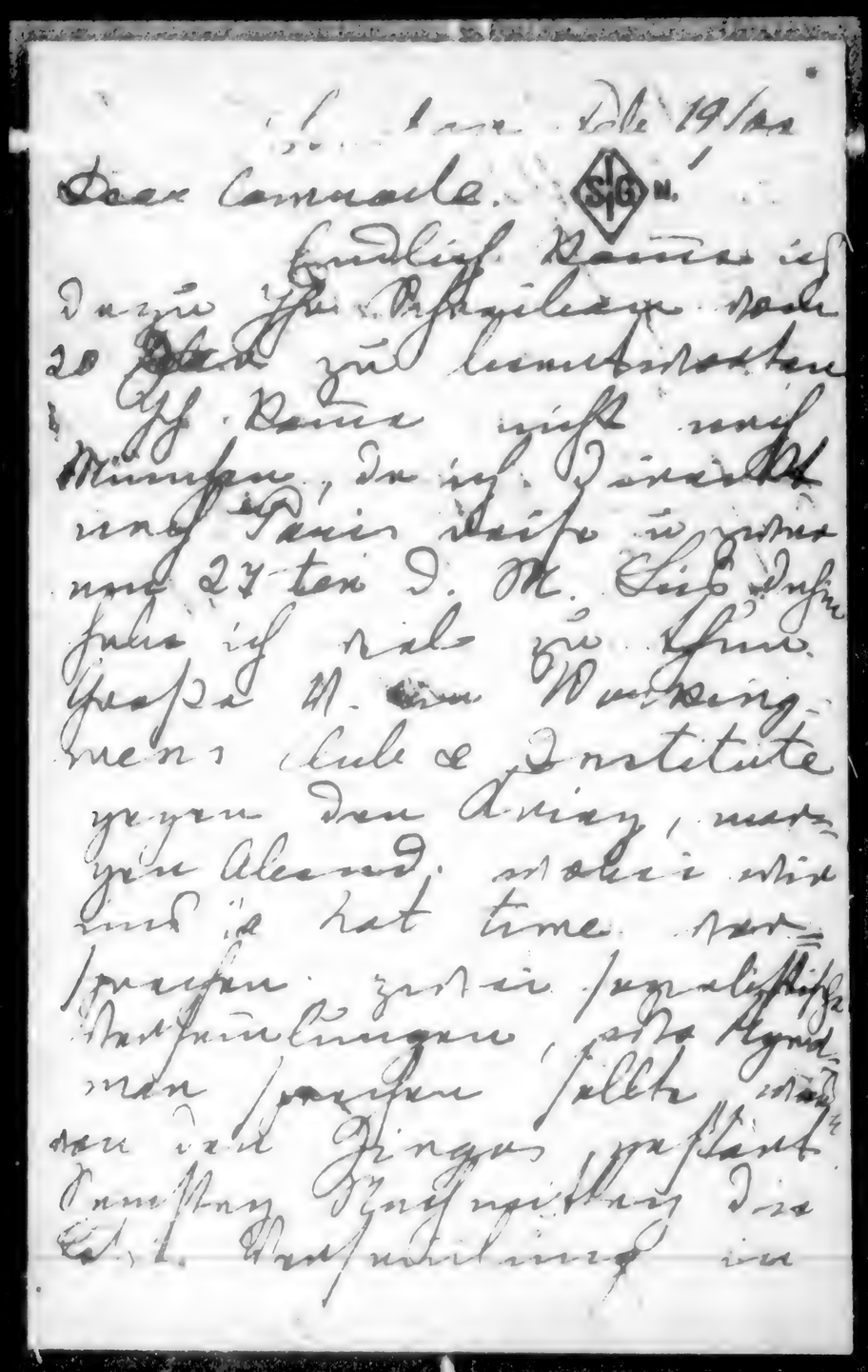
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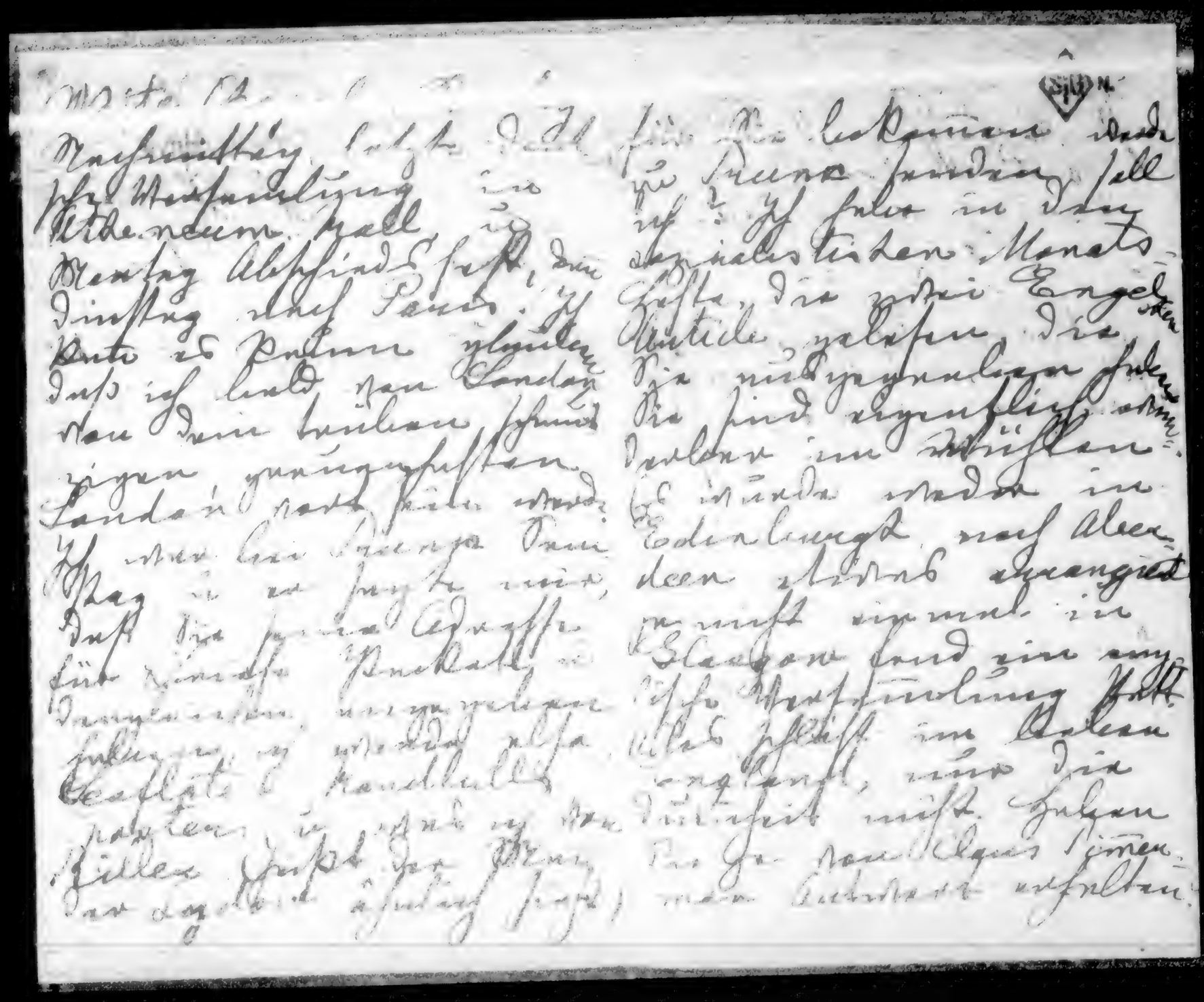
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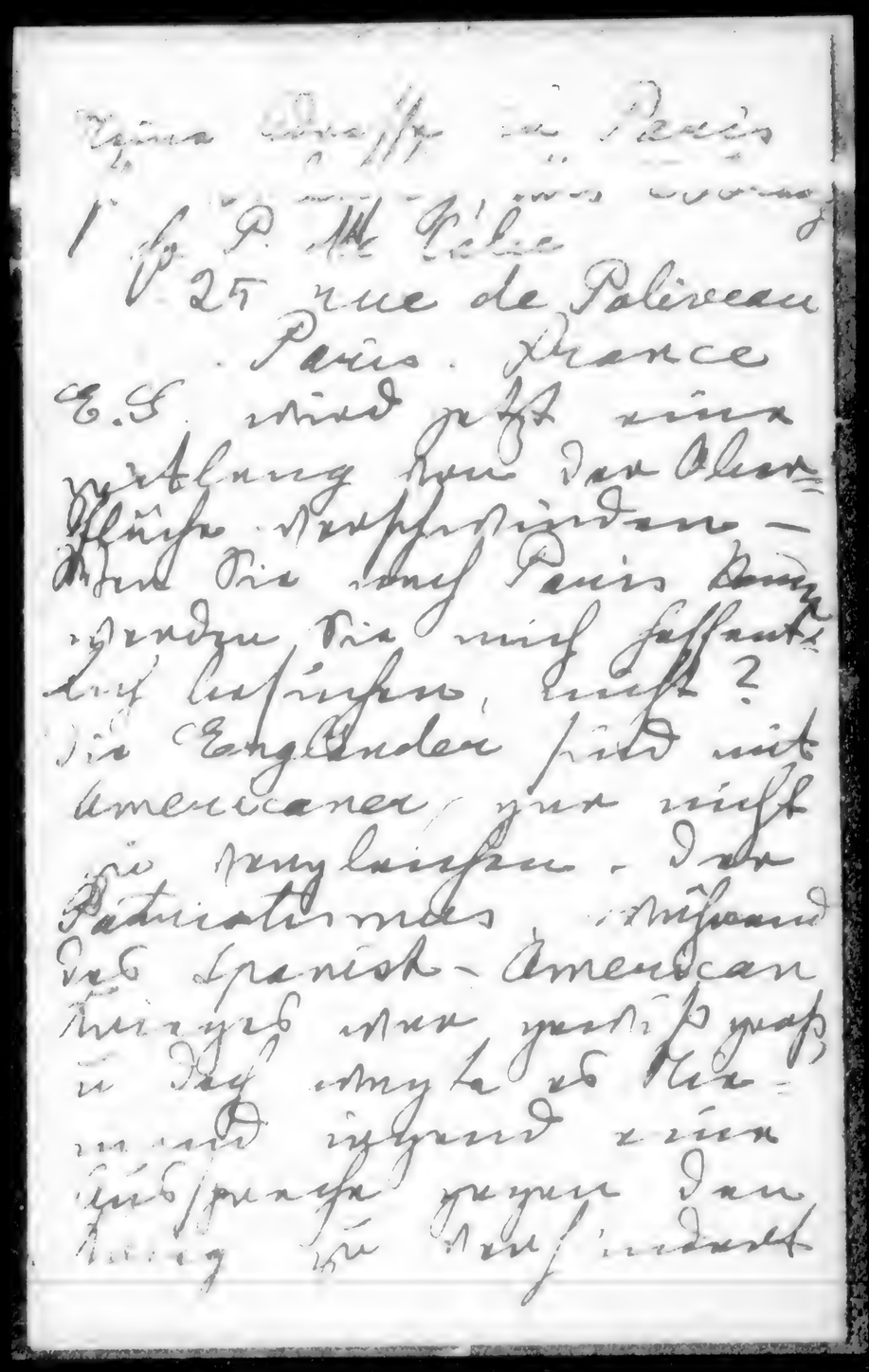
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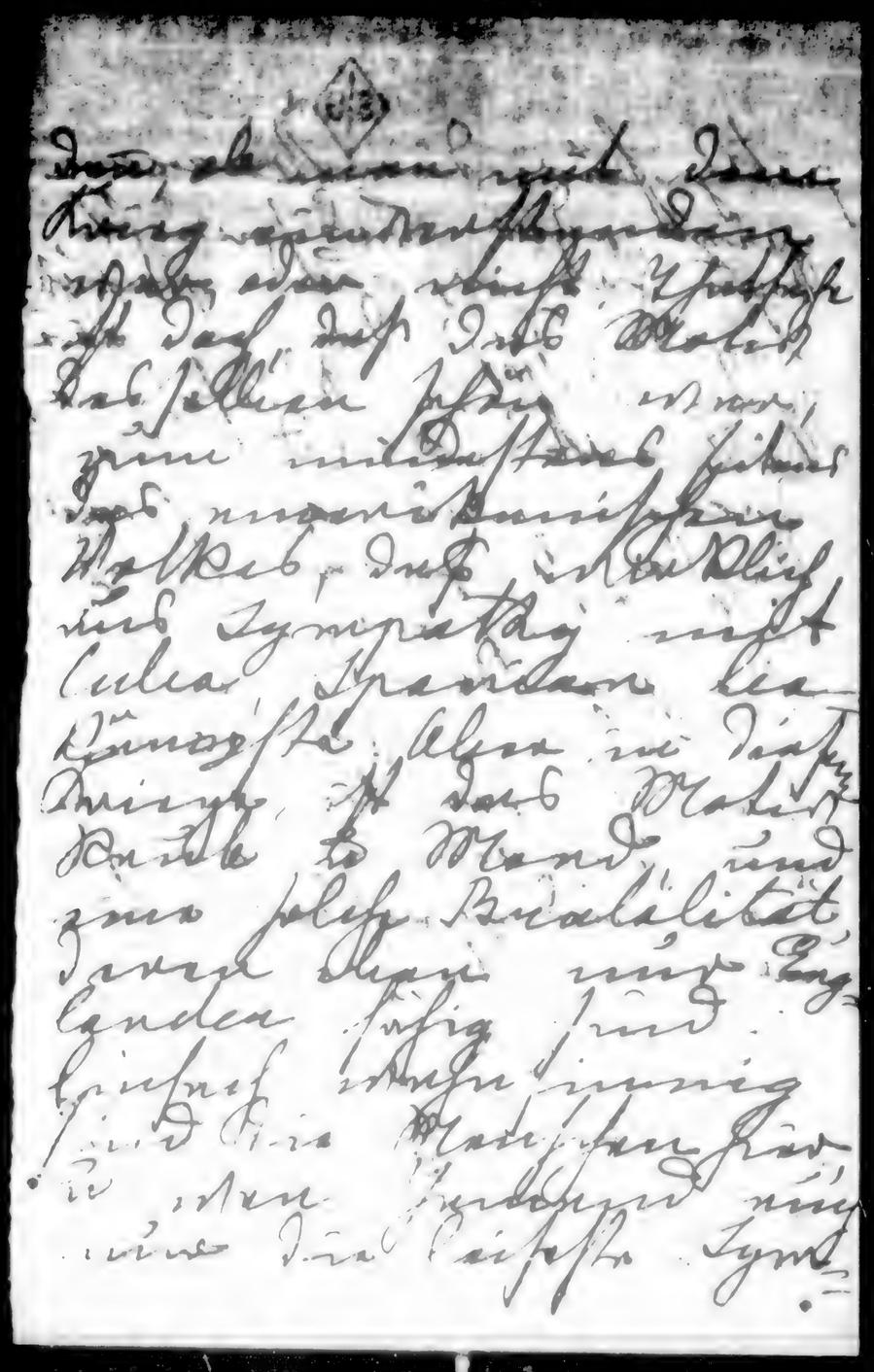
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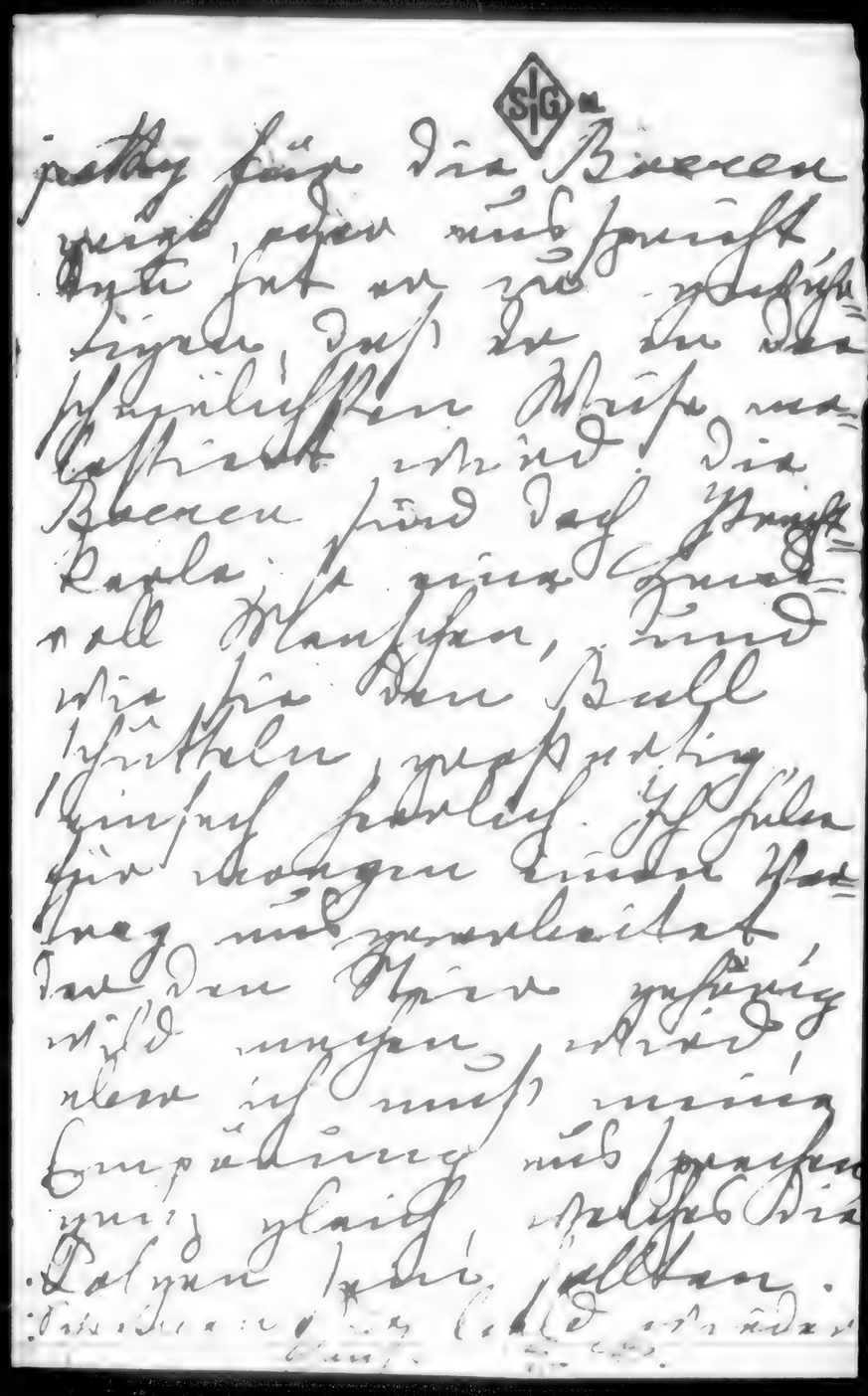
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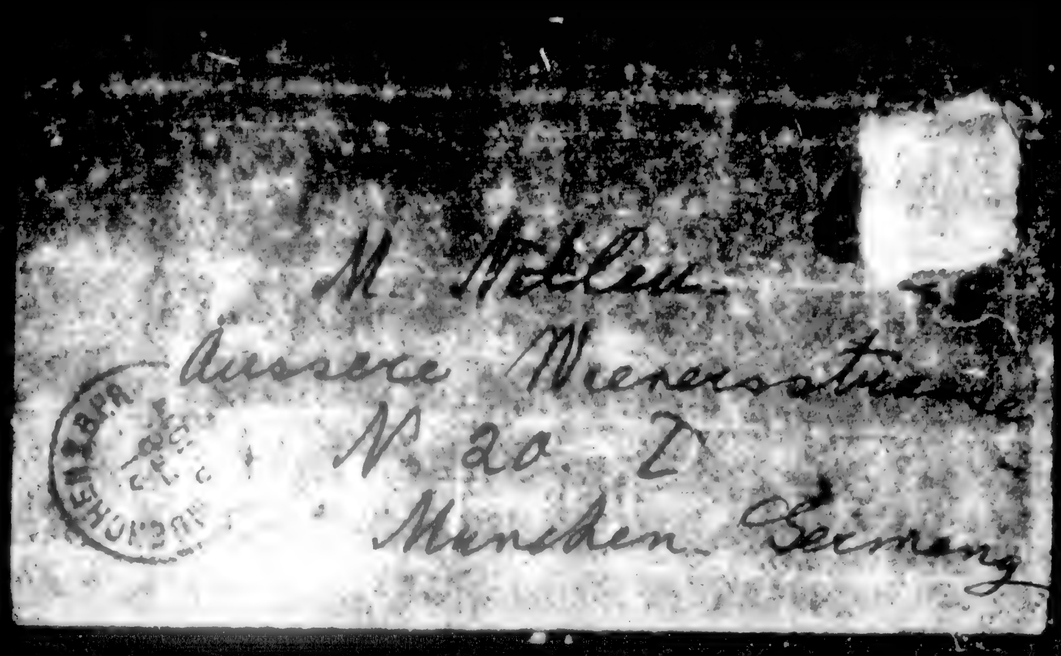
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 19]00 [March] 9, Paris [to] A[ugustin] Hamon, Paris / E[mma] G[oldman].— 2 p. ; 10 × 14 cm.

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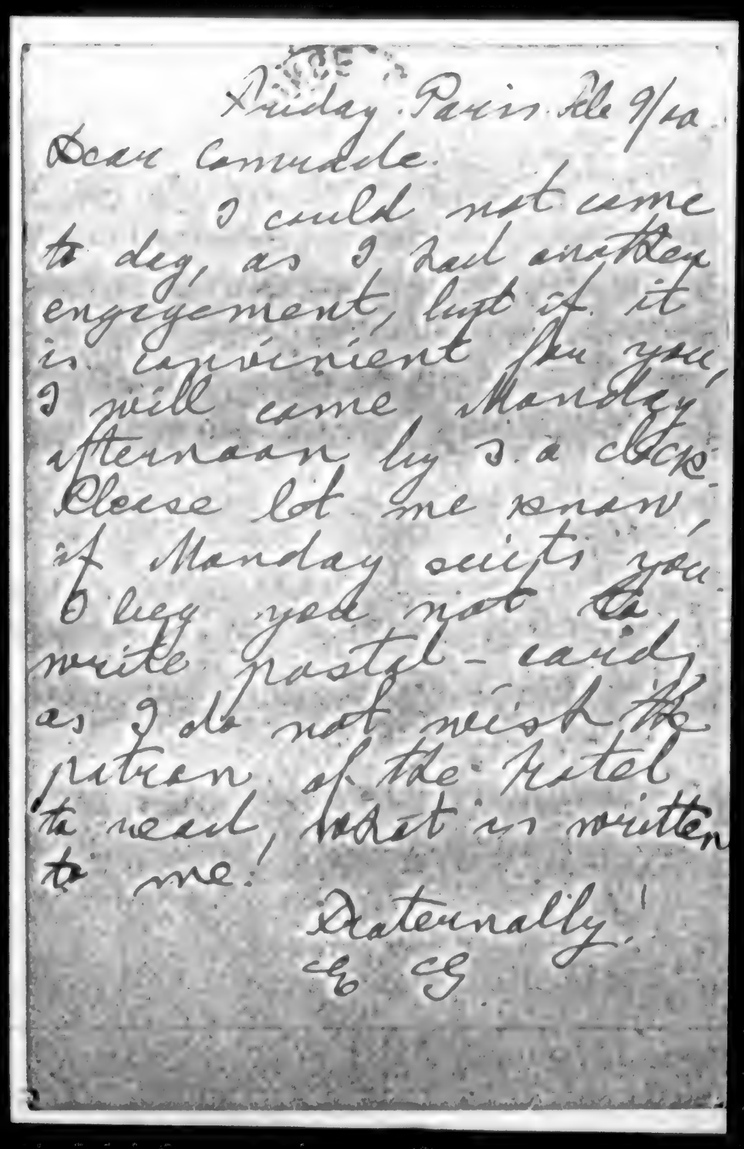


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Friday. Paris. Feb 9/00.

Dear Comrade.

I could not come to day, as I had another engagement, but if it is convinient for you, I will come Monday afternoon by 3 a clock. Please let me know, if Monday suits you. I beg you not to write postal-cards, as I do not wish the patron of the Hotel to read, what is written to me.

Fraternally
EG

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 19]00 March 13 [Paris to] A[ugustin] Hamon, Paris / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 14 × 10 cm.

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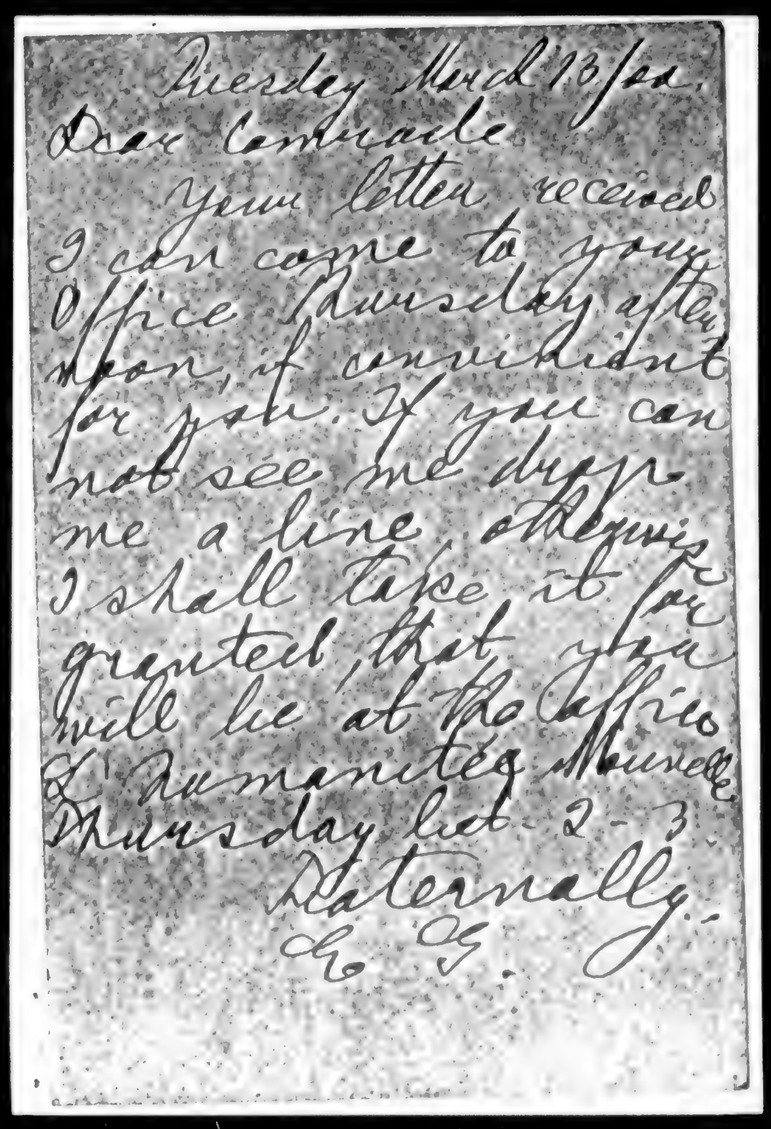
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Tuesday March 13/00.
Dear Comrade
Your letter received. I can come to your office Thursday afternoon, if convenient for you. If you can not see me drop me a line, otherwise I shall take it for granted, that you will be at the office L'Humanité Nouvelle Thursday last 2-3.
Fraternally.
E. G.

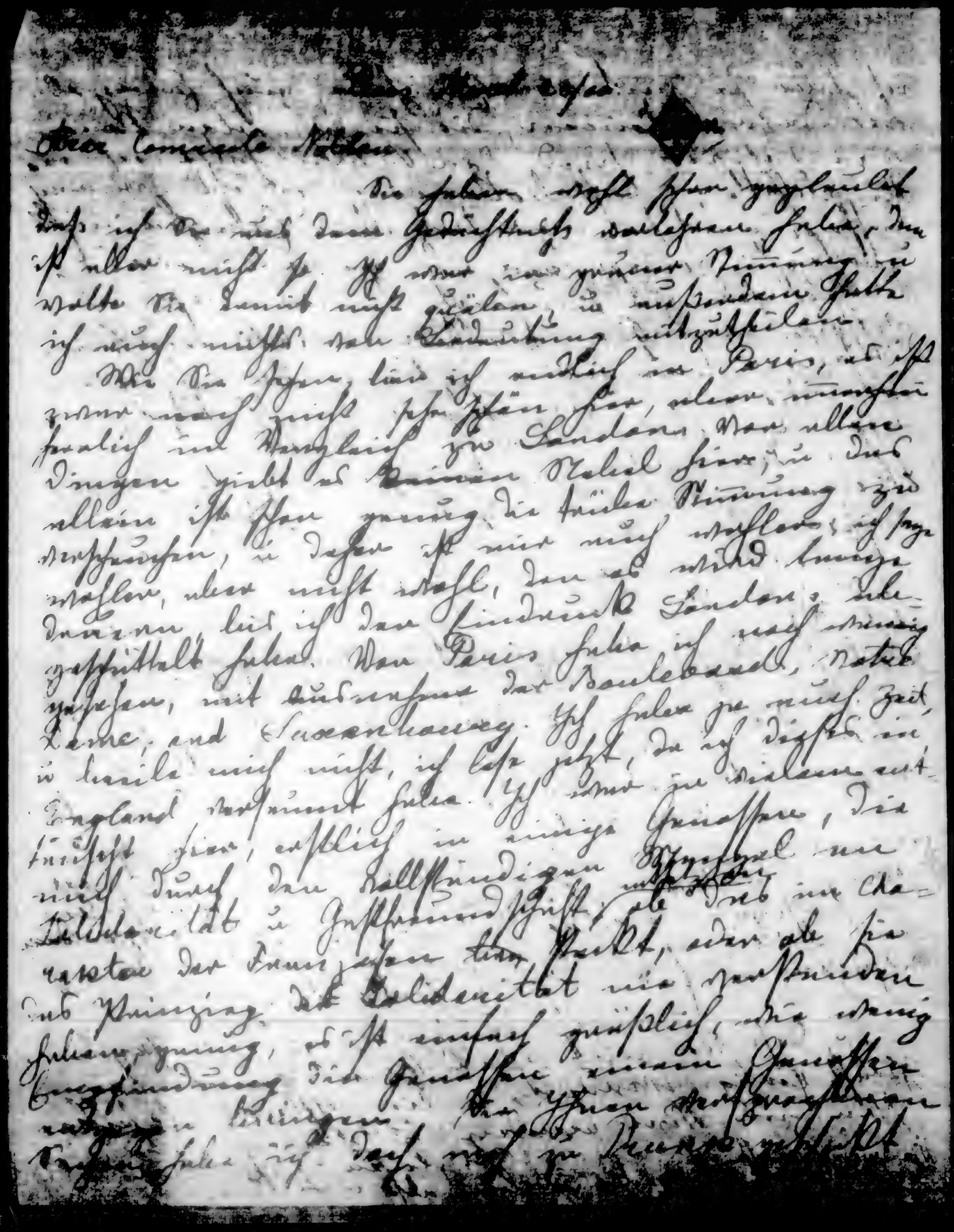
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[Letter, 19]00 March 23, Paris [to Max] Nettlau, [Munich] / E[mma] G[oldman]. – 2 p. ; 25 × 19 cm.

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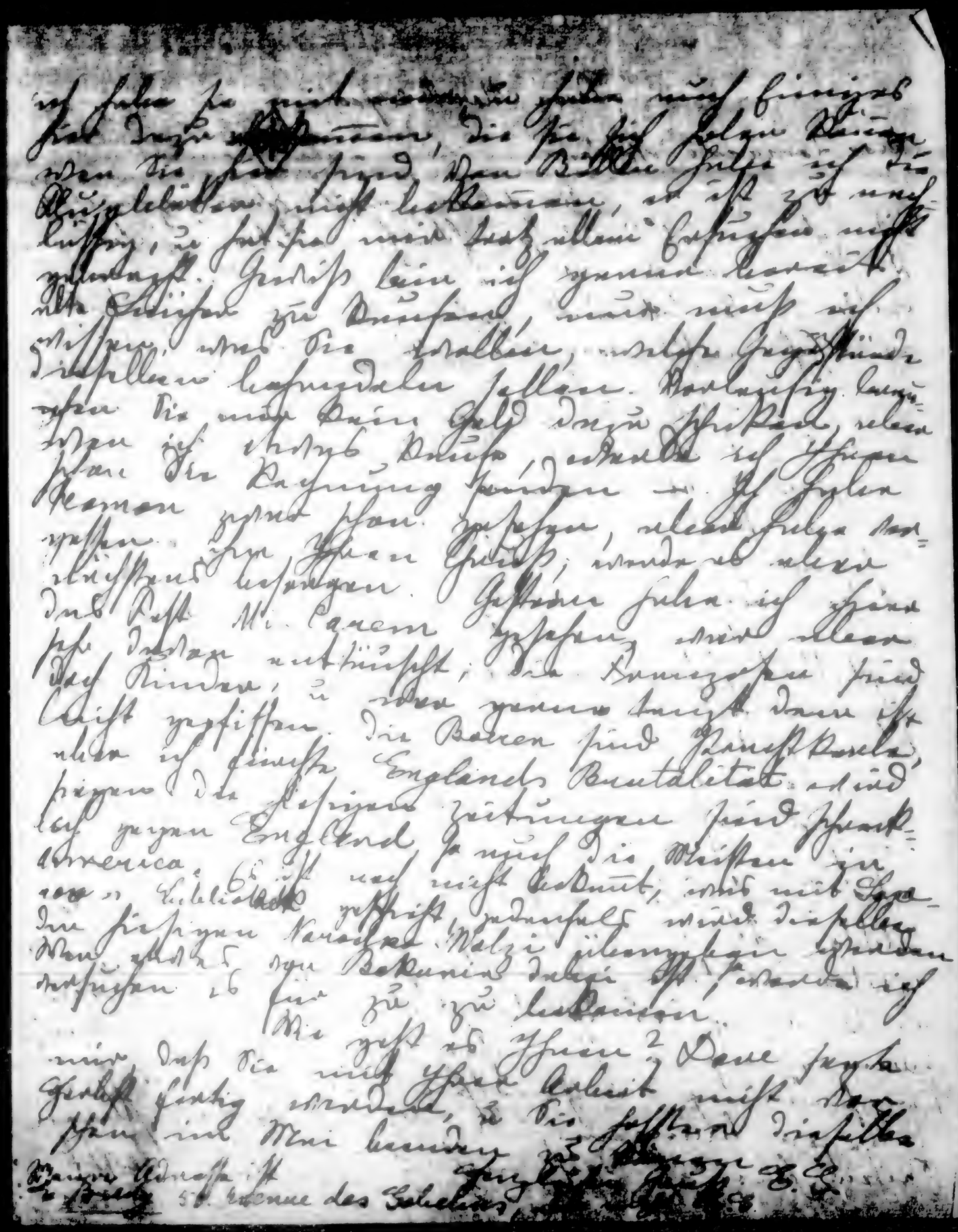


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The Emma Goldman Papers

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The Emma Goldman Papers

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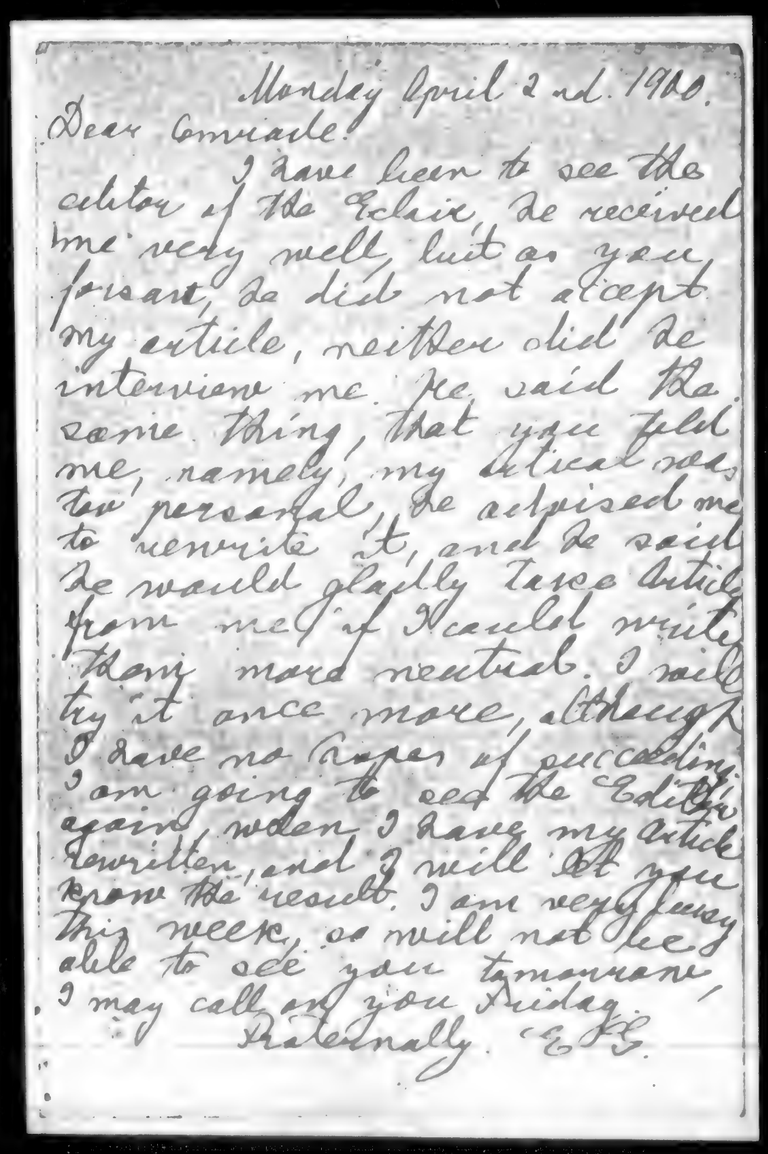
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Monday April 2nd. 1900.

Dear Comrade!

I have been to see the editor of The Eclair, he received me very well, but as you foresaw, he did not accept my article, neither did he interview me. He said the same thing, that you told me, namely, my critical was too personal, he advised me to rewrite it, and he said he would gladly take article from me if I could write them more neutral. I will try it once more, although I have no hopes of succeeding. I am going to see the Editor again, when I have my article rewritten, and I will let you know the result. I am very busy this week, so will not be able to see you tomorrow, I may call on you Friday.

Fraternally. E.G.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1900 April 22, Paris [to] Free Society, San Francisco / Emma Goldman.— 3 p.; 33 × 24 cm.

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FREE SOCIETY

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An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equability of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that in the Absence of Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist, and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence.

VOL. VI. NO. 23. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, APRIL 22, 1900. WHOLE NO. 283.

MARTYRDOM.

To utter your thoughts before all men,
Speaking full freely with voice and pen,
True to the truth, while it brings to you
But cold contempt or a harsh taboo,
Or to look your lips, all truth resigned,
While you make a grave of the fruitful mind
And fawn on the knee with the fawning crowd,
The shallow souled and the narrow browed,
The price of your silence a slave's ease, come,
Which is the greater martyrdom?

To act as you think—untrammeled and bold,
To reject, and to hold what is worthy to hold;
Enduring scorn, or things more foul:
The mob perhaps, or a prison cell,
Or to chain your hands to your chained lips,
And wait, your birthright in eclipse;
For the whip of a custom to come or go;
To the fetish of force your head bowed low,
Your payment a coward's existence, come,
Which is the greater martyrdom?

To live your life though the whole world blame,
Taking no thought of fame or shame,
Fighting, and falling if you must;
Your fate to the foe as you sink in the dust
Or to call yourself for a paltry peace,
And get for your gain a longer lease
Of a life that at most can be but a lie,
Bound in shame till it rot and die,
All of its potencies palsied, come,
Which is the greater martyrdom?

—W. P. Barnard.

• • • • •

THE MARRIAGE INSTITUTION.

Are the marriage relations considered by the devotees of that "time honored institution," or is it the marriage CEREMONY to which sacredness is attached? Ah! there's the rub. We Americans do not worship idols as the ignorant and miserable heathens do, but we are sticklers for ceremonies. The harmonious operating of natural law is of minor consequence when a ceremony is at stake.

Still, when marriage rites are taken into account, the FEES usually contribute their share (and no mean part, either) to the performance, although the legality of the transaction is not endangered in all localities by a failure to foot the bills; but what an unappreciative rascally fellow he is, to be sure, who evades payment for—a wife! Does not the law literally bestow upon him this woman to love and to cherish?—and uphold him in confiscating the proceeds (in property or service) of her labor? He who begrudges the trifling sum required to pacify the law, and insure recognizance by society of his "respectability," is either a dolt or the personification of avarice!

"Once upon a time," when death overtook a poor mortal, his mourning friends placed a coin between his lips to induce the invisible ferryman to becomingly transport him across the "dark river." Unsophisticated souls! How easily we of modern times see that those people were hoaxed out of their wearily earned coppers. Had they lived a hundred years later, prior to giving up the ghost, they would have hired some of the Lord's satellites to "read their titles clear, to mansions in the skies;" or they would, perforce, have divided their scanty stores and have passed it over to a reverend gentleman when a child was born so it could be regularly christened, and not named off-hand like a horse or cow. The christening mummeries included an item worth remembering; the child's spirit was safely switched off the track that leads to perdition. The blessing of the "holy fathers" at the nuptial ceremony was, no doubt, spontaneous and fervid in proportion to the size of the prospective requital for the service, etc., etc., at every important turn in life, or one that could be conceived by any stretch of the imagination to be important. You revere and adhere to the institution of marriage, do you see in it any similarity to those institutions of the "good old times?"

Did you ever hear of a county clerk, who issues the marriage license, or the priest, preacher or justice of the peace, who repeats the customary formula that legally binds the couple, did you ever hear of any of these benedictaries giving the "happy pair" the slightest information about the forces of sex, social purity, prenatal influences or heredity? Is not the "tying of the knot" a purely perfunctory and ritualistic affair, done solely for the FEES? Then why does society look upon it as such a weighty matter? Is it not a case of the exploited worshipping the "letter?"

I shall leave to those who defend legal marriage flummeries the pleasant office of enumerating the reasons for retaining the institution, while I undertake to point out a few of its objectionable phases.

The promise exacted from the contracting parties, that they will live together till "death do part," whether the union prove to be "for better or for worse," is in the last degree revolting to a person whose dislikes are terse. It is simply preposterous to demand a promise of that sort of two individuals who cannot possibly foresee the probable alterations in their temper and temperament, brought about by the inevitable change in their habits, cares, and environment generally. To compel the fulfilment of the promise is monstrous. If, under certain galling conditions AND UPON THE PAYMENT OF A FEE, the promise may be set aside, what gross absurdity to require it!

The law by causing the wife to be dependent on the husband for even the common necessaries of life, subjects her to his will, just as truly as the day laborer is subject to his master (employer). What can be worse than sex slavery?

Property, not morality, is the bulwark of the marriage institution. All the evils of any age are interdependent.

Sexual intercourse, where love is absent, is prostitution; neither sex escapes the corrupting effects.

Sex subjugation, by direct brute force, or by any indirect means, is prostitution.

Legal enactments or ceremonies do not soften the facts.—Viroqua Daniels.

• • • • •

OBSERVATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

DEAR COMRADES, FRIENDS, AND SYMPATHIZERS OF FREE SOCIETY,—Little has been heard of me in the columns of Free Society, and this may have led some of you to believe that I am inactive or out of the movement entirely; but I have been neither. True, I cannot boast of having been as active as I was during my tour through America, but I have done some propaganda after all, at the same time not leaving the progress of our American movement out of sight, especially devoting my attention to the health and growth of our brave little rebel, Free Society.

My tour has been reported in a previous number of Free Society, so I will say little about it, only adding that while it did not turn out as successful as the one in the States, I do not think my trip fruitless.

I had occasion to join in a monster protest meeting against the brutal attempt of a few bi; thieves —Cecil Rhodes, Milner and Chamberlain—to rob the brave and marvelously courageous heroes of the Transvaal and the Free State of their independence and liberty.

Every Briton boasts of his freedom of speech, and in fact I myself with most radicals believed, up to my arrival in England, that freedom of speech was a reality in Britain. During my four months' touring in England and Scotland, however, I had ample opportunity to convince myself that freedom of speech is as much a farce there as elsewhere. The worst of it is that this sacred right is not suppressed by the government, like in our "blessed land," but by the people themselves. By the "people" I do not only mean the ignorant, whisky-saturated, patriotism-maddened workers, but also the mental wage slaves: clerks, bookkeepers, cashiers, typewriters, commercial travelers, and other flunkies to money and titles. We, too, have had to deal with a patriotic craze, but it was at least tinctured with humanitarian sentiments, and I cannot recollect one single instance of having been disturbed in any of my meetings against the Spanish-American war. The only disturbance came from the police and not the people; whereas in England, where patriotism in the present war is based upon nothing but commercialism, the brutality of the people is simply beyond any comprehension and rather discouraging. Yet the pleasure of an instructive association of comrades like Kropotkin, Tscharkoffsky, Tscherkesoff, and others, together with the study of the lights and shadows of the English Anarchistic movement, overbalance the disagreeable features one meets with on a tour *hampered by obstacles of all kinds*.

I cannot close my short review of my tour without mentioning the kind and energetic assistance rendered me by comrades H. M. Kelly and A. Davies, both known to the comrades in America through Solidarity, The Rebel, Free Society and Freedom. These two, themselves "foreigners" in England, like a faithful mate of a shipwrecked crew, are in a quiet and unassuming manner keeping the movement alive in London.

It is a rather singular feature that both in England and America the energetic workers are foreigners, yet such is the case. Not that our ideas have failed to gain ground among the natives of either country, nay, on the contrary: the number of English Anarchists in London, for instance, is very large but it seems the Anglo-Saxon character lacks that power of devotion and enthusiasm which forces one on and on, almost against oneself, to break the chains and to fearlessly climb over all obstacles; because of that one cannot but appreciate such workers as Kelly and Davies, and a few others, so much more.

Exceptional conditions produce exceptional characters, so I have not yet lost hopes that some day England and America may furnish us with a Kropotkin, Tscharkoffsky, Tscherkesoff, Perovskaya, Angiolillo, Caserio and other such wonderful men and women; indeed the beginning has been made in America by the appearance of a Parsons.

The comrades in Paris and elsewhere are busily engaged in preparing for our congress, but why has so very little been heard from the comrades in America? Is it because the congress, when first proposed, was lightly treated by a few Anarchists, who either for personal reasons or because of lack of knowledge about the movement, have expressed themselves against the congress, and have denounced it as useless? If this be the case, I advise you to read Comrade Kropotkin's article carefully, and I am sure any prejudices you may have hitherto entertained on the subject, will vanish.

Of course, neither the organizers of the congress, Comrade Kropotkin, nor I believe that it will bring about a reconstruction in society, or a revolution in the methods of propaganda; but we do believe that there is not a better opportunity to let the world see that the Anarchists are very much alive, than the congress to be held during the congress to be held during the Exhibition in Paris, at a time when organized thieves, robbers, and legal and illegal prostitutes, will squander the sweat and blood-stained products of millions of workers. Or can you tell me of a more opportune occasion to send out a joint cry of protest against Church-sanctioned and State-legalized murder and exploitation? A protest against all forms of tyranny, not only in the ranks of the enemy, but even in those of so-called reformers, Socialists, nay, even Anarchists? I hardly think you can name one. And here I must not forget to mention the main object of importance of

Continued on page 2.

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Address all Communications and make all Money Orders payable to FREE SOCIETY, 1322 Clinton Park, San Francisco, Calif. For visitors 927 Market St. Centro car.

Anarchy:—A social theory which regards the union of order with the absence of all direct government of man by man as the political ideal; absolute individual liberty.—Century Dictionary.

NOTE AND COMMENT.

We cannot all agree as to every point in our doctrines; especially are we likely to disagree as to the best methods of propaganda. Honest differences of opinion should be respected, and when one comrade differs from others in regard to tactics, etc., it is not necessary, nor is it fair, to publicly question his integrity, or to intimate that he is a hypocrite or a coward. As I said before, I do not value newspaper controversy unless it is upon fundamental principles, and I shall not again reply to the personal reflections of Streit and other critics.

* * *

The reports that the pockets of Sipido were filled with Anarchist literature when he was arrested, have given to the capitalist press another excuse to rave about Anarchy and Anarchists. The tenor of all the articles which have come under my notice is that the teachings of Anarchy lead to murder. Not one of these well paid scribblers seems capable of tracing effects to causes, or of crediting the attempt on the life of the prince of Wales to the wholesale murders of the nation of which he is a leading representative. Anarchy teaches that war is murder, and this highly sensitive, emotional, fifty-balanced boy, fired with this idea, did exactly what might have been expected he would do. The teachings of Anarchy do not always find lodgment in well balanced brains, but we shall not cease spreading them for that reason. In his ignorance (for which he was not responsible) Sipido probably imagined that the prince was directly to blame for the war in Africa, and knowing no better than to strike, he struck where he thought the blow would tell the surest. Taking all the circumstances into consideration this was the act of a revolutionist, not of a would-be common murderer.

* * *

A flowery, yet strong article by William J. Bryan, written for the San Francisco Examiner, on "The Man With the Hoe" has found its way to my desk. Bryan's condemnation of monopoly, of corruption and abuse of power is powerful; what a pity he cannot see the real source of these evils. But that he does not is evident from these words:

> Give justice to every creature—justice in the methods of government, justice in the distribution of the burden of government, justice in the making of the laws, justice in the interpretation of the laws, justice in the execution of the laws—justice first and charity afterward.

This is not the language of the demagogue or the self-seeker, but of a man who truly wishes the betterment of his fellows, while but dimly conscious of the remedy for their ills. To have a "good" government, not to abolish government altogether, is Mr. Bryan's ideal. But as Burke declared: "The thing, the thing itself is the evil," and I fear that Bryan's ideal would prove but a will-o'-the-wisp even if it were possible for him to have his way.

* * *

I think I correctly gauge comrade Victor E. Southworth's sentiments and feelings when I say that he is not looking for and has not expected a call to enter the lecture field in behalf of the Anarchist propaganda. Comrade Southworth is independent enough to do his chosen work in the manner which best appeals to his idea of the fitness of things. When he feels that he can do more good by taking the lecture field than he is now doing by addressing his Sunday morning audiences in this city, I have no doubt that "the Lord will provide" a way. Meantime those of us who are getting the benefit of his Sunday meetings are selfish enough to want to keep him where he is. As to his fitness to represent the Anarchist movement, those who think "Southworth is too young in the movement and not well enough grounded in the philosophy" would surely be better qualified to give an intelligent opinion if they would take the trouble to come and hear him. Merely reading an occasional lecture published in Free Society or Discontent gives but a very

Here is a man who for many reasons is entitled to the respect and the earnest support of all radicals, and especially of those who live where they can hear and know him. He has left the church and voluntarily given up a fat position in the pulpit. He has become an Anarchist and taken an early opportunity of publicly declaring himself. Because he would not be untrue to his awakened convictions, he has suffered, both in himself and in his family, almost every kind of persecution and privation. He accepts with cheerfulness poverty and the ostracism of his former friends. Sunday after Sunday he eloquently pours forth his heartfelt convictions of right and duty. He unsparingly denounces every form of injustice. He holds up liberty as man's highest ideal. Surely for these reasons we should do for this man all that lies in our power. But Comrade Southworth is not only an agitator, a devoted propagandist, a consistent Anarchist. He is an individualist, and not the less so because he upholds free Communism as the ultimate highest form of society. He is an ardent lover (I had almost said worshiper) of Whitman, of Emerson, of Thoreau. He teaches the purest, the most enlightened individualism and egoism. His hatred of the State is only equaled by his confidence in the integrity of mankind. For these additional reasons our comrade is entitled to, and should receive, the highest consideration of every individualist, and especially of the individualists of this city. I am sorry to say that with one or two exceptions they have persistently absented themselves from his meetings. This, of course, they have a right to do, but they are hardly justified in sneering at him behind his back or publicly questioning his ability to represent our movement until they know him. Comrade Southworth may not thank me for this interference in his behalf, and I am sure the Denver "plumbliners" will not, but under the circumstances I deemed it necessary.

W. Holmes.

* * * * *

ACROSS THE CONTINENT.

IV.

PITTSBURG TO CHICAGO.

It is with good reason that Pittsburg is called "the smoky city." A dense pall o' thick smoke, from a multitude of immense chimneys, hangs constantly over the city. Much of the time, the sun is completely eclipsed; and the city enveloped in gloom for days at a time. The soot, continually settling on hands and face, requires hourly washings, to secure even partial cleanliness. Whatever may be the effect on the inhabitants, the stranger is subject to a feeling of intense depression, which only disappears as he becomes thoroughly acclimated. It seems impossible to draw a free breath. The result in my case was to stretch me on a sickbed for a day or two, immediately after my arrival.

Nevertheless, Pittsburg contains much that is beautiful and desirable. Its natural scenery is attractive in the extreme, in spite of the monstrous disfigurements of commercialism. There are many splendid buildings in the city. Nowhere, however, is there a more startling and cruel contrast between the extremes of wealth and poverty. The parasites are housed in magnificent palaces; while the wretched hovels, that shelter thousands of the workers, in and near Pittsburg, are miserable and repulsive beyond the power of description. This is one of the cities in which the wrath of an aroused proletariat will some day be a terrible thing to face.

The Anarchist movement has had many ups and downs in Pittsburg. It is one of the storm centres from which much is heard in every time of crisis. The comrades are earnest and aggressive; though there is a general apathy at present among the public at large.

I spoke twice in Pittsburg, and once each in the mining towns of Bessee and Bessee Vista. The attendance was not large at any of the meetings; but I trust some good was done. The Pittsburg Leader, with a fairness unusual among daily newspapers, interviewed me, and printed the result without the slightest misrepresentation. It also gave a column report of my lectures, which was really remarkable in its justice and accuracy.

My headquarters in this city was the home of comrade Harry Gordon, whose address is 707 Wylie Ave. He is extremely enthusiastic for the propaganda. Among the friends I enjoyed meeting in Pittsburg, was Theresa Hughes, the author of "Hilda's Home." She is a true-hearted, whole-souled champion of liberty in every phase of life.

In Allegheny, just across the river from Pittsburg, is the Western Penitentiary, where our comrade, Alexander Berkman, is suffering an unjust and cruel imprisonment. Nothing cheers him so much as letters from comrades. All who can do so, are especially urged to send an occasional word of greeting to Comrade Berkman, addressing him simply as above. This is a real service that any comrade can perform with little trouble. I could not see our comrade, owing to tyrannical prison regulations, which are made to apply to him alone, to shut away from him every friendly face.

After leaving Pittsburg, I made a brief stop in Cincinnati, where I was booked for a lecture before the Ohio Liberal Society. This was well attended, and well received. Considerable lively discussion followed the address, showing that the members were doing some good thinking on social questions. Among the comrades I met in Cincinnati, was H. Wagner, 2283 Loth St., an active and effective worker. This was my second visit to Cincinnati, which does not impress me with an individuality different from that of many other cities.

But I must proceed to Chicago. I reached there December 1, being put down for a visit of four weeks. Comrade N. H. Burmin met me at the train, and welcomed me to the great city. And what a city! As everybody either lives in Chicago, has visited it, or intends to visit it, I shall try to limit my account of the city as much as possible. But I could fill pages with the description, if I expressed all that is in my mind. The first impression is one of immensity. More than any other city, it appears inconceivably gigantic. This impression is never lost, however long one may live in Chicago. Everything here is on a large scale. It is the scene of continual activity, combining all the energies of other cities. Stay in Chicago long enough, and the whole world will come to you. Natural scenery apart, Chicago can reproduce all the characteristics of all parts of the continent. It is the one place to see *everything*. Its supremacy as the unchallenged centre of American commercialism is rapidly becoming established. With equal certainty, it seems marked out as the great centre for radical propaganda, the principal storm centre in the day of revolution, and the foremost centre of reconstructive activities when the triumph of liberty shall have been secured. In all times of crisis, all eyes naturally turn to Chicago. There our martyrs lie; and there their avengers will arise. There labor has fought some of its greatest battles; and there educational propaganda will yet do its greatest work.

My stopping place in Chicago was with Albert H. Verrall, 2208 N. Robey Ave., a cordial friend of all libertarian work. Finding much that was sympathetic in our views and natures, I enjoyed my visit at his hospitable home most intensely. J. F. Monroe, Jr.

* * * * *

OBSERVATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS.

Concluded from page 1.

the congress, namely, that the last tie of relations between parliamentarian Socialism was broken at the congress in London in 1896, and that from now on we must as much fight the narrowness, discipline and intolerance of parliamentarian Socialists as any other form of invasion and despotism, and show the workers that those who even without blushing rejoice over the success of one of their than as comrade of the murderer of 20,000 Communards,—Galliffet—have no claim to be the representatives of the workers' cause.

It is an undisputable fact that our movement in America and Europe is not what it ought to and could be, but for the lack of co-operation and solidarity, and our enemies, including the leaders of the Socialist parties, have ever made use of this fact in attempting to show that "Anarchy is dead," and those Anarchists who are alive "work in obscurity." While they have willfully misrepresented us, it remains true that the majority of comrades in England, America and Germany seldom come to the front. I only refer you to a number of German groups, composed of Anarchists, wasting their time in singing and beer drinking, (I have no objection to either, if coupled with serious work), and discussing their next door neighbor; or some of our American parlor meetings, frequented by a number of middle-class people who have not the courage to be known as Anarchists; or some comrades who waste the precious space of our papers with the discussion of spooks and ghosts, Anarchist judges and jurors, or the consistency of prostituting oneself in politics, which only tends to harm the movement instead of helping to lift the veil of ignorance from the eyes of the worker.

You may contend that we can protest against existing evils through our papers and public meetings; so we can, and do, but of what importance is it compared with an opportunity like that offered us in Paris? In

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the first place, our papers are read mostly by the comrades themselves, and our lectures reach only those who happen to attend meetings, the daily press either reporting nothing, or misrepresenting our speakers in the most shameless manner. I do not undervalue such methods of propaganda; yet I claim that by these methods we reach but the few and not the many, whereas bodies of men and women assembled in a congress have always been recognised by the press. It will be so with the coming Anarchist congress. The very fact that this is to be the first Anarchist congress since 1872; that for the first time since then, men and women from different parts of the world bring tidings of international solidarity, deep love of liberty and hatred of tyranny, openly and fearlessly discuss the philosophy of Anarchy, and ways and means of a speedy spread of their ideas, and all this almost next door to the arena where international parasites celebrate one of their last orgies and dance a cancan upon the decayed pillars of a rotten society, would be of such grandeur, such importance that it could not pass unnoticed.

But there is still another reason why the comrades in America should take part in the congress. Since I have been in Europe, and especially in Paris, I have been dismayed to find how little is known of, or how little interest is shown here regarding the movement in America. This is due to the fact that very few French people know any language beside their own, and that very little is written about America in the French papers; unfortunately this is also the case in Italy, Austria, Germany and Holland. Now, in the face of the growth of imperialism, militarism and despotism, can we stand such lack of solidarity and unity? Can we hope to accomplish more in the future than we have in the past, unless we really become international, not only in theory, but also in practice? The congress is to serve as a medium of putting the comrades into communication with each other, and of suggesting ways and means of carrying on propaganda work co-operatively, and last but not least, to acquaint the comrades of all countries with the movements of each respective country.

The comrades in England and elsewhere have already formed groups for the purpose of raising funds to send delegates, and prepare reports and suggestions for the congress. What are the comrades in America about? Surely they are not going be silent and inactive in such a grave and important matter?

Permit me to make a few suggestions; first of all, a subscription should be opened to help make the congress a success, amounts temporarily to be sent to Free Society. I hereby contribute $5 to the same to make a start. With a little effort and the assistance of our Jewish comrades, we can raise enough to send an American delegate. The Bohemian and Italian comrades will also send delegates. We have a few able and competent Americans who could represent our cause, (I say cause and not comrades, because I wish to avoid misunderstanding). There is, for instance, Borland, who has not been heard of much of late, yet who understands the movement and Anarchist-Communism thoroughly. There is Comrade Edelman, known as an able worker for years, who may be well enough to go to Paris. There is Comrade Cooper, certainly one of our most intellectual writers, and there is Voltairine de Cleyre, a fearless and brilliant exponent of Anarchism. Of course, Addis objects to her as a lecturer, claiming that she opposes Communism, yet that is a mistake; she does not oppose Communism "because she favors Individualism," but rather because she wants to be known as an Anarchist without a tag. That ought not to influence any one. She may not be so well posted on Communism as Addis, but she has the advantage of having a clean past—I mean in regard to her devotion and faithfulness to the cause, and her hatred for politics and politicians. I venture to say that she would rather do scrubbing than make common cause with politicians, a quality which Addis seems to value very little. She may not know as much of economics as some of our other workers, but, as she says herself, she is all right in the philosophy of Anarchy, and certainly perfectly competent to represent the Anarchistic movement of America.

Of course I have suggested these comrades merely because I think them the fittest as delegates. I have [illegible] their consent, leaving it for you to [illegible] if you know. At any [illegible] myself will gladly submit any of your suggestions or wishes to the congress, but the groups should send us credentials for that purpose. I should like to recommend Harry Kelly to your attention as he is an American. I shall be there at all events. But I beg you to leave nothing undone to raise the necessary means for a delegate directly to be sent from America, as Harry Kelley has been away for two years.

Paris, France. EMMA GOLDMAN.
140 rue Mouffetard, care of Les Temps Nouveaux.

* * * * *

IMPRESSED BY BOER TACTICS.

I am impressed with the military tactics of the Boers. They have no organization, no drill-masters, no authoritarian officers, and their fighting abilities show conclusively the superiority of Anarchist methods over the commonly accepted governmental ideal of well drilled, disciplined troops who have no will of their own, but depend entirely on the whims and notions of their commanders; if they see fit to sacrifice their men, all the latter can do is to obey and be slaughtered like so many sheep. The Boers spontaneously resolved to defend their country and have thus kept at bay the numerous armies of British hirelings. The Revolutionists of all countries may do well to study these tactics a little for future use.

Here is greeting to you and your valiant men, "Oom Paul." The sympathies of the liberty-loving men and women are with you in this fight against the international capitalistic bloodhounds. You have won fame eternal; you and Joubert, Cronje, Botha and the host of unknown men and women will mark the few shining spots in the history of the mass of servile subjection. Miltiades, who fought on the plains of Marathon the Choreonese hords, Spartacus who headed the slave insurrection in the Roman empire, Arnold von Winkelried who gathered the Austrian spears in his breast to save independent Switzerland, and the numerous men and women who with Patrick Henry had only the choice between liberty and death, are your peers. We sorrow with you in the death of Joubert, in the defeat and surrender of Cronje, and we hope with you that you may drive your oppressors into the sea.

Oom Paul, the rebels salute you! C. DOERING.

* * * * *

IN FAVOR OF PURITANISM.

"Authoritarian! Puritanical!" This is the garb in which Henry Addis ventures forth in an attempt to slay the "bogy" of consistency. But the "bogy" is not to be scared out of the way by an apparition so transparent. Because some refuse to accept swindlers, rapists, brutes, brothel-keepers, tiger-mothers, soldiers, politicians, judges (hangmen), juries, lawyers, and other parasites in the movement generally, Addis has stamped them as "Puritans." The most fitting reply would be "You 're another." If it is Puritanism to oppose the vermin inside, surely it is Puritanism to oppose the vermin outside the movement; yet no one has come forward to defend the above named class of those who are not Anarchists. But if it is Puritanical to oppose parasites who label themselves Anarchists, as well as parasites generally, by all means let us have a revival of Puritanism. An odious name will not scare those who have had one so long already.

Henry Addis says: "Every one must decide for himself where one is to toe the mark." Precisely; but when he decides to toe it on my back, I am a party to the business, and have a voice. That he reverently folds his hands and says it is for my benefit, and he is sorry for the necessity, etc., does not lighten the burden, but tends to aggravate it. And William Holmes says: "The radical who follows such 'methods and practice' with a *single* view of strengthening the Anarchist movement is nevertheless consistent along this line, and is worthy of our highest regards." If such a radical exists (which is quite a large "*if*") under certain conditions this might apply, but I would like to see such an Anarchist. Comrade Holmes should remember that we do not enter wage slavery or the professions to strengthen the Anarchist movement, but to make a livelihood, and neither did Cohen claim he was doing more for liberty since he had become a lawyer, simply contenting himself with abusing our good-natured S. D. The question remains: Is a man justified in living on his fellow man, even though he calls himself an Anarchist? And I do not see how a brothel-keeper, a lawyer, a judge or politician can be made to be anything but a parasite by any stretch of logic. Working in itself is not against Anarchist principles, but it is the supporting of judges, juries, lawyers, politicians, brothelkeepers, etc., that makes it un-Anarchistic, because of the degrading condition this entails upon the worker. The worker must foot all the bills, whether Addis puts a "levy" (!) on the enemy or not.

Undoubtedly the gist of the inconsistency argument, as has been said, is that we cannot entirely live up to our ideal. The logic necessary to justify upon these grounds the "Anarchist" brothelkeepers, etc., is that if one is compelled to step ankle-deep into the filth of society he might as well go in up to his waist. If this is good logic, then why stop at the waist? Why not take it all in, just so whoever perpetrated any base deed declared that he was doing it for a noble object? What is the matter with shaking hands with William McKinley, who declares that his wanton course is in the cause of liberty and humanity? And with Judge Gary, who simply wanted "justice" done to the "people" of Illinois? Or with Grinnell and Bonfield, and the rest of the whole gang, who worked for "justice and peace"? If an Anarchist is justified in living on the toil of his fellow creatures, though professedly declaring against the present society, so are those who, being essentially parasites, hypocritically profess they are "working in the interests of humanity" or for the "glory of God"! And what is the use of Anarchism as a philosophy if those who profess to teach it have only words and not deeds with an adjective only to distinguish them from other parasites?

Henry Addis says martyrdom is a relic of the past, and has no part in the Anarchist philosophy. "One who dies or suffers for any object or cause" is a martyr, and to say that men no longer suffer for a cause now is one of the absurdest statements I have ever read. It has not yet passed out of the memory of man when five men *died* for our cause—the Anarchist cause. They were "religious fanatics," no doubt! "Relics of the *past*!" Does he know that now, while these words are being written, men are dying for liberty, *martyrs* to her cause? No doubt Wm. Holmes and Henry Addis look with disgust on the brave Boers and Filipinos for carrying on a "policy of open, deliberate warfare against the powers that be," because it entails what Addis would call "self-sacrifice." If the Boers had not "antagonised" the English there would have been no martyrdom, no "self-sacrifice," and Chamberlain, Rhodes, et al. would have been allowed to decide for themselves where to "toe the mark." Unfortunately the Boers were not cunning enough to see the advantage of such inconsistency, as it takes a politician to be able to serve two masters. And what about Peter Kropotkin? He also sacrificed his large estates, his position at the Russian court, and prefers to cast his lot with the toilers and to work for his living. Was he one of those "religious fanatics" who in "blind faith" hope to "gain a golden crown"? How much would Kropotkin have accomplished if he had prostituted his intellect and individuality by not antagonising the Russian government?

The time has not yet come when men are at liberty to act according to their opinions without coming into conflict with the powers that be, nor is it likely to come if men are to uphold the State in deed, and fight it with words only. But I do not wish to impose a "self-sacrifice" on Addis at all; but we will not advance without it—that is all I claim. Do Addis and Holmes think we shall come into Anarchy on a rose-scattered road, meeting no opposition from the powers that be?

Henry Addis would do well to read "Anarchist Morality" again, also his own writings. Says Kropotkin: "To struggle, to look danger in the face, to jump into the water that we may save, not a human being only, but even a cat; to live on dry bread in order to put an end to iniquities that revolt us; to feel ourselves in harmony with such as are worthy of love; to feel ourselves loved by them; this for a weak philosopher perhaps means self-sacrifice. But for the man or woman filled with energy, force, vigor and youth it is the conscious joy of life."

On the jury question I could not do better than to quote Henry Addis: "If you really want Anarchy, refuse to uphold the State. Decline to run for or hold office. Refuse to do jury duty, and in every way practicable weaken the powers of the State." Again: "To support government is to aid tyranny. To become a part of it is to join hands with organised murder. Political action is for the ignorant, the deluded and the knave."

Wm. Holmes can now turn me over to the "tender mercies of Benj. R. Tucker," but I care nothing for the latter's mercies; even if I cared all the world for them, I should not fear the result. Tucker does not mince matters; he calls a spade a spade, and he also called one of his foremost associates a prostitute.

LUCY PARSONS, Jr.

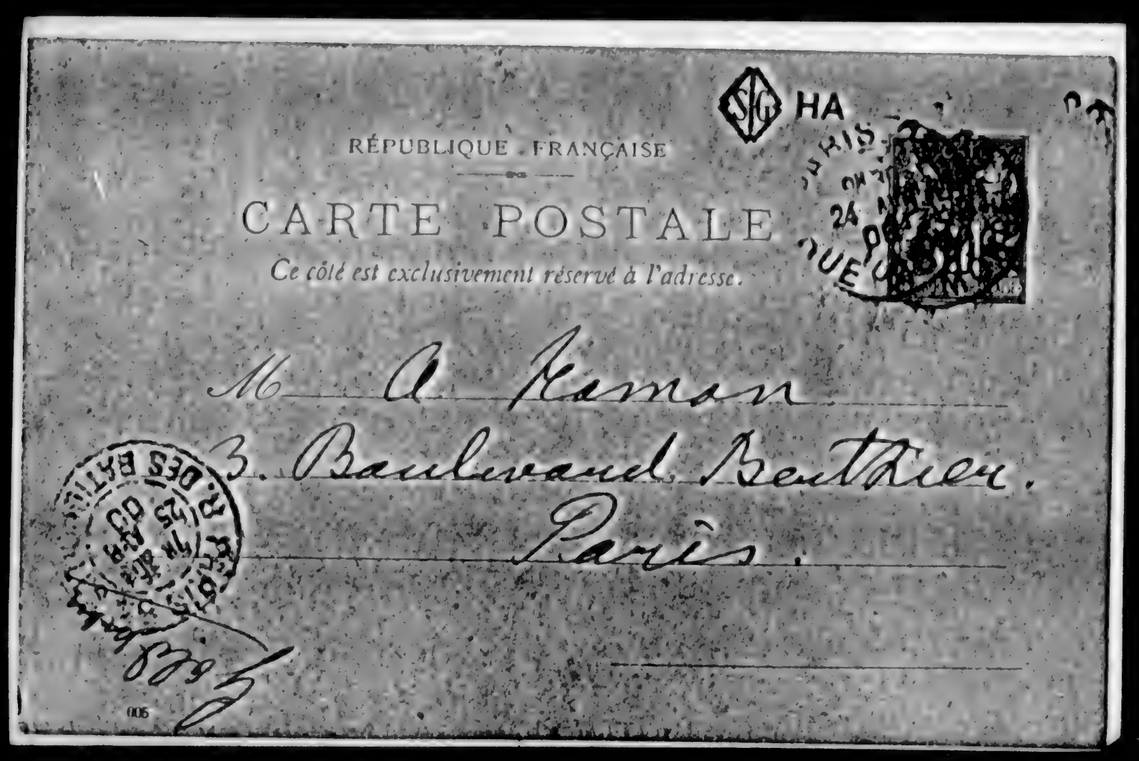
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard, 19]00 April 24, Paris [to] A[ugustin] Hamon, Paris / E[mma] G[oldman].— 2 p. ; 15 × 15 cm.

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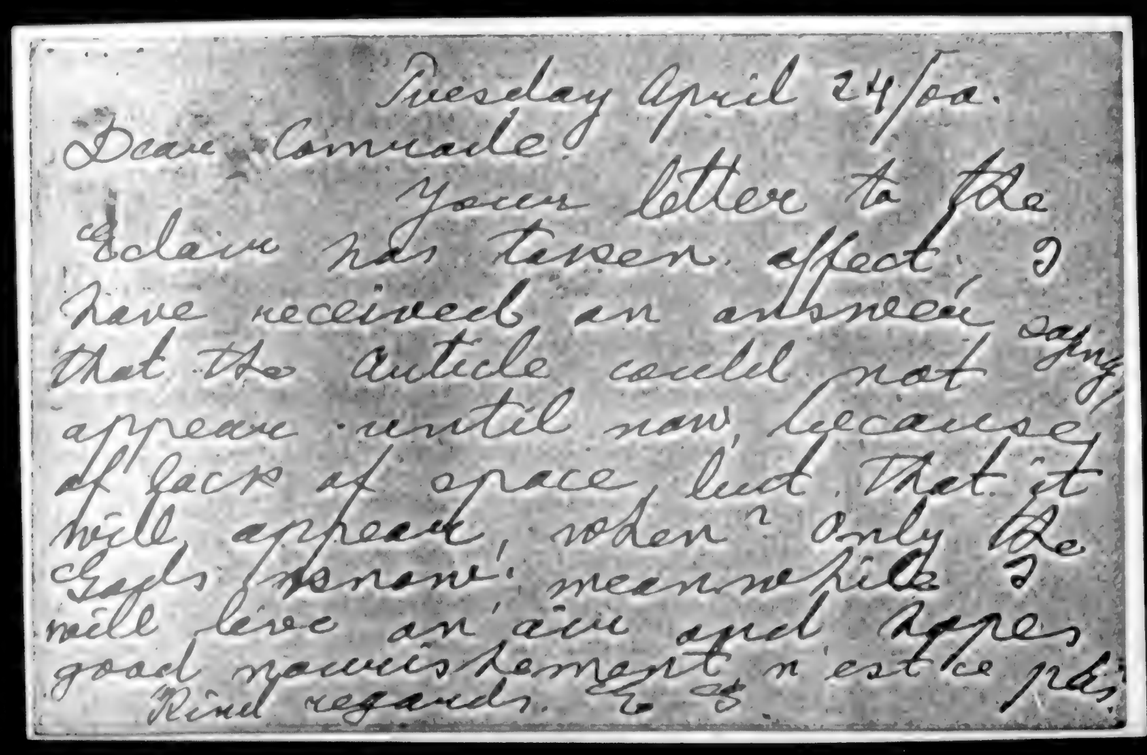


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Tuesday April 24/00.

Dear Comrade

Your letter to the Eclair has taken effect. I have received an answer saying that the article could not appear until now, because of lack of space, but that it will appear, when only the Gods know; meanwhile I will leave an aim and appreciation remain n'est ce pas?

Kind regards. E G.

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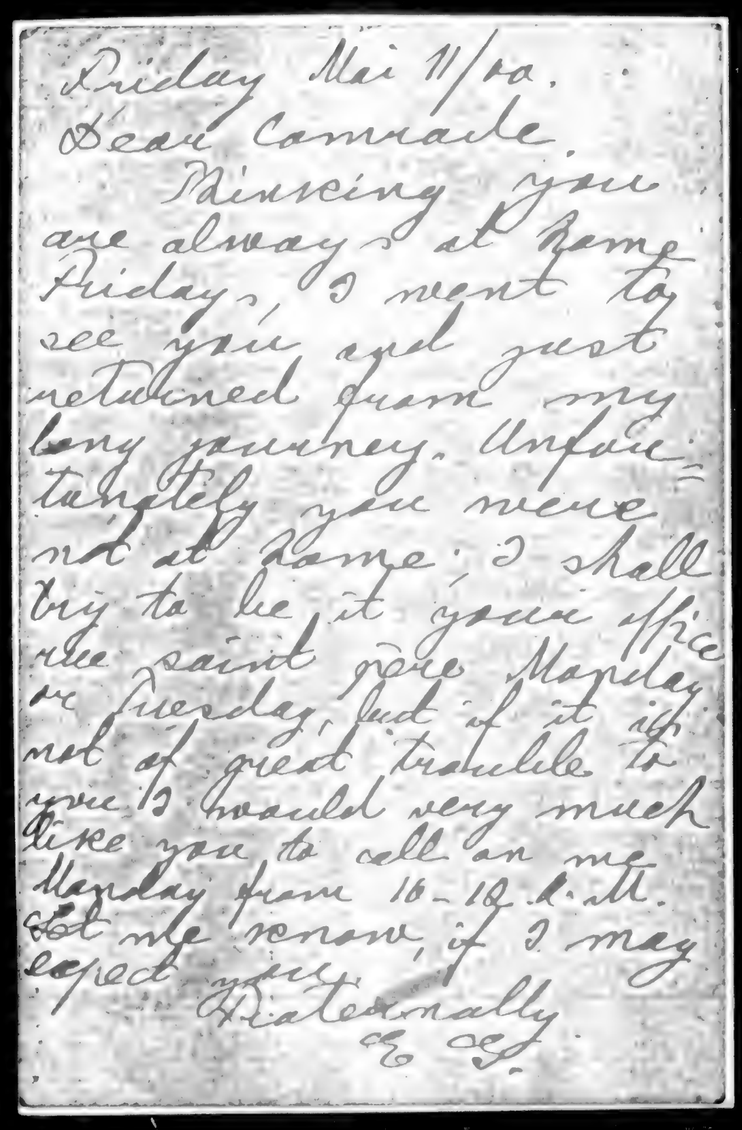


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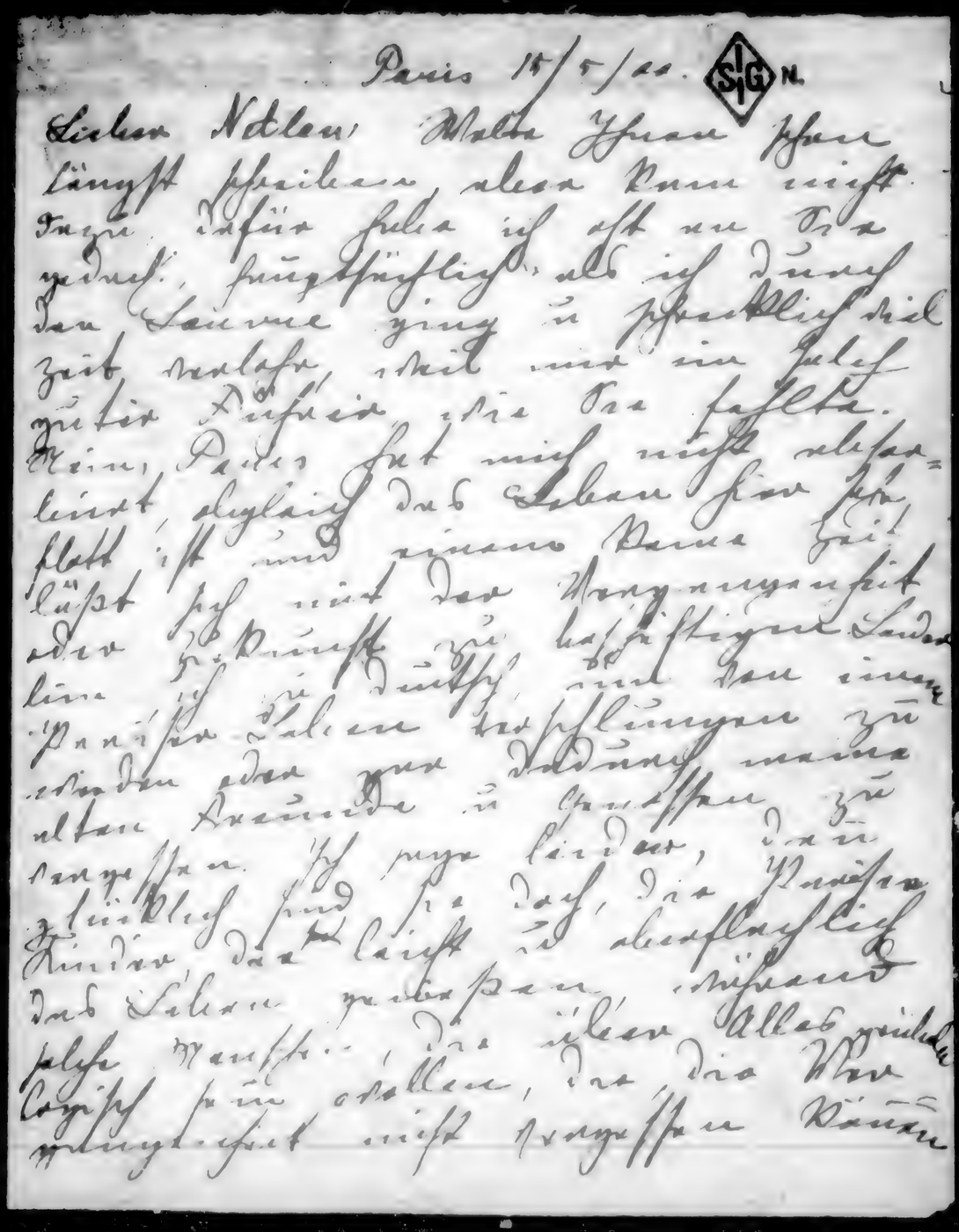
Friday Mai 11/00.
Dear Comrade.
Knowing you
are always at home
Fridays, I went to
see you & just
returned from my
long journey. Unfor-
tunately you were
not at home. I shall
try to be it your office
the saint part Monday
or Tuesday, but if it is
not of great trouble to
you, I would very much
like you to call on me
Monday from 10-12 a.m.
Let me renew, if I may
expect you,
Fraternally
E G

890126034

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]00 May 15, Paris [to Max] Nettlau, [Munich] / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 5 p. ; 18 × 28 cm.

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Paris 15/5/00. IISG N.

Lieber Nettlau! Welche Freude Ihnen
längst schreiben, allein kann nicht
sagen. Dafür habe ich oft an Sie
gedacht, sympathisch, als ich durch
den Saarne ging u. speziell viel
Zeit verlebte, weil mir ein sehr
guter Aufsatz, wie Sie sagten.
Mein Paris hat mich nicht allzu-
sehr, abgesehen davon dass Leben sehr teu-
er ist und einem Manches fäl
lästig ist mit der Unzugänglichkeit
oder Schwierigkeit, sich lästigen Leuten
loszumachen, mit den einem
gleichen Leben sympathisieren zu
können oder zu dürfen, mit den meinen
alten Freunden zusammen zu
sein. Ich gehe wieder, denn
Kinder sind sie doch, die Menschen
das Leben geniessen, während
falsche Moralisten, die allen Alles gründ
lich verekeln, es die Menschheit nicht geniessen lassen

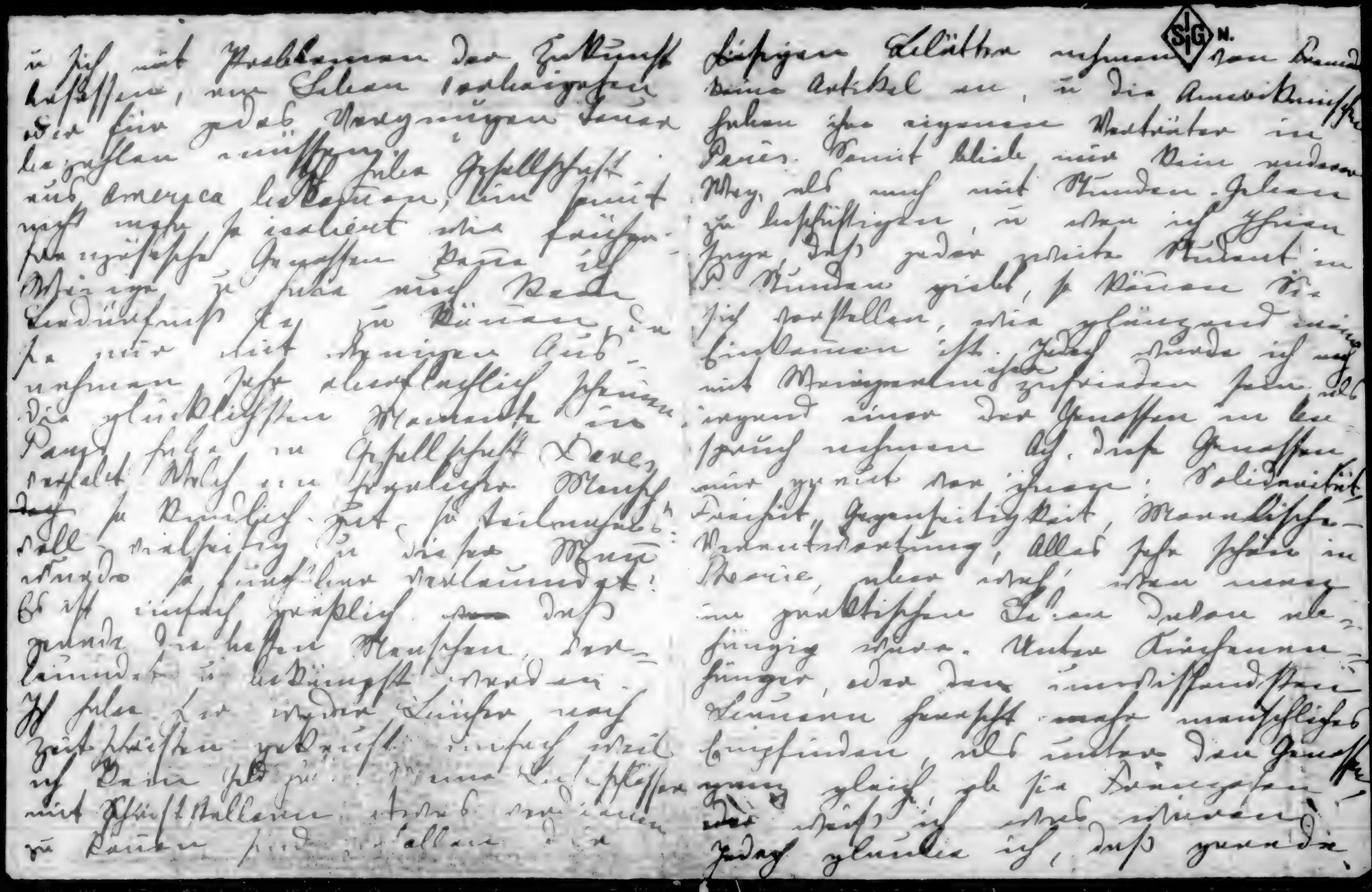
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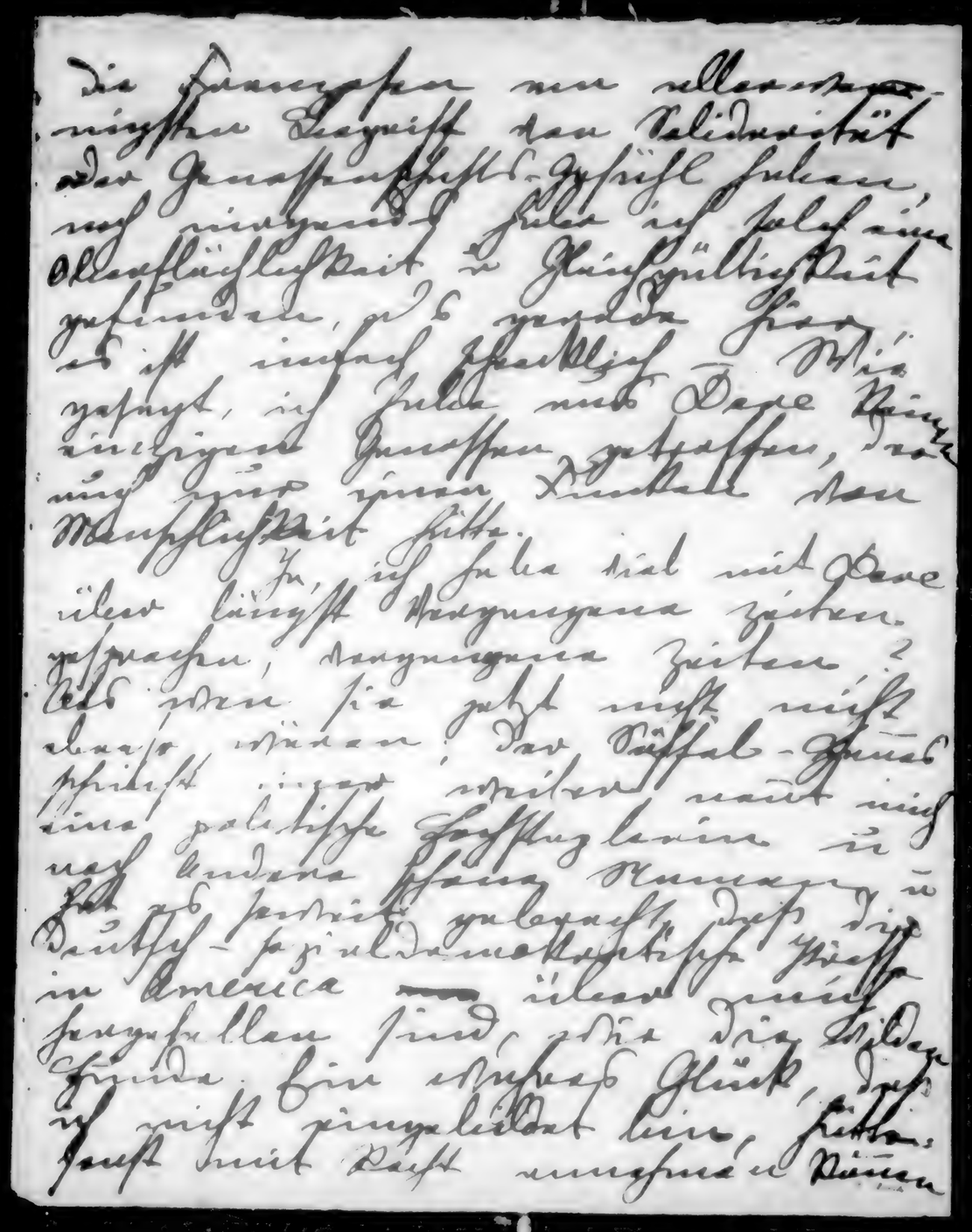
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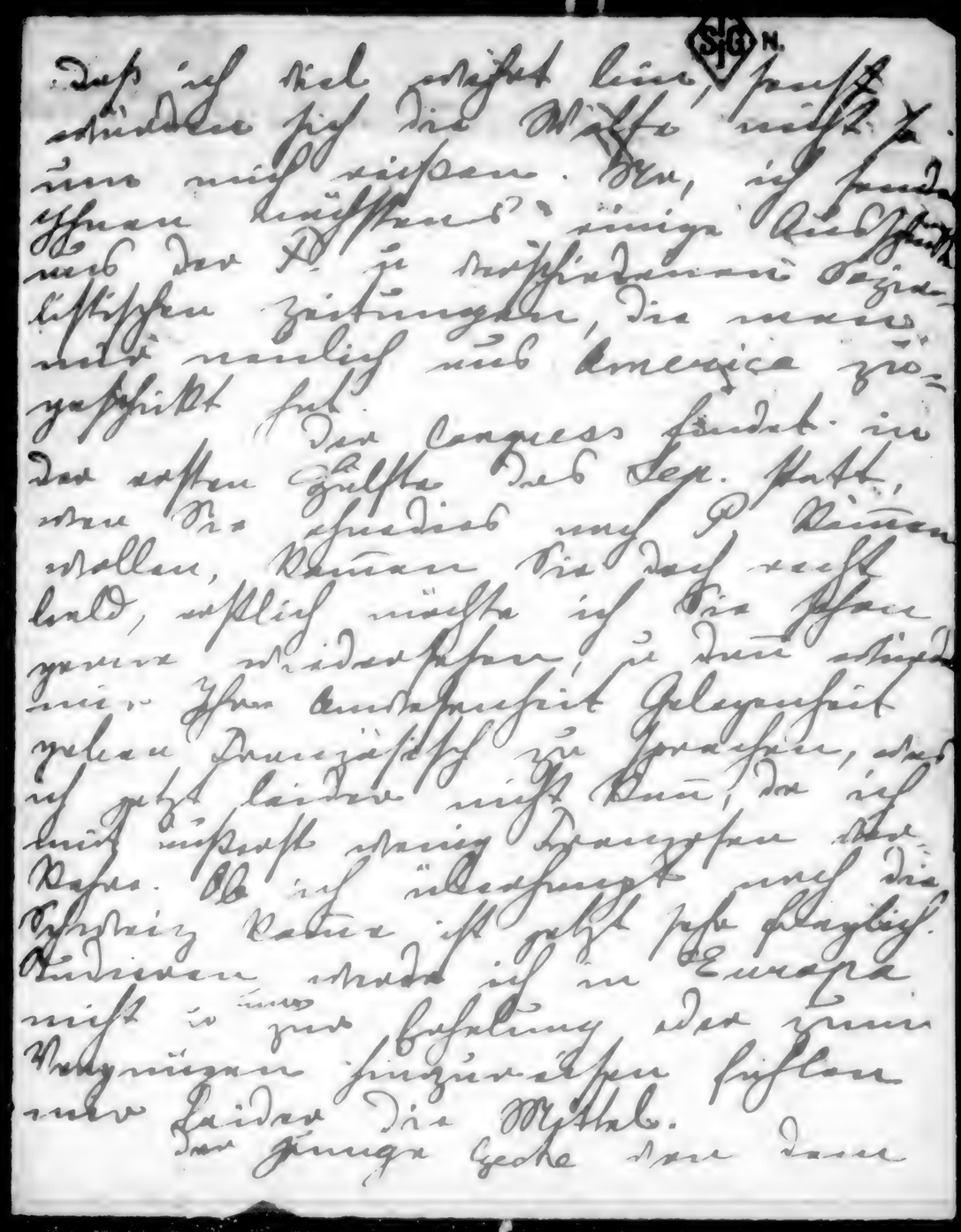
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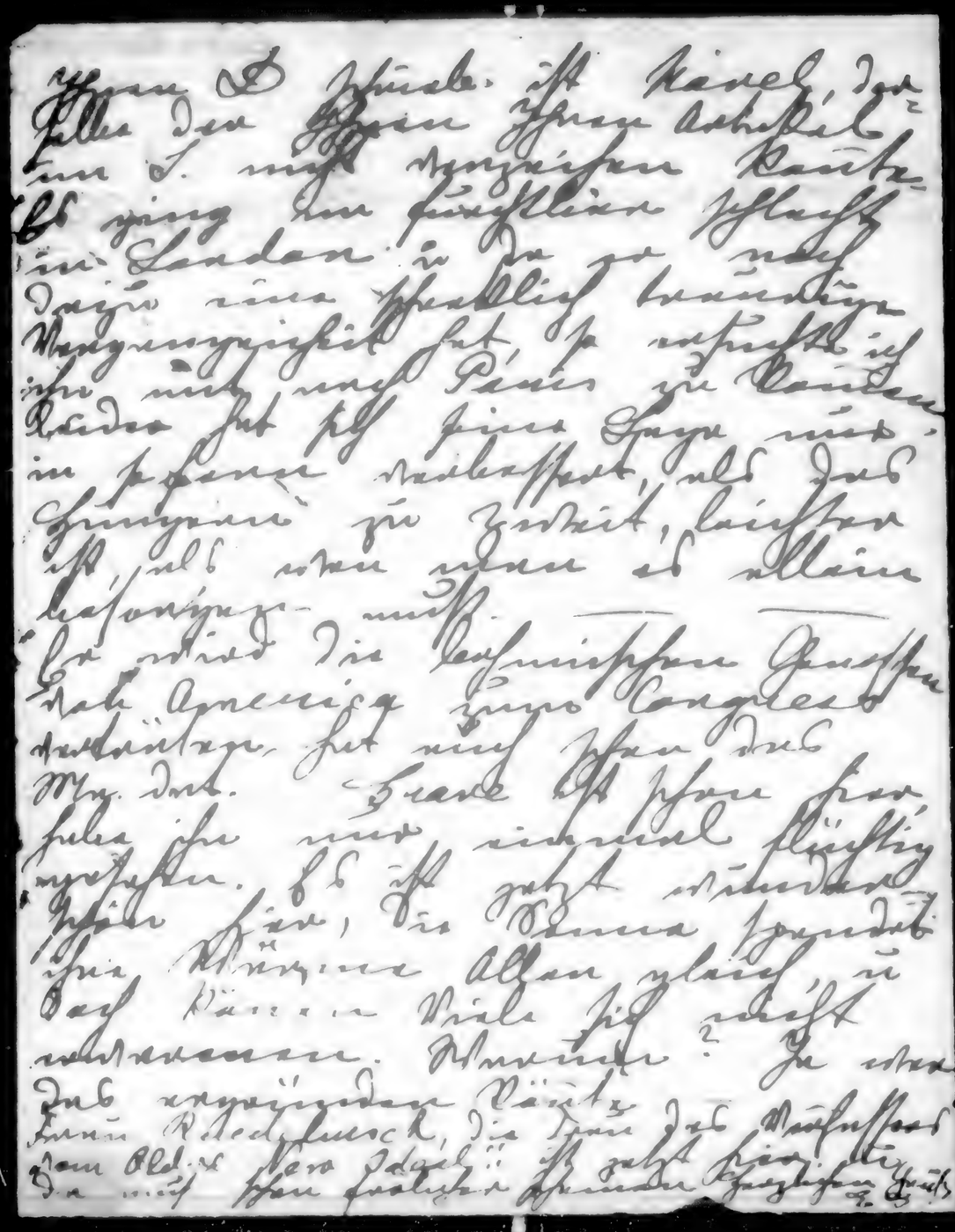
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[Letter, 19]00 May 15, Paris [to Max] Nettlau, [Munich] / E[mma] G[oldman].— 5 p. ; 18 × 28 cm.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope, 19]00 May 17, Paris [to] M[ax] Nettlau, Munich / E[mma Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 8 × 13 cm.

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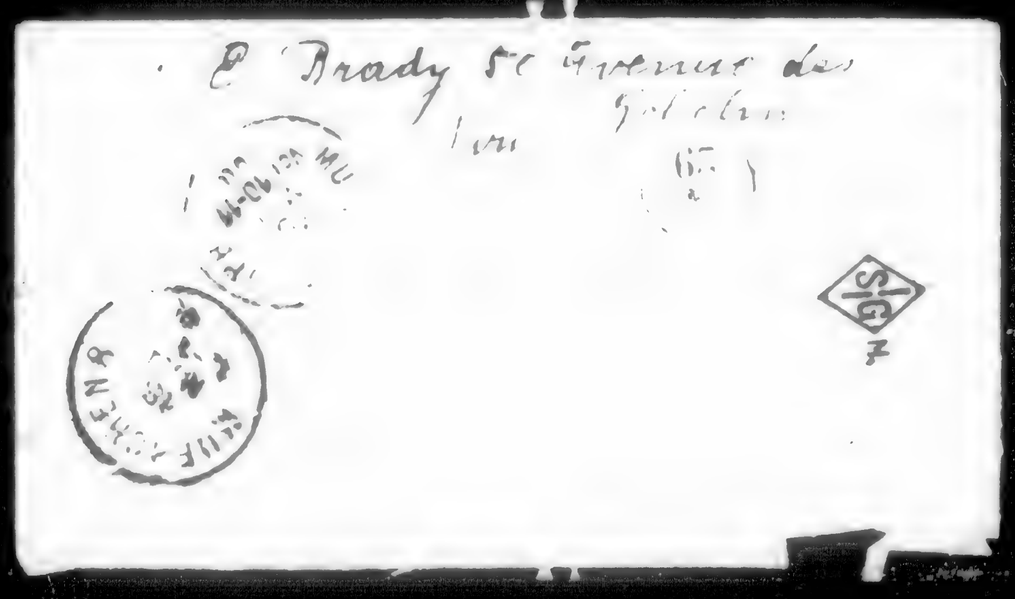


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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1900] July 10, Paris [to] Free Society, [San Francisco] / Emma Goldman.— 1 p. ; 35 × 27 cm.

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The number printed on the wrapper of your paper shows that your subscription has been paid up to that number.

A LETTER FROM EMMA GOLDMAN.

Dear Comrades —I see that friend H. M. Kelly and A. D. (I have been "forbidden" to write the full name) have refuted my statement, in my report, that they are the leading spirits of the London movement, if one can speak of a movement in London at all, at the present time. Knowing how extremely modest both of our comrades are, I knew that they would object to my statement; although Kelly admits and has repeatedly told me that Miss D. was the worker, while Miss D. has admitted the same about Kelly. Now, I admit that modesty is a virtue; well it were if we had more of it; but there is certainly such a thing as being too virtuous, which is positively unhealthy; and friends D. and Kelly are just in that state, when they will not admit of a fact which is admitted by every one who knows what they are in the propaganda field. When I said that D. and K. are the leading spirits of the movement, I did not mean to undervalue either Comrade Cantwell, Marsh, Tcherkesoff or Legatte (by the way, I only saw the latter once; and while I was in London four months, never heard anything of his activity, by which I do not mean to say that he is necessarily inactive); I only meant by it, that D. and Kelly are pushing, proposing the plans, when anything is to be done; and that they are the ones who carry everything to the finish, from the organising of a social to a Commune demonstration, or the issuing of a manifesto. True, Miss D. is not a speaker; but what of that? I have long come to the conclusion that it is not through speaking we will ever change conditions; and that those who arrange things, who work quietly, who are ever ready to comfort, to cheer, to urge on, to dissuade, have done more for the cause than speeches or speech making. Both D. and K. have done all this toward me and others; and therefore I can only repeat, that if it were not for them, to urge the others on, very little indeed would be heard of Anarchy in London now.

Kelly refers to Comrade Kropotkin's work. Now, what Kropotkin has done is not what D. and K. are doing now; he is one whose work cannot be compared with the work of any one else; he has laid the cornerstone of modern Anarchistic ideas all over the world, and particularly in England; and yet with all his power and great genius, I venture to say that he has made more Anarchists among those who have had the pleasure to meet him, with his kindness and nobleness than with his books. This I do not say because of flattery for the man of letters; but because of admiration for the man with the big, pure heart and the simplicity of a child. In this, and not in talking like the importance of one's work, (at least I think so) in this, too, lies the importance of the part both D. and K. play in London at the present time. Now, my dear Comrade D., and Harry—old chaps, you can go on protesting all you like.

I shall soon be in a position to send in a report of our movement in Paris; but I can already tell you that the date of our Congress has been fixed for the 19th of September. The time is short, comrades; and if you wish to send suggestions or contributions, do it now.

Fraternally,

Paris, July 10. Emma Goldman.

Contentment is the corner of society.

NEW MEXICO AND THE PHILIPPINES.

The Rutland Herald says:

We are not likely to have as much trouble with the native population of the Philippines as with our anti-expansionists; but the latter we certainly can take care of. They start out with a proposition which history does not warrant. They are wrong when they say that the United States did not acquire the Philippines because the people of those islands did not acquiesce in the cession, and that Spain alone could not convey the islands to us. It would be an exceedingly inconvenient theory for any nation to accept, and particularly so for the United States. The people of the great region we acquired from Mexico were not only not consulted, but they offered a strenuous resistance to annexation, particularly in New Mexico. In that territory the people made a determined effort to re-establish Mexican rule. One of the turned-down pages of American history relates to the summary way in which courtsmartial dealt with those who had broken their oath of allegiance to the United States. Logically if we are not in lawful possession of the Philippines through our not obtaining the acquiescence of their people to the cession, we are not in lawful possession of New Mexico, California and their dependencies, and must give them up.

All right, Mr. Herald. Put it on record; and let it be known—that's all we ask from any paper. It would be a good thing if some one could write up that secret history. The turned-down pages of history ought to be turned up again; nobody is suffering from too much light on the facts. What made them turn this one down, anyhow? Was it because those who wrote American history were proud of it? Is America now making a bit of history that future historians will want to turn down, in this Philippine business which you say is so like that turned-down page?

But I wonder whether this Philippine war will really be made more popular, by comparing it to the Mexican war. At the beginning of that war, Abraham Lincoln, then a member of Congress, introduced in Congress a resolution intimating that the war was intentionally provoked by the United States government. I wonder if there was then any Senator Spooner to say:

"Nobody but an 'anti-imperialist,' who by his words and actions desired the dishonor of his country and the making of campaign material in a presidential year, could have so little of good faith as to make the brutal charge against the president of the United States that he had been responsible for the precipitation of hostilities."

During the Mexican war, James Russell Lowell wrote the original Bigelow Papers to satirize that war as both criminal and ridiculous. And General U. S. Grant, who fought in the Mexican war as a lieutenant, wrote of it in his old age, in his Personal Memoirs, that it was "one of the most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation." So, if the Herald insists that Uncle Sam is acting as honestly now as he did then, there may be anti-imperialists who will not care to deny it.

All the above facts are commended to the attention of those who hint that no man can be respectable, if he says that the government of his country is playing the part of a bully and a scoundrel, in some international affair.

Steven T. Byington.

Sherburne, Vt.

CHURCH.

Ha! Ha! Emperor William III of Germany is an ingenuous humorist. To his troops departing for China: "Go forth! Spare none; kill no prisoners; conduct yourselves so that no Chinaman will dare to insult a German for the next thousand years!" There were 4 000 of the German troops. There are 400,000,000 Chinese. It's simply horrible to punish a whole nation in such a blood-thirsty speech. Och! Meinesilnf unt Gott!—Advance.

Senator Hoar has written another first class letter—for a *statesman*. But statesmen can't be real genuine men long at a time. They will call the government's action in the Philippines "a crime," and then turn right round and vote for the criminal. Such is life:—mixed with politics.—Rockland Independent.

We presume that if the stars and stripes happens to be carried ashore in China, while the "boys in blue are rescuing the missionaries," and looking after things in general, we will of necessity, claim the "slice" shadowed by the flag. It would be un-McKinley-like to take it away with the missionaries.—The People's Republic.

To insure McKinley's election, Hanna will not have the result declared till after the returns come in from London, Liverpool and other outlying republican precincts.—Pittsburg Kansan.

Mr. Astor, it is said, has taken offence at his exclusion from English society, and will return to the United States and become naturalized over here again. This is all right for Great Britain, but has Mr. Astor thought of what he is imposing on this country?—Freemen's Labor Journal.

In view of various things just now, the resemblance between the American eagle and the dove of peace is less than ever.—National Advance.

Government is man's apology to Nature for his failure to comprehend simple truths.—Farm and Factory.

A man's own conscience is his sole tribunal and he should care no more for that phantom "opinion" than he should fear meeting a ghost if he cross the churchyard at dark.—Lytton.

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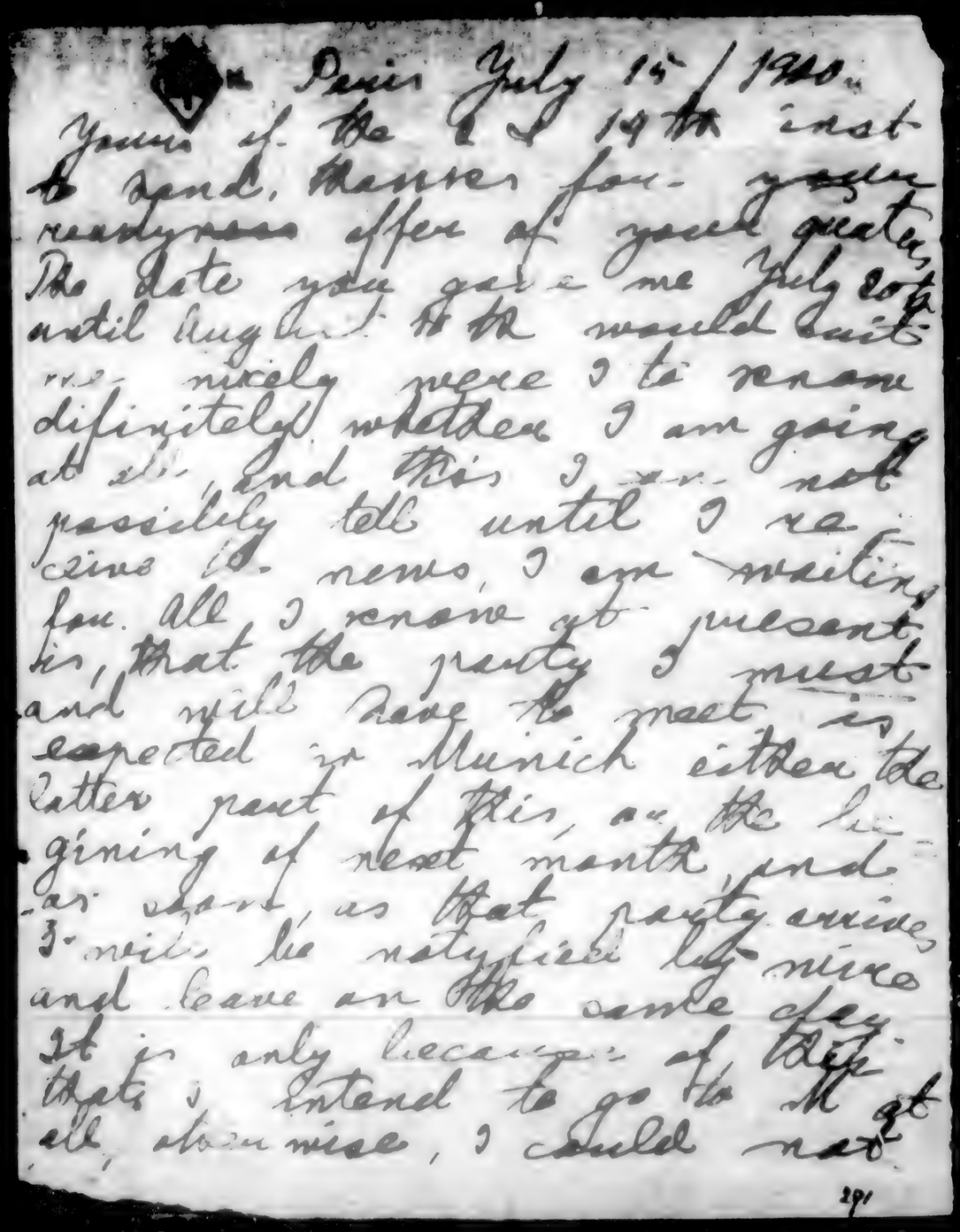
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The Emma Goldman Papers

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Paris July 15 / 1900.

Yours of the 12 14th inst to hand. Thanks for your readyness offer of your quarters. The date you gave me July 20th until August 1st would suit me nicely were I to remain definitely, whether I am going at all. And this I am not possibly able until I receive the news, I am waiting for. All I know at present is, that the party I must and will have the next is expected in Munich either the latter part of this, or the beginning of next month, and as soon as that party arrives I will be notified by wire and leave on the same day. It is only because of this that I intend to go to M at all, otherwise, I could not

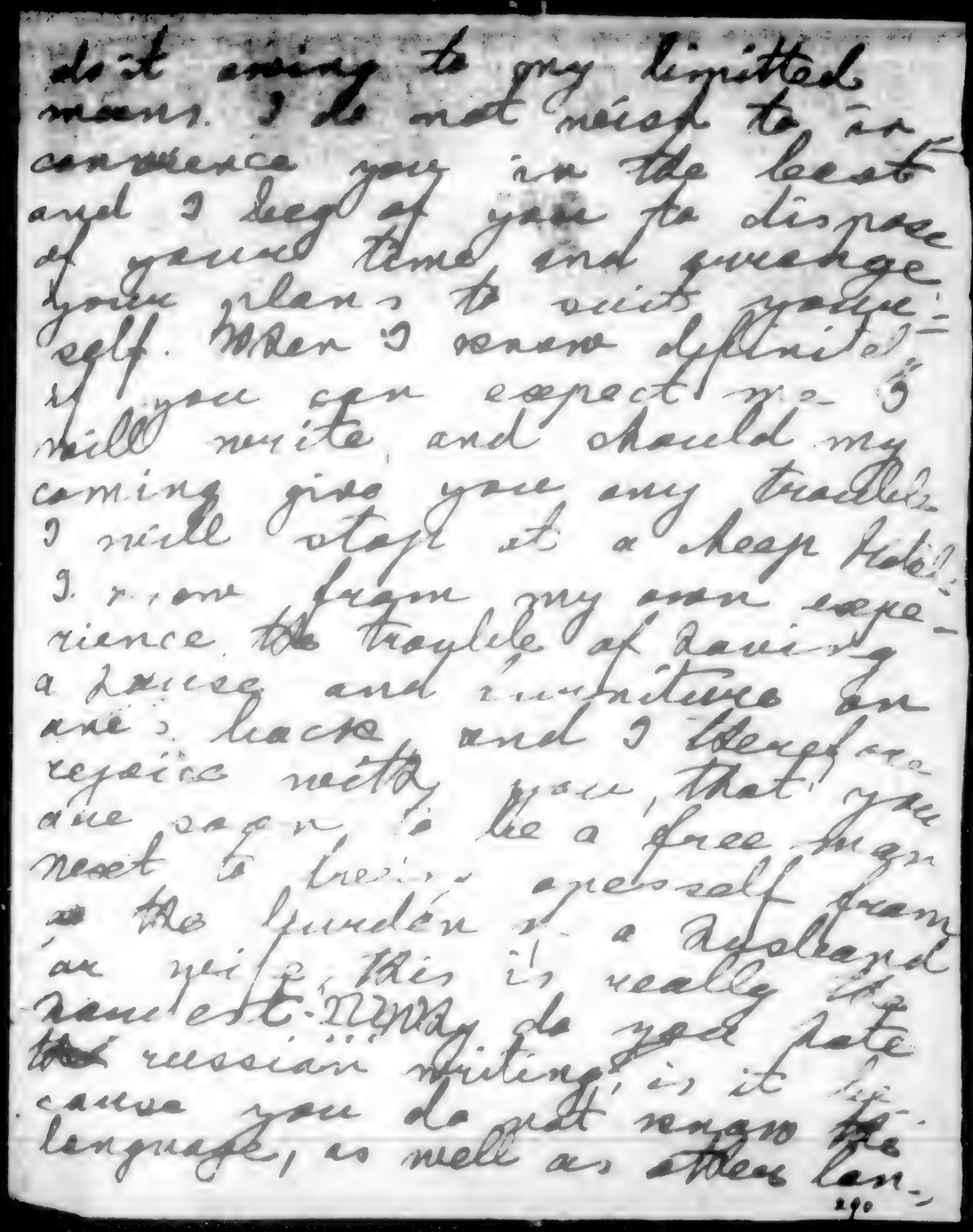
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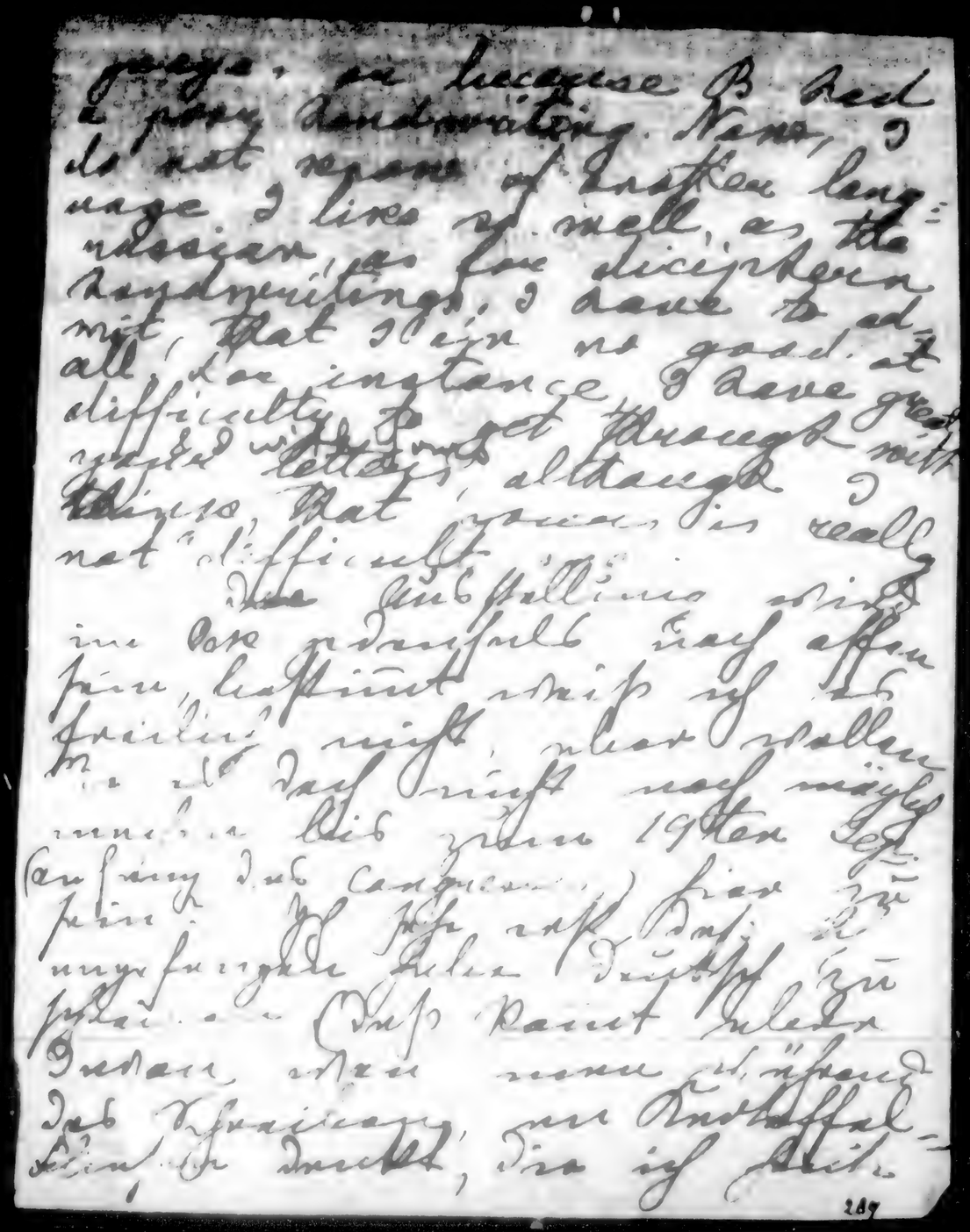
do it owing to my limitted
means. I do not wish to in-
convenience you in the least
and I beg of you to dispose
of your time and exchange
your plans to suit yourself.
When I receive definite
if you can expect me I
will write, and should my
coming give you any trouble
I will stop at a cheap hotel.
I prefer from my own experi-
ence the trouble of having
a lodging and furniture on
one's back, and I therefore re-
joice with you, that you
are again to be a free man
next to the... yourself from
an evil. This is really the
handiest Russian dictionary
Russian writing, is it be-
cause you do not read the
language, as well as other lan-

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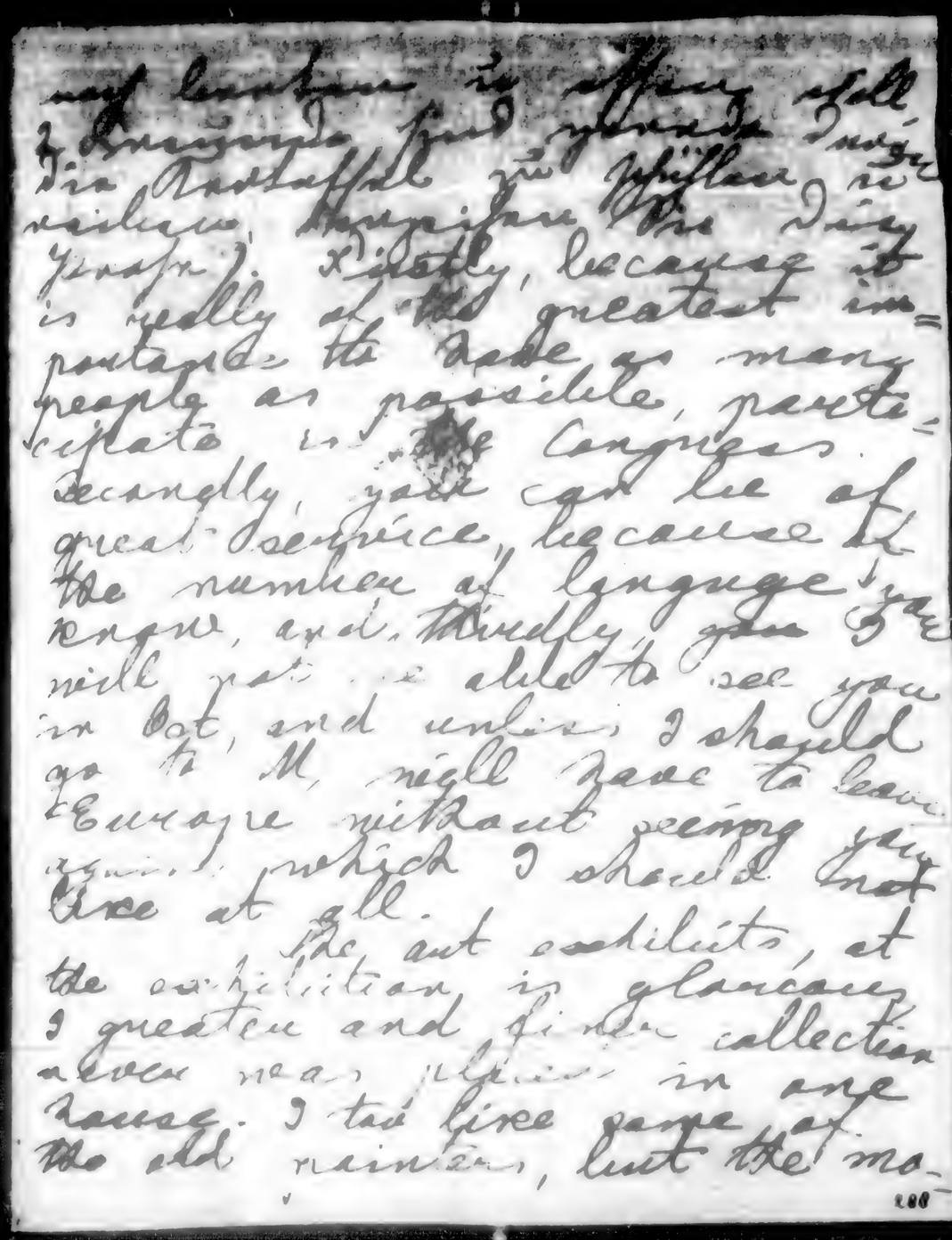
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dear only representative of the revolution appeals to me more because it has preserved life in every phase. As you say, one getting pessimistic with such a small circle of it yes, at least, I am not the only one, who has lost faith in our so called Comrades, men like B. are known but once in a century, and such women, maybe never yet there is no hope for the future, unless such men will turn up. I had again an opportunity to see how insignificant we are at the Fête Nationale and the military display, how can we ever hope to accomplish anything with such a spiritless disciplinised mass of soldiers, and with a land full of oppressed, disharmonique society, who takes big meals, but

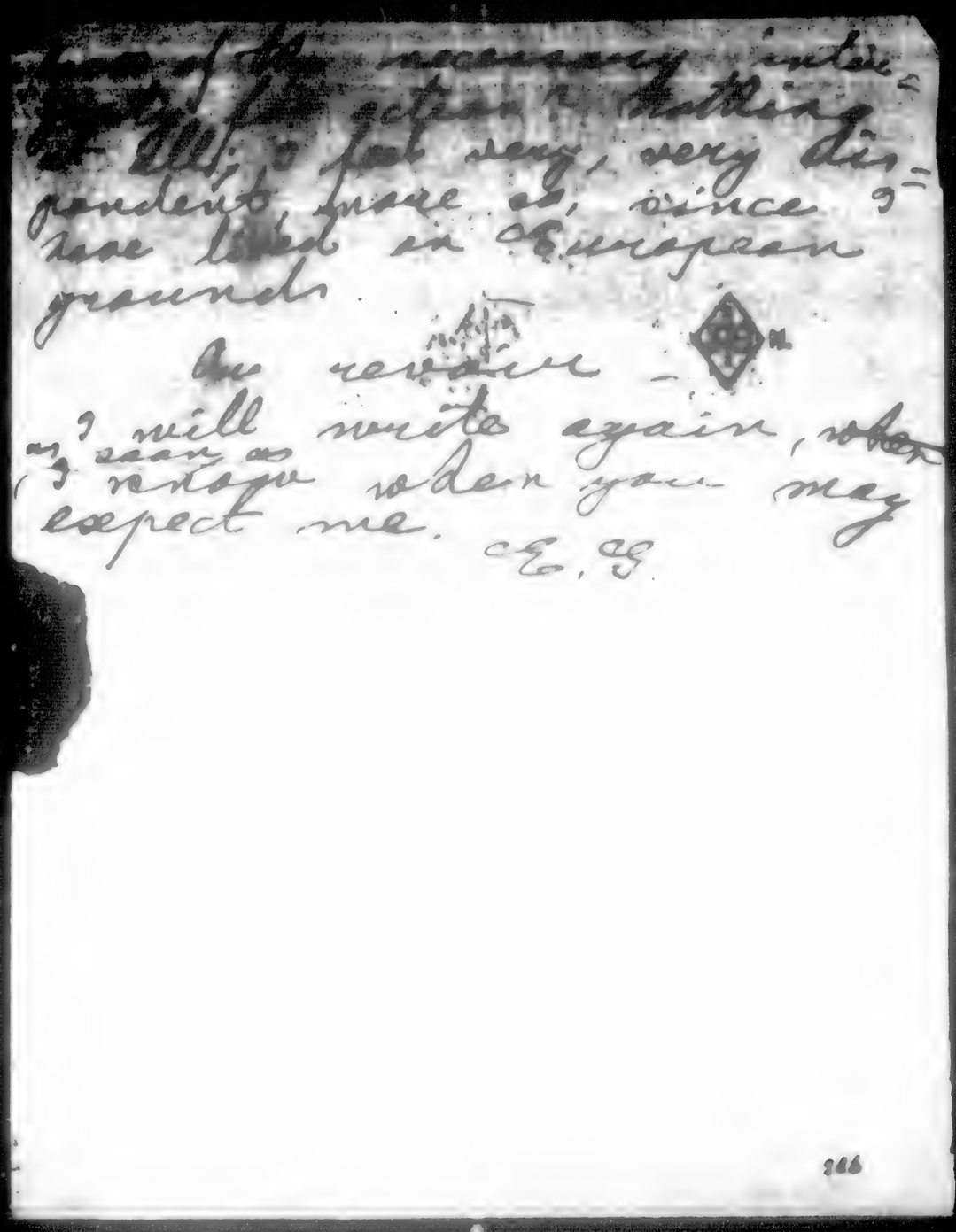
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of the necessary intelligence to act in a matter requiring prudence & judgement. I feel very, very dependent, since I have left my European grounds.

Au revoir — ◆

as I will write again, when as soon as I retape when you may expect me.

E. G.

246

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158

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An Exponent of Anarchist-Communism: Holding that Equality of Opportunity alone Constitutes Liberty; that to the Access of, Monopoly Price and Competition Cannot Exist; and that Communism is an Inevitable Consequence

VOL. VI. NO. 49 SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SUNDAY, OCTOBER 21, 1900. WHOLE NO. 289

ON THE FALL OF BONAPARTE.

I hated thee, fallen Tyrant! I did groan
To think that a most unambitious slave,
Like thou, should dance and revel on the grave
Of Liberty. Thou mightst have built thy throne
Where it had stood even now: thou didst prefer
A frail and bloody pomp, which Time has swept
In fragments toward oblivion. Massacre,
For this, I prayed, would on thy sleep have crept,
Treason and Slavery, Rapine, Fear, and Lust,
And stifled thee their minister. I know
Too late, since thou and France are in the dust,
That Virtue owns a more eternal foe
Than Force. Fraud: old Custom, Legal Crime,
And bloody Faith, the foulest birth of Time.

—Percy Bysshe Shelley

THE PARIS CONGRESS.

Comrades and Friends:—The greatest enemies of improvement and progress will agree with me that the modern means of communication have done the world a lot of good; of course we must also take into the bargain the evil that some improvements carry with them. This is especially true of the cable system, which carries news as quick as lightning from one part of the globe to the other. It was already on the 19th inst. that the comrades of America were startled by the news of the suppression of our Congress; and only weeks later will they find out how and by whom it was done, as well as all other details. However, I hardly think that the suppression was much of a surprise to any people; rather would it have been surprising, if Congress were not interfered with. A German proverb says: "It is unwise to mention rope in the house of one just hanged." So we may well say about all in any way connected with the system of robbery and despotism. Just mention the word Anarchy; and terror seizes everyone, from the throne to the commonest policeman, from the multimillionaire down to the lowest shopkeeper living on the sweat of the people. Is it because they really think that every Anarchist is a bombthrower, or necessarily carries a dagger in his belt? Oh, no, they know better; they know too well that the majority of Anarchists by temperament detest bloodshed in every form. The real reason for the dread of all organized tyranny toward Anarchy, lies in the fact that Anarchism undermines the system of power maintained by each and every means, no matter at what cost; and therefore it must not be allowed to spread. "What fools these mortals be!" Here the champions of authority go on suppressing the growth of Anarchy, persecuting Anarchists, and in all their glorious idiocy failing to see that thereby they are doing more to provoke interest in the ideas they are so anxious to kill, than the ablest man in our movement.

That an Anarchist Congress was called at all, is really due to our naivete, to our child-like belief that some governments are better than others; that if our gatherings are suppressed in Germany, Italy, Spain, and Russia, they surely must be permitted in France, the country of which every wall reechoed with the cry "a la Bastille," "a bas le roi," "vive la Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite," "ni Dieu, ni Maitre," etc; that it would be allowed in Paris, the city of revolution, the history of which has been written with the blood of its people, the sons and daughters of which have stood on the barricades, days, nights, weeks, fighting and dying for Liberty; the city which holds out a warning to all crowned heads, in the Place de la Concorde, upon which Louis XVI and the beautiful Marie Antoinette were beheaded; the city which has built a monument on the site of the once hideous Bastille, to the memory of Camille Desmoulins, and the innumerable unknown who threw down the black walls in which France's greatest sons lay buried for life; Paris, that can boast of a Montmartre, upon which the sons of the Commune bathed in the light of the setting sun, that is nowhere seen so beautiful as here, in all their grand and noble zeal, fought the last battle for Liberty; Paris, with its Pere la Chaise and the wall of the federals killed there by the whiskey and absinthe brutalized soldiers of Thiers and Galliffet, buried in one hole, and even now after thirty years kept alive by wreaths of flowers, ribbons and inscriptions of all those whose hearts throb for Freedom; Paris, whose boys and girls from fifteen to sixteen years up to snowhaired men and women, vibrate with the memory of the past and the hope of the future; Paris, whose children have given the world all that human skill, ability, and genius can produce, gathered in the Exhibition; and last but not least, Paris, the only city that is ruled by a "radical" government and a Socialistic minister.

Surely in this city, in which thousands of people from all over the world hold counsel with each other, we, the Anarchists, could come together and peacefully discuss. That must have been the thought of the comrades who signed the first call for the Congress, and all those who helped to organize and make it a success. Poor naive Pouget, you who know, like no one else, how to reach the common people in their own tongue, and you Pelloutier, young genius that you are, with your success in organizing 300,000 men in a body to hold together and stand up for the principle of human independence, and you Domela Nieuwenhuis, with the Christ-like head, and the temperament of a child, loved and honored by all who know you, you who have raised your children as workingmen, although you have devoted your wealth to our cause, and all of you, who have worked for a year to make the Congress a success, you were wise enough to choose the Paris of the revolutionary spirit; but you were very unwise to forget the Socialistic ministry. Therefore you and I and all of us must stand the consequences.

The fact of the matter is, that no consequences of an unpleasant character have arisen. True, the Congress was prohibited; but what are prohibitions for, if not to be broken? And so the Congress took place, in spite of all and every order; on a smaller scale, that is true, but by no means less important. This will be seen by the results, of which some are already in print, and the others to follow.

The difference between a Socialistic and any other government is the hypocritical liberalism of the former, and the open despotism of the latter. Any other government would have suppressed our Congress in its embryo, or at least given some sign of its intent to suppress it; but the Socialistic ministry with "Comrade" Millerand at its head, who, in order to gain and keep his post, not only showed that he is just like his colleagues, but even worse than they, the same Millerand who has broken his promise as a Socialist by the very acceptance of the ministry, and who has proven a traitor to the cause of "class consciousness," at the shooting of the strikers at Martinique and Chalons sur Saone, and on many other occasions. Millerand and his ministry went the ordinary government one better. They let us go for a whole year; did not even watch over the arrangements carried on for seven months by the committee; waited until reports were sent from all parts of the world, all delegates were in Paris, and the last finishing touch given to the Congress, and the social arranged for the evening previous; and then came down with an order suppressing the Congress, and all meetings protesting against such infamy.

One must be blind not to see that the intention of Galliffet's partner was not so much to hurt Anarchism; for he is really too insignificant a figure to succeed in something in which the united despots have failed; but to prove to the French bourgeois, that they are really safer with a Socialistic ministry, than with one of their own.

As I have already said, no other government would have waited until the last moment, the more so, as it is absolutely against the French law to suppress a peaceful meeting openly held; but Millerand knew how to get over this difficulty. He simply searched out the "*lois scelerates*," issued in 1894, during the number of acts of violence committed; against all Anarchistic meetings and publications, setting them down as criminal. At that time, Jaures was deputy, and he was among the most vigorous opponents of such an infernal law. He since then helped Millerand to the ministry; and Millerand uses the same outrageous law his comrade and bosom friend opposed, as an excuse to suppress our Congress. Such are the ironies of life.

Tuesday morning the 18th inst. our secretary, Comrade Remy, was called to the prefecture de police, police headquarters; and there he was told, that neither the social nor the Congress could take place, by order of the ministry. (By the way, here it is not like in our own "free land," where every captain or policeman can stop a meeting; the police here do not enjoy such power, they only act upon the order of the ministry.)

Comrade Remy immediately notified all those comrades he could reach; and the others, unaware of the ukase, went to the social; and found the doors of the hall locked and the street blocked by police. We called a secret meeting for Wednesday afternoon, at which only a few could be present owing to the danger involved, and more to the lack of space, as we were to meet outside of Paris in a small room. Here, then, huddled together in a stuffy room, in danger of being surprised by government hirelings, but with a zeal which knows no fear, were a few men and women, who have given the best years of their life for the cause, some having undergone years of privation, imprisonment, persecution and want, old in years and experience, but young in heart and spirit, ever ready to continue the fight for final human emancipation. Here we decided to hold several secret meetings, in order to discuss a few subjects of the many on the program for the Congress. But one of the first decisions was to protest most vigorously against the suppression of our Congress. In accordance with this, several French comrades arranged two meetings for Thursday afternoon and evening, in a hall called Maison du Peuple; but when we got there, the street was blocked by police, and one comrade, Libertas, arrested and brutally taken to the station. In the evening, the same spectacle of force and brutality, an increased force of police and detectives, with hidden cameras behind the windows of the hall, to photograph all those who came to protest.

Here I cannot help giving you a funny incident. M. Sully Prudhomme, a member of the Academy, the house of the forty immortals, into which a Zola to refused admission, a reactionary and hater of all progress, was driven to the Maison du Peuple by curiosity, and photographed. Now his glorious image hangs in the rogues' gallery at the prefecture de police, along with the pictures of the bravest and noblest men of France. Undoubtedly M. Sully Prudhomme never dreamed of such an honor; and in the future he will surely take care not to give way to curiosity, which is rather out of place for a man, especially a member of the Academy de France.

While we had our secret meeting outside of Paris, one of the trade unions of our Congress, the Bronze Workers, called a meeting of their own to protest against the suppression; but their meeting, too, was stopped, and the crowd dispersed by force. They have since manifested their protest through large posters posted all through Paris, denouncing the government, and declaring their intention of continuing the work of education and enlightenment, until the last vestige of tyranny is gone.

Another manifesto, of which I send you a copy for translation, and signed by the best known comrades of Paris, was issued on Friday, September 21, and spread all over town. As I already said, the public Congress of the International Revolutionary Workers was suppressed. Instead of that, four sessions were held secretly, to the peace of mind of all governmental cowards. However, be it said that no dynamite was fabricated, nor dagger sharpened at those meetings. The Revolutionists gathered from all over the world had really more important work to do, and higher aims to achieve than the removal of the heads of a few rotten kings.

(Continued on Page Three.)

159

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to say, he has gone so far in his theory of non-resistance that the people in power do not fear him much, thinking his theories impossible of practice. But they have cause to fear the effect of his influence, because of the power he holds over the peasants of Russia. The poor look to him as their savior; and should he be imprisoned for standing up for justice, he would be more dangerous than now. An imprisoned or dead Tolstoi may exert more influence than a living one! We shall see.

To me Count Tolstoi is a prophet, and shows it by his life and words.

He is unique: born in a despotic government, he has become the most democratic man who ever lived; born where law is considered divine, he has renounced all governmental authority. Bred in the midst of luxury, and living with the nobility, he has disclaimed all titles and denied himself everything but the simplest food and clothing: born to be waited upon by servants at every turn, and to tyrannize at will, he has become the brother and fellow laborer with the peasant: born with a great genius for literary labors, and able to win the applause of those in high places, he devotes much of his time to manual labor, and writes simply that "the people" may be helped: born with an eye for beauty, he abandons all ostentation, and shares his wealth—with his peasants.

Today we are living in a new epoch. This is a time when the great social questions are becoming a living power in the thoughtful world. When man's relation to his fellow-man is of paramount importance—when the struggle between capital and labor, exploiter and exploited is becoming better understood; when earnest thinkers on economics have written their message, and have thrown light upon the causes of the evils and abuses of society.

In this age, appear Tolstoi, Kropotkin, Marx, Whitman, Morris, Henry George, Edward Bellamy, and many others of less fame. They all saw the existing evils and inconsistencies of civilized life. No one man can detect all causes or give an infallible remedy; but as all work together, the question is becoming simplified and plain.

The complex and inconsistent political economy of the conservative past, with its falsehoods and elaborate system, trying to prove black white, and selfishness the first law of society, is fast breaking away among those who investigate. Our theory of economics teaches that man is inherently a spiritual being, with noble impulses and unselfish propensities; that equity of opportunity is essential, in the name of justice, and private ownership of land or other property fatal to such equity; that men and women are brothers and sisters, and not ravening wolves threatening to devour one another; that man can be saved by the hidden light of his Godgiven nature, if opportunities are such as to give him a chance to grow naturally; that freedom from restraint, other tha the restraints of conscience, and labor, is necessary to perfect our individuality: that to have freedom, law becomes a hindrance to our highest expression of life: that education furnishes the means much more effectively, when not forced upon the individual, but when made an example and stimulus through right living and an appeal to the ideals and aspirations; that education is not to leave man or woman in ignorance concerning their natures, by keeping secret the laws and complexity of the sexual life—that education, freedom, and right ideals of love, can best remedy the awful sexual evils of society; and that cooperation, being the most economical way of regulating the material interests of society, does not necessarily mean a giving up our individuality, or trying to make of man a mere machine, forgetting that men are infinite in variety, and must not be moulded to suit the system of economics.

Tolstoi touches upon nearly all of these topics, and treats them in a thoroughly original way. He becomes an ascetic on the sex question; fails to see the train of events toward perfection, when he belittles art; and refuses to see the good coming out of some of our stumbling stones, such as machinery, monopoly and trusts, divorces, etc.

Nevertheless, he sees farther than any other man, and is the grandest and most unique character of modern times. He is living an upright and unselfish life, and working out the worst possible tangle of thought, brought about by the abuses of our so called Christian civilization.

He is using all of his mighty power to do away with selfishness, and legal tyranny and murder; and he is doing it by his life, and not alone by fine spun theories. Every day, by every act, and by every word, he is making a protest against selfishness and injustice, such as will effect the world in a way we can little dream of. The seen forces alone are powerful: what of the vast mass of unseen power that no man can weigh or measure?

Let us learn of him, even though he is not correct in all of his theories. Surely in the essential things he is right; for he teaches that the golden rule is necessary between man and man, nation and nation. Evil begets evil: love begets love, example begets example. This is a law in the spiritual realm.

MARTHA E. ELKINS.

• • • • •

THE MISSIONARIES—AND OPIUM.

I shall be better able to appreciate Mr. Byington's criticism about Tien-te, (not "on missionaries,") when "specifications are forthcoming." He is at liberty to consider that the "demand" for them exists. But he has given in advance a few, to which I will reply now. I several times cited other authorities than Williams, and therefore can by no possibility have "given the impression that my statements about Chinese matters are all from the same source." I "repeatedly" said, as Byington remarks, that I would cite no other—meaning what? Obviously, each time I said so, that Williams was enough for the topic then in hand. I don't believe I have attributed "expressly" to Williams, any statement, important or unimportant, which Williams did not make; but I wait for "specifications."

The "rather important fact" I denied by saying it was "unstated," is that the Chinese Christians at Thistlemount did not tolerate idolatry. It *is* unstated in Williams' account of Thistlemount, vol. II, ch. xxiv, p. 330. If any such statement can be incidentally found somewhere else, I shall still doubt it—not because such conduct would be at all unlike Christians generally; but because these particular Christians notoriously acted with idolatrous patriots, all through their heroic struggle for liberty, toleration, and a higher social state.

"The rather important" matter I denied by saying I had looked carefully through Williams and not found it, is a list of Protestant martyrs in China, outside the Taeping movement. I have looked again, and cannot find it yet. But I do not deny it may be there. I found the Catholic martyrs easily enough.

That the early Protestant missionaries to China were not all in the employ of the opium trade, I will be happy to believe, when Mr. Byington, or somebody else, tells me about one who wasn't. Does Mr. Byington mean to deny that Morrison's employers were opium smugglers, or that Gutzlaff, probably the most famous propagandist of the bourgeois gospel in China, was an opium smuggler himself? (See Williams, vol ii, pp. 305 cf. 378; and see 329.)

And why should Mr. Byington say I suppress all the creditable facts on one side, or all the discreditable on the other? Did I suppress the fact that Morrison's Chinese dictionary is a great and useful work? Or the fact that Tien-te was ignorant enough to think he could marry the Virgin Mary's sister? I give the Protestant missionaries full credit for being ashamed of their share in the opium trade; and acknowledged that their pet cannibal, "Chinese" Gordon,—whom I am glad to see Mr. Byington does not attempt defending—was angry with his native colleague about the Suchau massacre. I only added that they could scarcely feel otherwise.

The last paragraph in Mr. Byington's critique implies that I, an Anarchist, inconsistently praised Tien-te, a statesman and warrior. I reply that I praised him only so far as he deserved it. The best title I gave him was "a Christian martyr." If I had said "an Anarchist martyr," the case would have been different. I know he was not that. But statesmen and warriors have been too common among Christians to allow demur because one of the former is classed with the latter: and surely the epithet of martyr is justly given to one who died for his religion, after being identified with its cause during many years.

The Triad or Water Lily society, which Byington accuses me of confounding with the Taoists, is as much a part of Taoism as Anabaptism was a part of the Reformation. To prove this would require a good many words; but it is evident enough to one who knows the characteristics of the larger Chinese religions. See Douglas, "Confucianism and Taoism"; Rhys Davids, "Buddhism"; Williams, ch. xxvii.

C. L. JAMES.

THE PARIS CONGRESS.

Continued from Page One.

At the meetings, we discussed and organized a Bureau of International Correspondence, or International Federation, based upon national federation, for the purpose of better acquainting each other with the economic, political and ethical state of the movement in each country, and the practice of the principle of solidarity. To accomplish the former, each country is to issue a quarterly bulletin, to be sent to all countries, and those to do the same. In this way, it is hoped, the comrades will keep in touch with each other, which has so far not been the case. As to the latter, it certainly has been sadly neglected so far. Comrades come to a strange land, the language of which they did not know, and without means or friends, they often have been near starvation. This is to be done away with through the International Bureau. So when a comrade comes to Paris, London, Madrid, or Constantinople, he will know where to find friends. I cannot dwell upon this matter elaborately in this report; but I can promise the comrades, they will learn more about it soon.

The second matter discussed and decided upon, was the publication of all the reports sent to the Congress in book form; but as we have not enough money to do it right now, the reports will be published in the supplement of Les Temps Nouveaux, the plates set aside and a book made out of all the plates when ready. For this, money is needed; and I herewith appeal to all the comrades in America, to put their hands into their pockets, and send on their mite to the secretary, whose name and address will be given in a week or so.

We have received ninety reports on all possible subjects; and although only twenty or twenty-five are in the form of an essay; yet the others are not less interesting, and will be published in a resume.

The third and last thing decided was to issue a manifesto, together with all the subjects on the program for the Congress, the names of all reports and the nationalities of those who have taken part, to be published in L'Aurore, a radical daily in Paris, Les Temps Nouveaux and Libertaire. These are to be sent to all the trades unions, that were to participate, with a request to send on the papers to the trades unions of the world, asking them to protest with us against the suppression of the Congress of the International Revolutionary Workers of the World.

To give you an idea of the vast amount of work done for the Congress, a list of subjects for discussion and reports sent in will be given next week.

Paris, September 25, 1900. E. GOLDMAN.

• • • • •

CIVILIZATION AND BURGLARY.

The story that comes from Peking from the pen of Edward Wildman, The Examiner's special commissioner to China, is one to cause the Christian nations to blush with shame. Their troops went into China as the representatives of Western civilization and Western morality to enforce the rights of ambassadors, and to punish the crimes of which the Chinese had been guilty. The troops turned aside from their high mission to become burglars and murderers. The accounts show that they broke into every house that promised to contain anything of value, stole what they wanted, destroyed what they did not want, and killed any of the Chinese who objected.

The justification alleged for this sort of work is the horrid crimes of the Chinese who attacked the legations and butchered Christian converts. But punishment that does not seek to distinguish innocent from guilty, and is inflicted through murder and robbery, does not inspire respect. If it is the best that Western civilization can do in that line, we cannot honestly say that it is far superior to the methods of the Boxers whose ferocity brought about the troubles in the Orient.—San Francisco Examiner.

• • • • •

Literature.

The Wedding Night. By Ida C. Craddock. Denver, Colo., Ida C Craddock, 1508 California St. Price 50c.

This little book will startle many by its plainness of speech on the details of sex companionship. It is, however, written with an earnest purpose, and from the standpoint of what the author believes to be ideal purity. Not having the fear of Comstock before her eyes, she does not hamper her advice with the prudish reticence which renders many works of similar purport almost worthless. There is much that is admirable and instructive in the treatise, as well as the exposition of certain striking theories which will not be accepted by all readers.

160

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, between 1900 Oct. and 1901 May, New York to John Spargo, New York?] / E[mma] Goldman. – 2 p. ; 21 × 13 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from University of Vermont Library.

Dear Comrade.

You letter received owing to unforseen circumstances, I can not meet you here at the time appointed but I will be at my room 195 Clinton street until 7.30. and will wait for you. The way to get to my place is, as follows walk up first street until Ave B and the turning of Clinton Street, and then

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walks along up to
196. 4th floor, my
card is on the
door.

Hoping you
will pardon me
for not awaiting
your leave

Sincerely
E. Goldman

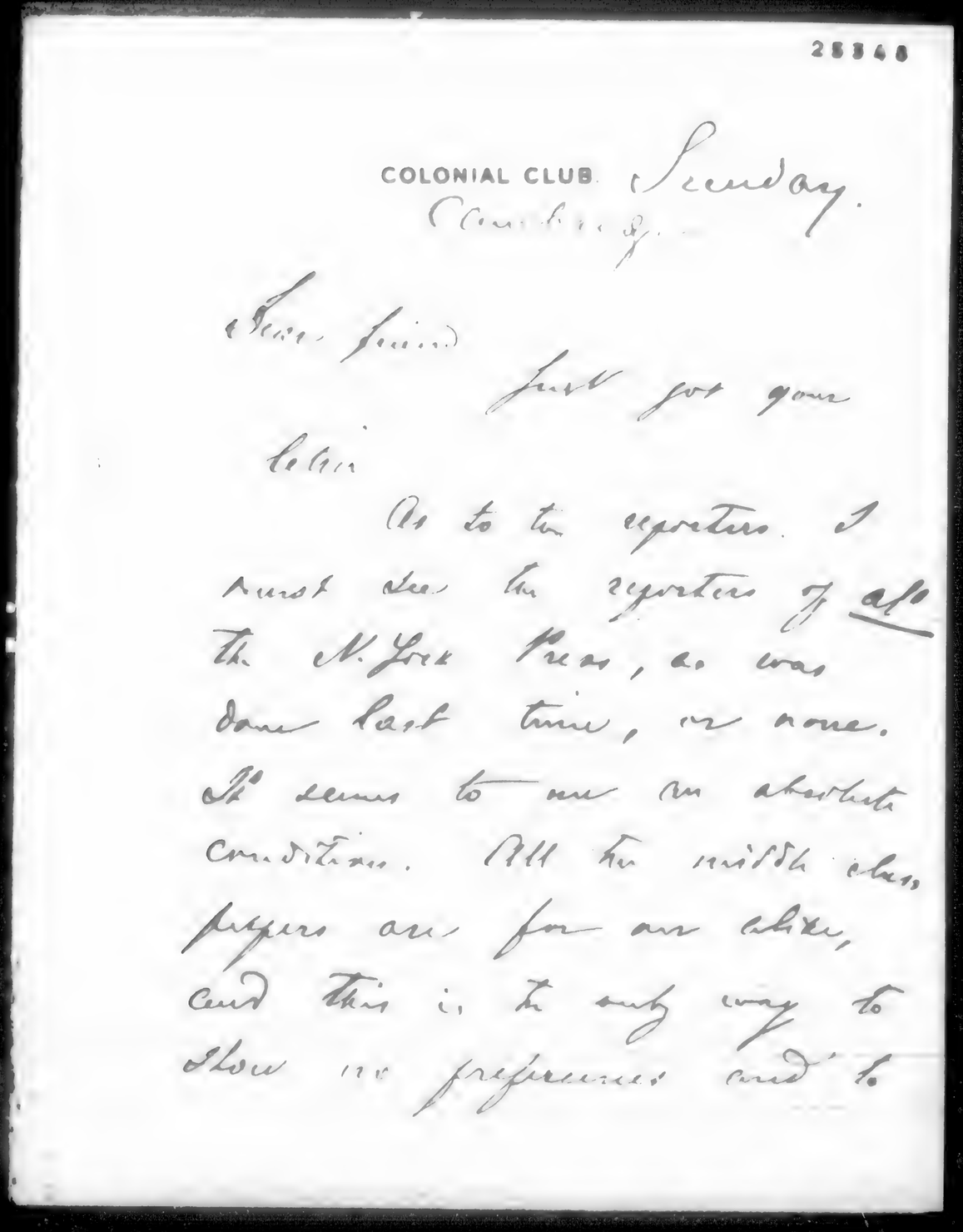
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1901 between Jan. and May] Cambridge [England to Emma Goldman, New York?] / P[eter?] K[ropotkin?]. – 3 p. ; 19 × 15 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



25348

COLONIAL CLUB. Sunday.
Cambridge.

Dear friend

Just for your
letter

As to the reporters. I
must see the reporters of all
the N. York Press, as was
done last time, or none.
It seems to me an absolute
condition. All the middle class
papers are for our ideas,
and this is the only way to
show our preference and to

881010301

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1901 between Jan. and May] Cambridge [England to Emma Goldman, New York?] / P[eter?] K[ropotkin?]. – 3 p. ; 19 × 15 cm.

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avoid being hunted after-
wards by reporters of
the excluded papers.

As to articles, I have
much more demands than
I could write, and should
much offers as an Daily
paper with every pray —
but dare not time to
write.

So let us have all
reporters from all the
Dailies, as we had

881010301

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1901 between Jan. and May] Cambridge [England to Emma Goldman, New York?] / P[eter?] K[ropotkin?]. – 3 p. ; 19 × 15 cm.

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last time. I met with
immense good reports
of all the lectures,
and share a lot of
trouble. even — from
the Journal which, after
all, rectified its com-
ment, was rectifi-
ed by an occasional
reporter — to all com
at ——— on ———
Peter ———

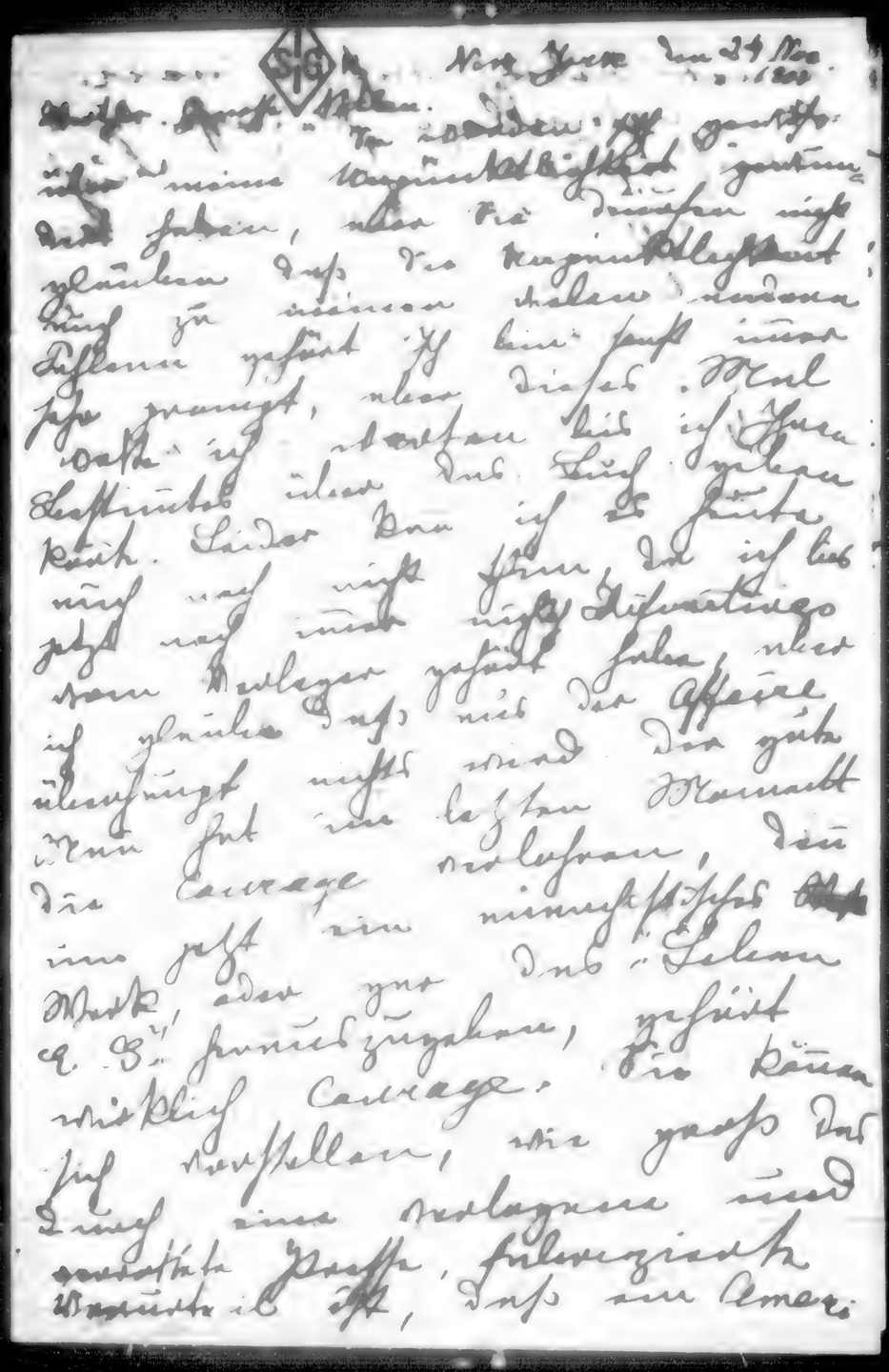
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1901 Jan. 24, New York [to Max] Nettlau, [Munich?] / E[mma] G[oldman] — 6 p. ; 24 × 19 cm.

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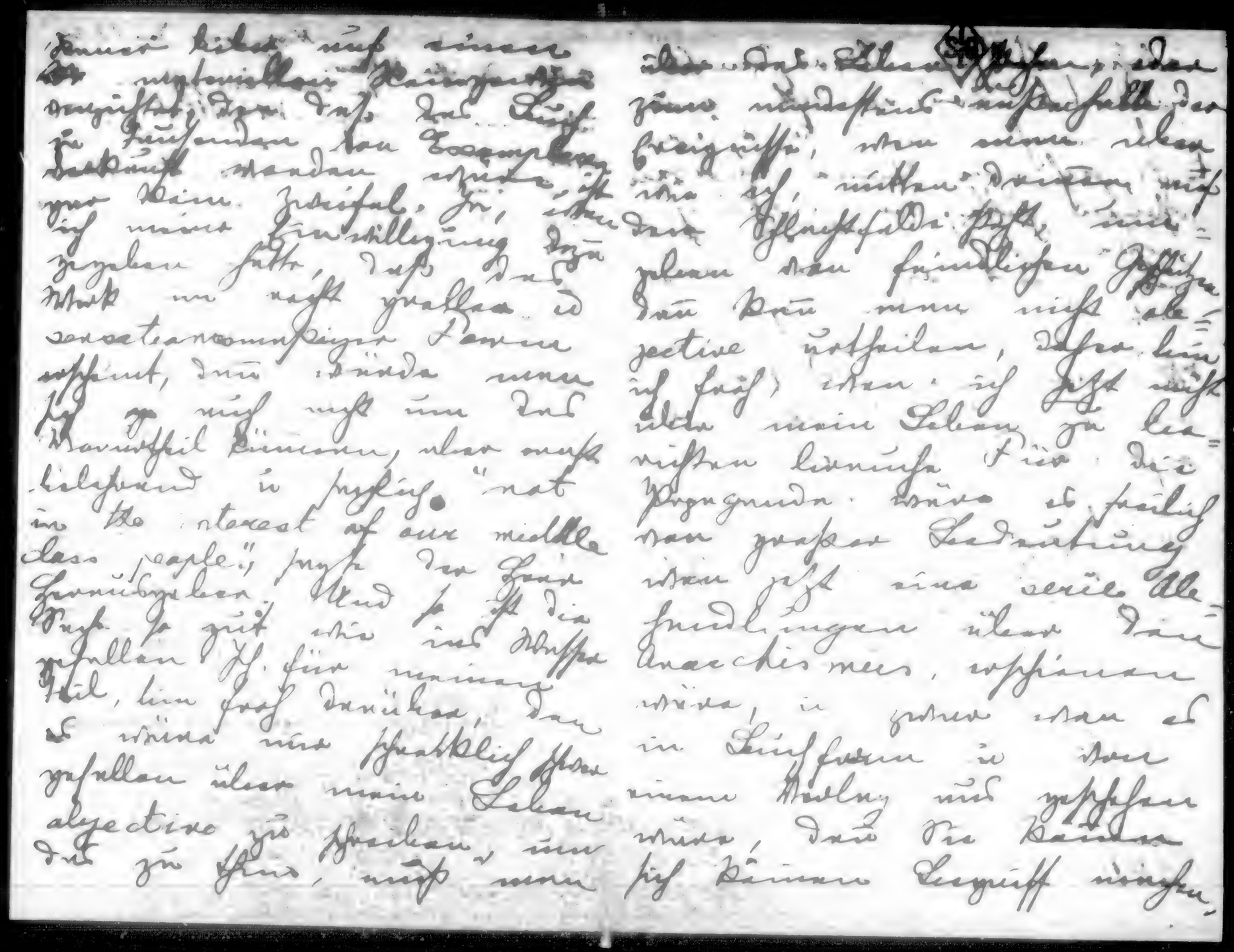
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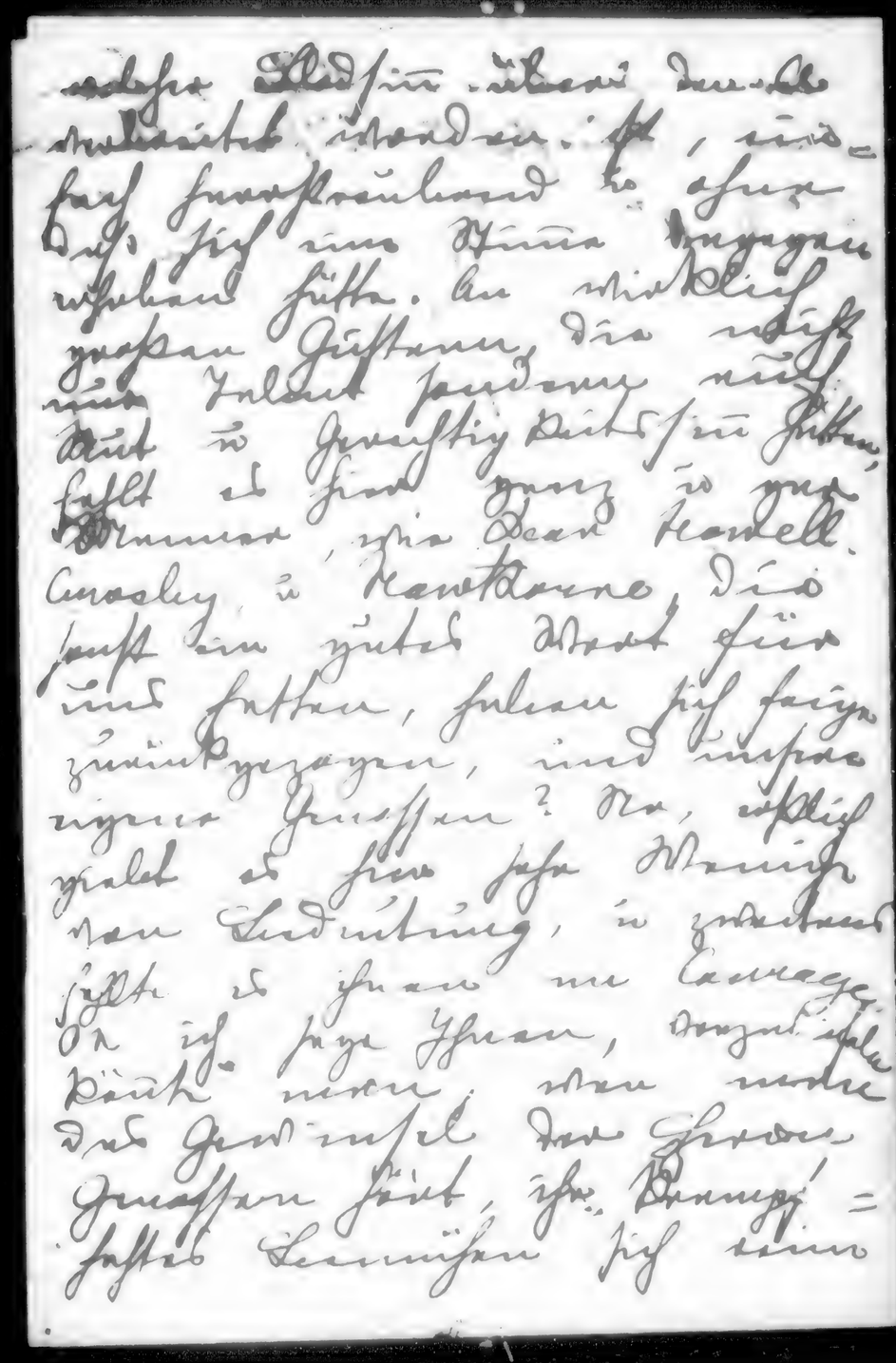
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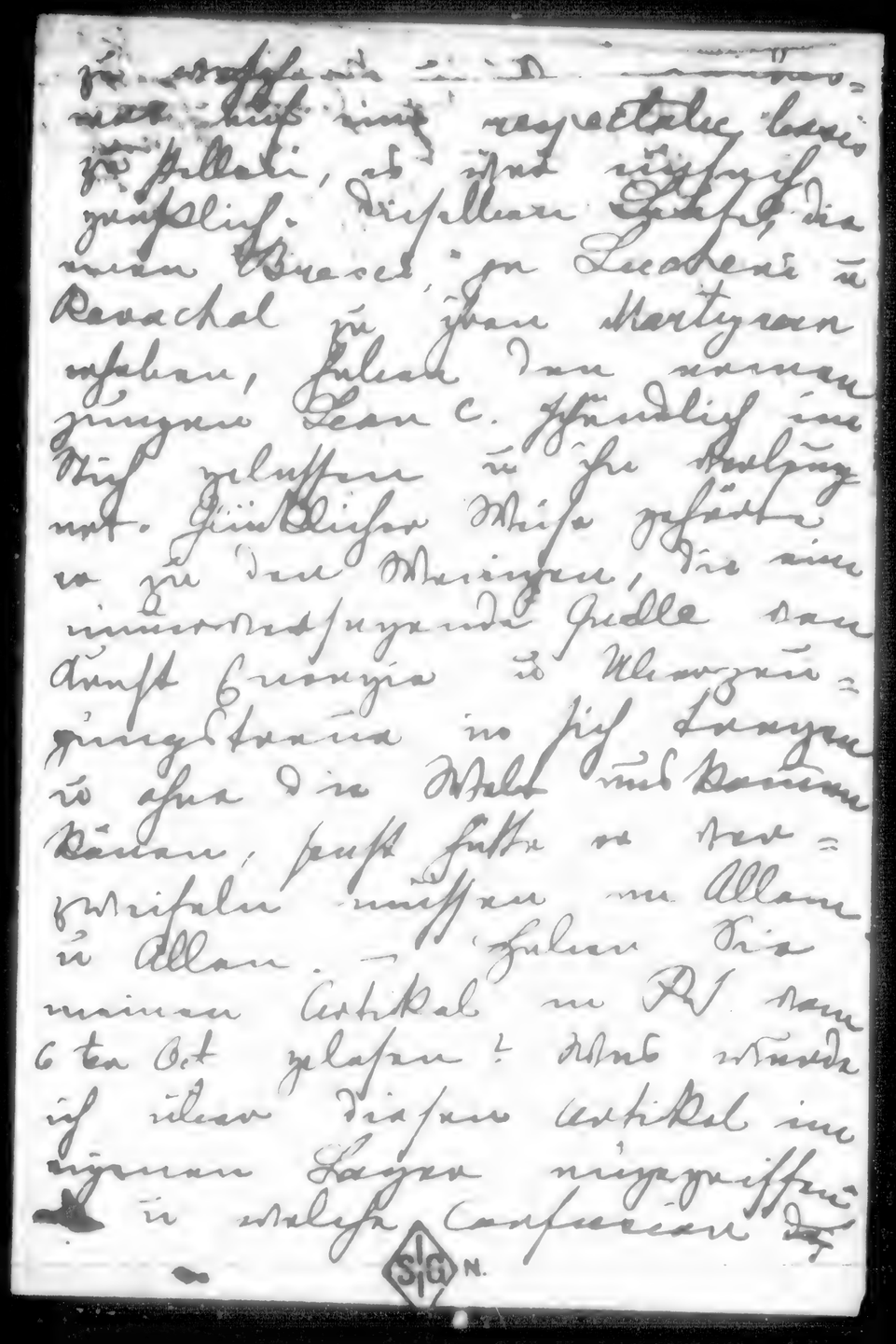
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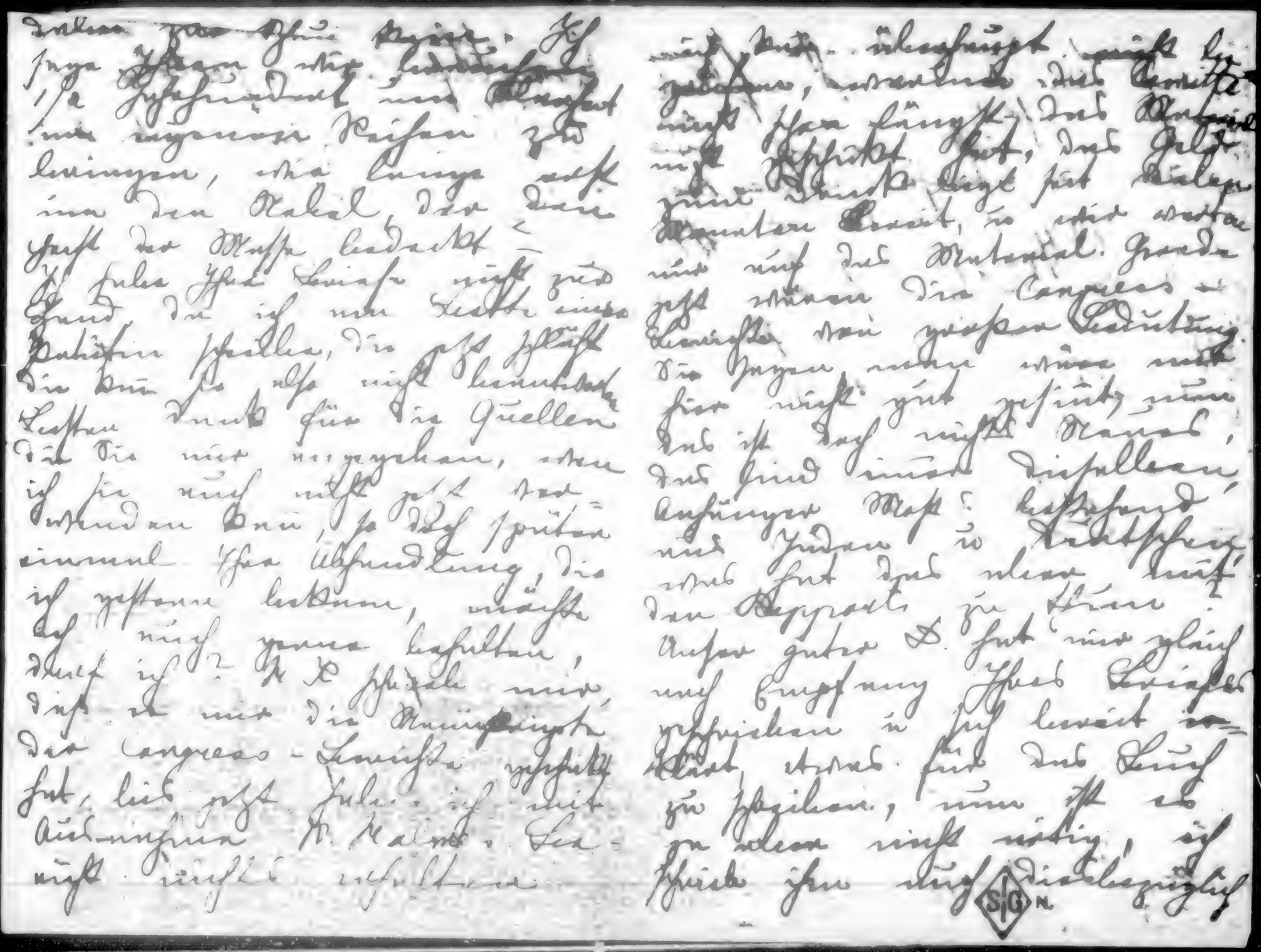
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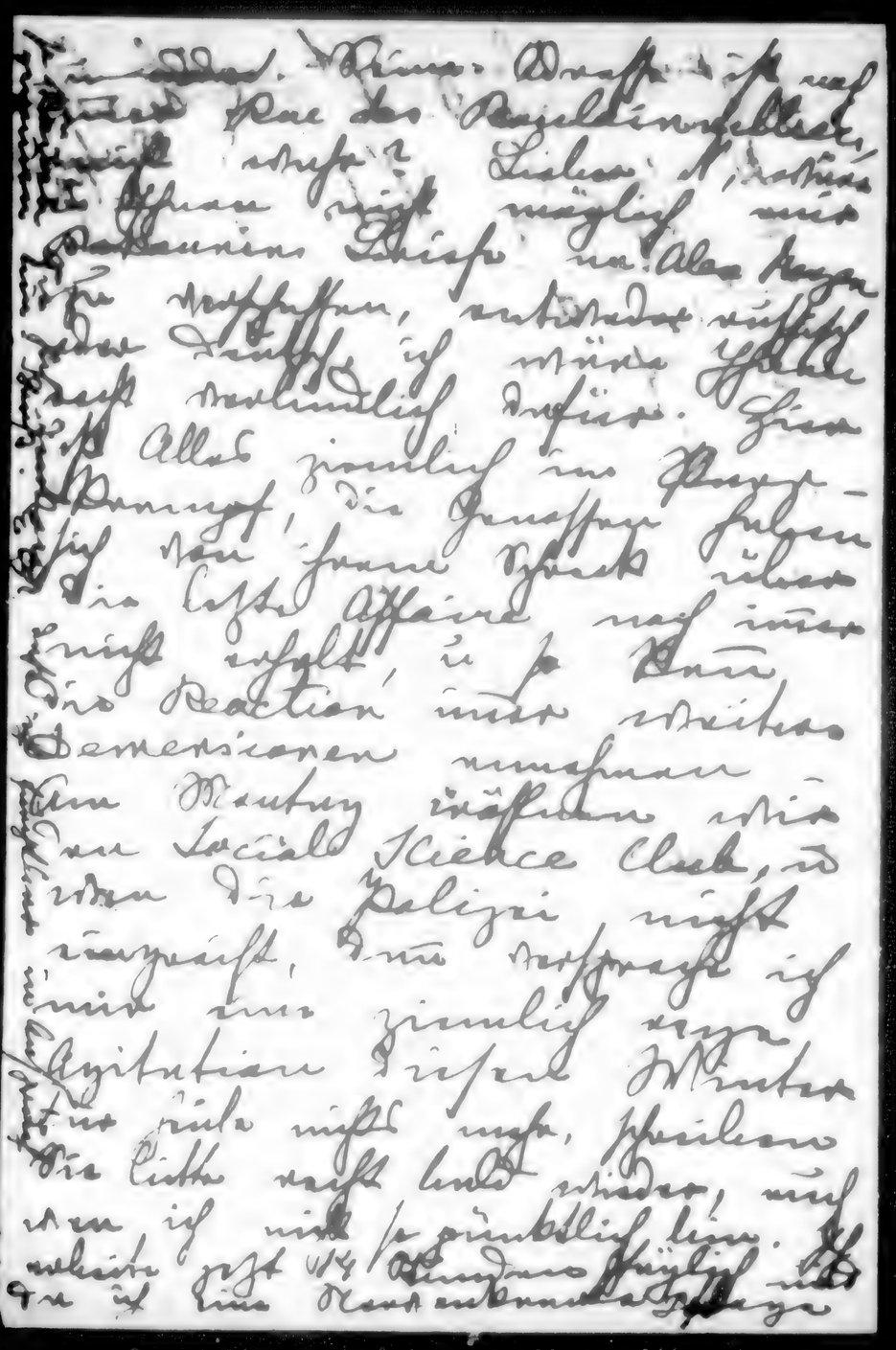
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1901 March 15, New York [to James B.] Elliott, [Philadelphia?] / E[mma] Goldman. — 4 p. ; 22 × 15 cm.

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EMMA GOLDMAN,
50 FIRST STREET.

New York, March 15 1901.

My dear Elliott.

I could not answer your letter sooner, firstly because, I have been very busy, secondly, because I did not know where I stand, with the case, I am nursing. Now, I have definitely decided to go on a tour and to start April 7th. Of course, I shall visite Philadelphia first, I have written to Brandschain and told him, that the I. F. C. can have me either Sunday evening April 7th, or April 14th, as I expect to remain a whole week

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EMMA GOLDMAN,
50 FIRST STREET.

New York, ... 190

in Philadelphia. Now, I say the afternoons of April 7th & 14th in your hands, if you want me for the League and at Griffith meetings, I only wish to call your attention to the fact, that I am as poor as a church mouse, and wanting to tour extensively, I have to insist upon a liberal treatment on the part of the League and Griffith. especially the latter, must be made to stick to his agreements, as he did not do so last time. What do you mean by

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EMMA GOLDMAN,
50 FIRST STREET.

New York, 190

practical Anarchy? I am willing to speake on that, if I renow what you mean. Suppose, I speake on Vice, either at the League or at Griffith's, than too I can send you the subjects later, or you can suggest them, if you will; at any rate, I must first renow, whether the League and Griffith's have accepted, as I want to give the jewish Comrades a date.

Write, as soon as possible; P. Kropotkin

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EMMA GOLDMAN,
50 FIRST STREET.

New York, 190

lectures Dave March 31 st and April 5th, than he goes to Chicago. I tried to induce Him to give one lectures in Philadelphia, and I have sent Him Notwin, + De Cleyre, address to communicate with Them; I have not heard yet, whether he did so. Hoping to hear from you soon.

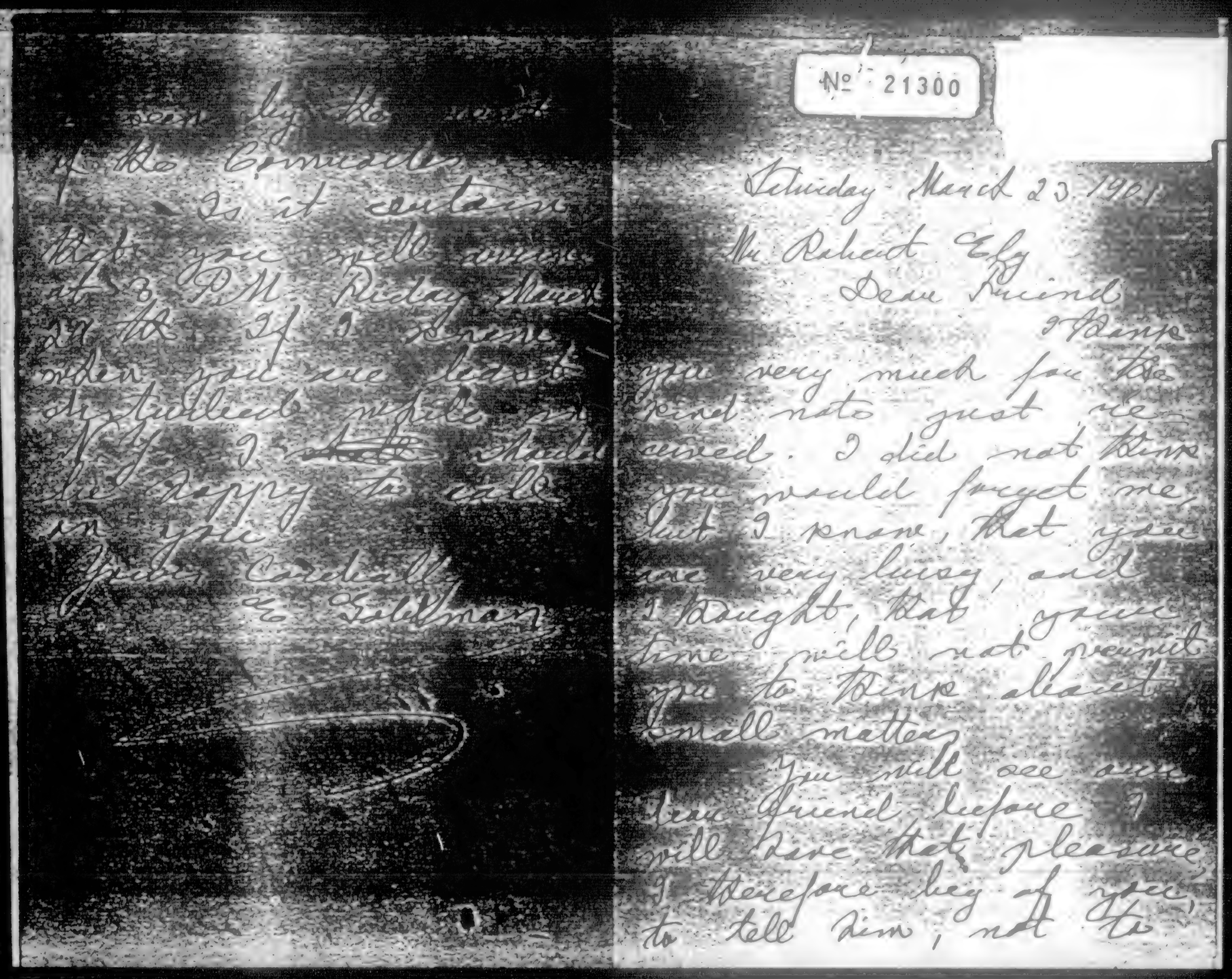
Sincerely
E Goldman

840703001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1901 March 23 [New York to] Robert [Erskine] Ely, [New York] / E[mma] Goldman.— 2 p. ; 22 × 26 cm.

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№ 21300

Saturday March 23 1901

Mr Robert Ely

Dear Friend

I Thank you very much for the kind note you sent me. I did not think you would forget me, but I know, that you are very busy, and I thought, that time will not permit you to think about small matters.

You will see our dear friend before I will do, that pleasure, I therefore beg of you, to tell him, not to

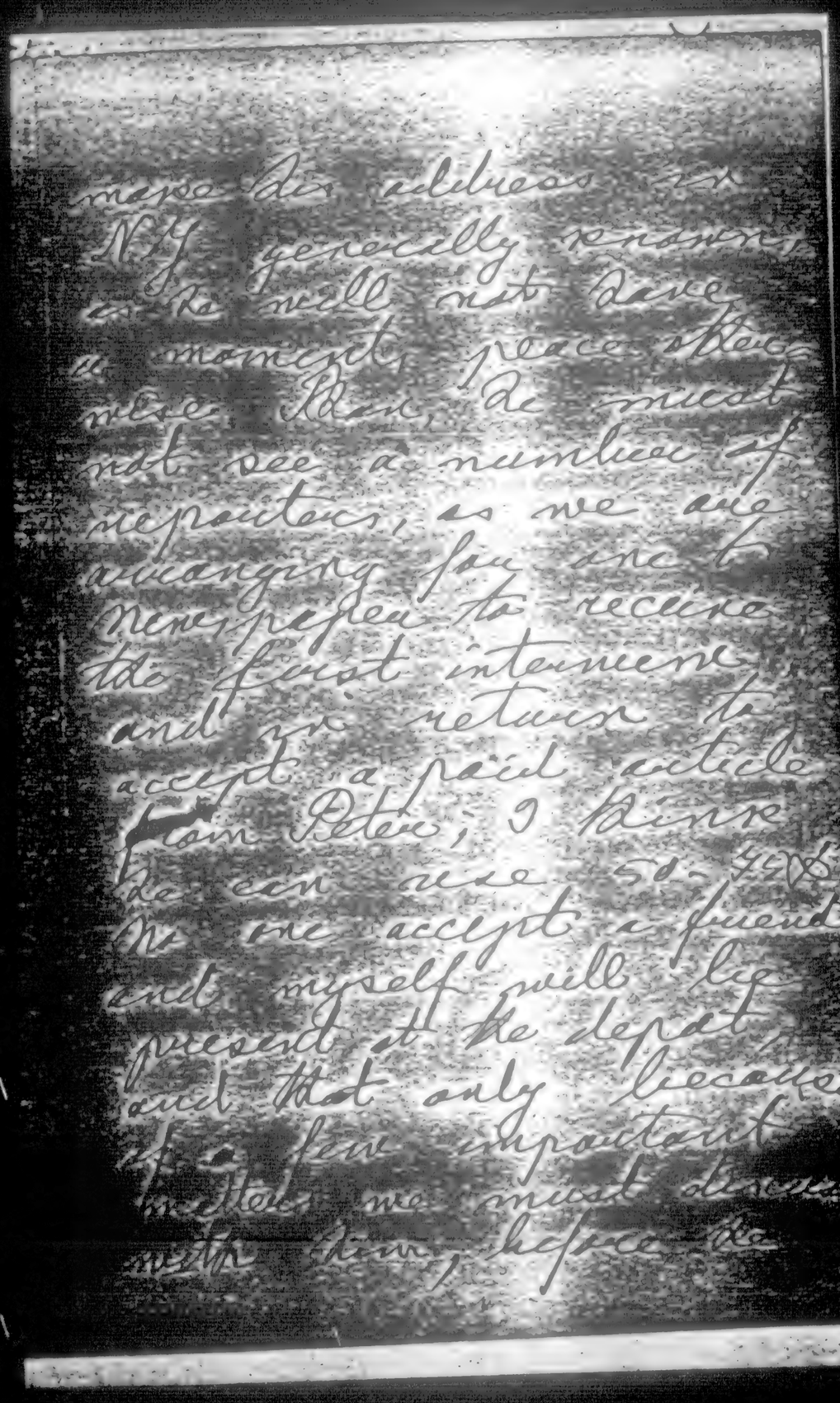
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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1901 Nov. 27 [Paris to] Emma Goldman, [New York] / [Augustin] Hamon.— 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Augustin Hamon Archive.

November 27th 1901 IISG HA

Miss Emma Goldman

Dear Comrade,

When you were in Paris last year, I made you acquainted with Victor Dave whom you saw very often afterwards. This Victor Dave who became subsequently Secretary of redaction of the Review «L'Humanité Nouvelle», acted most dishonestly and prejudicially towards the Review. He swindled Longuet from one of the collaborators of L'Humanité Nouvelle. He enticed the Schleicher's confidence which led these editors to break their contract with me for the publication of L'Humanité Nouvelle. In a word, he caused the death of L'Humanité Nouvelle and of the «Bibliothèque internationale des Sciences Sociologiques» in which more published works and studies of propaganda for Socialism and Anarchism. He thereby ruined the ~~g~~ progress to the anarchists and socialists ideas.

Very much surprised at the rascally dealings of a so called comrade whom I thought sincere and good, I wrote for information in London and Bruxelles where he had lived.

I heard then, from J. Le Croft, Eugène Hins, Eugene Vaughan, (actually the director of «d'Aurore» in Paris), C. Jung, all of them old Internationalists, that V. Dave was expulsed from «l'Internationale» in 1874 in Verviers, being accused of mal-versation.

I heard from German Anarchist Comrades, A. Willebrandt, Frank, Reeder, Stenglat that in 1885 he was expulsed from the «Communistischer Arbeiterbildungsverein» of London, as unworthy in political and privy matter and that he was suspected of having betrayed John Neve, and that these comrades mentioned above were convinced of it.

I heard from English Comrades, Mr. Kitz, H. Seymour that he was

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1901 Nov. 27 [Paris to] Emma Goldman, [New York] / [Augustin] Hamon. — 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Augustin Hamon Archive.

accused of being a police-Spy in "The Anarchist" and that in 1890 he was obliged to leave the „Socialist Leges".

You may judge how far you can trust such an individual who, to repeat Trunk's and Vaughan's expression is a scoundrel.

I enclose Trunk's, Wallikauer's and Ritz's addresses, to write to them if you wish it; I enclose also the copy of the notice published in „Die Autonomie" in 1887.

Père Victor Dave told me, to gain my confidence, that, while you were staying in Paris, he several times lent you money, the amount of which sums surpasses a thousand francs. It was his wife who had that money and was said to lend it to you. Being given his former lies, I do not doubt but that there again he lied. You will oblige me in telling me what about that.

I am sending you the „Gazette des Tribunaux" where the judgment condemning Schleicher is related. The affair is in appeal. L'Humanité nouvelle will appear again as soon as the Court has given a decree, that is to say, next March.

Hoping that you will write soon

Believe me Yours Sincerely

Hamon

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1902 Oct. 18, New York [to] Walter Channing, Brookline, Mass. / Emma Goldman.— 3 p. ; 28 × 15 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Massachusetts Historical Society Library.

Oct 18 th
New York [redacted] 1902

Dear Sir

I am in receipt of your note of the 18th inst. and in reply would like to say Sir, I do not know whether Czolgosz was an Anarchist, nor have I the right to say that he was not. I have not known [redacted] sufficiently to be acquainted with His political views. In fact no one has, including Mr Isaac and the Tilling and if They have expressed opinion, either for or against His being an Anarchist They have done an injustice to the young man, who died such a brave death; ~~as you~~ and you, dear Sir will be guilty of the same offence if you attempt to prove that Czolgosz was not or was an Anarchist. No one can with certainty say, that the man

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1902 Oct. 18, New York [to] Walter Channing, Brookline, Mass. / Emma Goldman.— 3 p. ; 28 × 15 cm.

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was an Anarchist, since he was but little renown, and since he has never made a public statement to that affect. Still less can one prove that he was not one; there is nothing in his act by which one can deny him the right of being an Anarchist If it is true, the Philosophy of Anarchy does not teach Invasion, but it does teach self defence, and Czolgosz' act was an act of self-defence and nothing else. You may question this, since Czolgosz was not personally attact by Mc Kinley, quite true, but Czolgosz belonged to the oppressed, to the Exploited and Disinherited Millions, who lead a life of darkness and despair owing to those, of whom Mc Kinley was one, therefore he was personally attacked by the President or rather he was one of the Victims of the Mc Kinley regime and those Mc Kinley catered to

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1902 Oct. 18, New York [to] Walter Channing, Brookline, Mass. / Emma Goldman.— 3 p. ; 28 × 15 cm.

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The act near Gallows may have been impractical or inopportune I will not argue this point now, but I insist it had nothing unanarchistic about it, since as I said before Anarchism claims the right of Defence against Invasion and Aggression of every shape and form and no one, who has his eyes open will and can deny that those in Power are the Invaders, and Mc Kinley certainly was one of them. I send you with this, 2 Articles in which I have stated my views on the act of Sept 6th 1901 and I do not think I have anything to add to it.

Sincerly
Emma Goldman

Mr Walter Channing
Brookline. Mass.

891207003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1902 Nov. 30, Chicago [to] Lucifer [the Lightbearer], Chicago / Emma Goldman.— 1 p.; 36 × 26 cm.

Obtained from the Stanford University Libraries, Stanford University.

pel illusions. Nevertheless, knowledge is fortified, good inclinations strengthened, and the imagination cooled by sober, scientific reading; and I should judge that the circulation of the work would lessen the number of marriages that prove to be the funerals of bright anticipations. Certainly, if there is as much blindness among young people as some of us fondly believe, it is time that a little consciousness was introduced. Pious souls find no fault with St. Paul for substituting intelligence for the ignorant devotions of the Athenians.

I have not seen any remarks about the wickedness of suicide in connection with the death of Mrs. Craddock. She had served a term of imprisonment, and saw a longer one in prospect, which she was convinced would be fatal. Under these conditions life, not death, became the king of terrors. She preferred illuminating gas to the atmosphere of a cell because it spared her suffering, and there is no bodily pain in the grave. Whatever doubts shemay have had about another world—of that she seems to have had none—she knew it could not be worse than this while the Vice Society exists here. As to her sanity, I cannot deem a person insane who chooses the devil before Anthony Comstock.

I had a little conversation with Mrs. Craddock just after her Blackwell's Island experience, and asked her if she did not think she had better join the veteran corps. I spoke cheerfully, and said I regretted to see youth and beauty sacrificed to the vice-hunting ogre. She replied that, although she enjoyed living, she would that her life might be turned to water and poured out for cleansing the lives of others. I saw that she was every inch a martyr, and devoted in the old sacrificial sense. For one, I am grateful to her. It is good for us that such people live nobly and die bravely to inspire us with a little more earnestness and seriousness. When I think of her calmly and without agitation sitting at the typewriter, with all her thoughts in order, thumping out her last words on the machine, correcting the sheets with a pen, and then lying down in the belief that she died as she had lived, that the cause nearest her heart might gain new sympathizers, I see how to her there was truth in the lines of Halleck's apostrophe to death:

Thy voice sounds like a prophet's word,
And in its hollow tones are heard
The thanks of millions yet to be.

—*"Truth Seeker," N. Y., 11–15, '02.*

Free Speech in Chicago.

Editor Lucifer:—For the benefit of those of your readers [illegible] freedom of speech is a reality, and that [illegible] earth, permit me to give you a [illegible] experience with the Chicago police.

I came to this city to acquaint the American public with the conditions in Russia, and to raise funds for the unfortunate victims of the Russian knout, many of whom have been flogged to death, while others have been sent to long terms of imprisonment, simply because they dared to ask for bread for the suffering Russian peasants.

To my amazement I found two hundred policemen—some of them high officials, at my first meeting; men who came not out of sympathy with the starving Russian people but who were there to take me to the nearest police station should I not meet their own conception of what liberty means.

O Liberty! poor outraged, degraded Liberty. Fallen indeed art thou from thy once lofty height when every petty policeman can soil thy pure form with his foul hands, and trample in the mire of Chicago's streets thy beauteous lineaments.

Since that first meeting the police have followed me from hall to hall, threatening me with arrest if I dared to say anything against the American government. "Say what you please about Russia, but you must not attack OUR institutions," said Captain Campbell to me at a meeting on the West side.

Another little Tzar, Captain Wheeler, went his colleague one better: "I will not have Miss Goldman speak in my district," and prohibited the meeting that was to take place at Aurora Turn Hall, corner of Ashland Ave. and Division street.

Surely there must be something wrong with the American Institutions of today; something terribly black and corrupt, if they cannot stand the light of criticism; if they can thrive only when physical force is used to defend them against the light of free discussion.

This is not the first time that meetings for free discussion have been prohibited here; not the first time speakers have been shadowed from place to place. On previous occasions the Chicago authorities have had to give some excuse for such interference. They have had to plead either public excitement, too radical utterance on the part of the speaker, or some similar excuse as justification of their acts.

What excuse will they give now?

What excuse will the self-styled Jeffersonian-Democratic mayor of Chicago give for the acts of his subordinates?

There is now no public excitement; no radical utterances made—at least not in reference to "our own sacred government."

What other conclusion can be reached, or inference drawn, than that America is fast being Russianized, and that unless the American people awake from the pleasant dream into which they have been lulled by the strains of "My Country 'tis of Thee," etc., we shall soon be obliged to meet in cellars, or in darkened back rooms with closed doors, and speak in whispers lest our next door neighbors should hear that free-born American citizens dare not speak in the open; that they have sold their birthright to the Russian Tzar disguised by the coat of an American policeman?

Is it not time that SOMETHING BE DONE?

Is it not time that all advanced people unite in protesting against such brutal invasion? all, at least, who have enough Americanism left in them to maintain the right of freedom o speech, of press and of assembly?

Or, are they going to wait until the number of victims of suppression increase to legions—as in Russia today?

Chicago, Nov. 30, 1902. EMMA GOLDMAN.

What Is "Free Secession?"

From Comrades Lloyd and Morton we learn of two sorts of Socialists, "Free Socialists" and another sort not named, but "Tyranny Socialists" might be inferred. I note the benevolence of these comrades in allowing that the latter sort mean well enough but their logic is faulty; they advocate tyranny unknowingly. They will not permit of "free secession" and the necessary land.

In 1880 the Socialists in the Greenback Convention offered but one resolution, which was approximately as follows: "Resolved, that land, light, air and water are free gifts of Nature to all mankind; any law or custom that permits any one to monopolize these gifts, we earnestly condemn and seek to abolish." Mr. Lloyd should not object to this, and it has never been repudiated. Within a year or two a faction left the Socialist party of that time because not enough freedom was taught, and this faction became known as Anarchists. Some of them advocated absolute liberty of action, unlimited by any sort of rules, laws or codes, even to taking of life. "Murder is Righteous" at least one of them was fond of saying.

There may be Socialists who would not permit an individual to secede and hie away to the woods, but I never met one. Those I have met are occupied in seeking the law of relations where association is accepted as natural and right. They may debate at times with those mental giants who state the abstract law of liberty but never apply it to human affairs.

With many individualists "free secession" means the right to secede but remain in a collectivity, refusing to bear the burdens but continuing to enjoy collective benefits in the way of pavements, light, fire protection, etc. They may contribute but must not be taxed, basing their position on the idea that the rights of the individual are greater than the rights of the majority; that is the rights of one are greater than the rights of many, for if he use a pavement built by many he is consuming their product just as any other form of privilege would permit him to do.

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183

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1902 Dec. 11, Chicago [to Arthur Fisher] Bentley, [Chicago?] / Emma Goldman.— 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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CHARLES TURNER BROWN,
ATTORNEY AT LAW,
706-710 UNITY BUILDING,
79 DEARBORN STREET.

UNITED STATES AND FOREIGN PATENTS OBTAINED.

CHICAGO, Dec 11 1902

My dear Mr Bentley.

I just now came from the City Hall, could not find the Mayor and as I have to leave for Milwaukee I have left the matter in the hands of my attorney, who's card you will please find inclose. He is going to see the Mayor for me tommorrow and if you care to get the reply of the Mayor for your paper I would suggest that you meet Mr Brown tommorrow at 10 o'clock at his office he knows about it, and will be glad to have you go along.

Sincerly
Emma Goldman

Bentley Mss. II
Manuscripts Department, Lilly Library
Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1]903 June 1, New York [to] Cronaca Sovversiva, [Barre, Vt.] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 29 × 34 cm.

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un pò rude del leone popolare, geremiadi e contrizioni sull'immaturità dei volghi, sulla precocità, sull'inopportunità, sul danno degli atti di ribellione, sul carattere quasi esclusivamente meccanico della rivolta, la CRONACA SOVVERSIVA che non è organo di conventicole o di sinedrii ritiene miglior partito e più onesta sincerità convenire e confessare che se gli atti di rivolta sono infrequenti, che se molti di essi hanno carattere di reazione puramente meccanica agli urti ed alle compressioni dell'ambiente tutta la colpa è in noi che alle preoccupazioni della società futura abbiamo recato a piene mani i più fantastici contibuti dell'ipotesi e dell'utopia, in noi che alle turbe abbiamo troppo spesso presentato l'ideale come una mistica eucarestia librata a mezz'aria all'infuori e al disopra della realtà quotidiana e di ogni pratica aspirazione.

***

Riaccostiamo alla vita cotesto ideale nostro che naque in terra dal sangue nostro e tra le nostre miserie vagì e delle nostre lacrime s'abbeverò e per noi, pei nostri dolori, per la nostra passione tentò le vie dell'uguaglianza, della libertà e dell'amore; rituffiamolo col fremito immenso delle sue speranze nell'onda affannosa dei dolori umani sì che ogni forma della vita ne sia agitata, ogni muscolo scosso, urtato ogni pregiudizio, ogni idolatria infranta, ogni energia tesa e nelle coscienze risvegliate il contrasto tra l'aspirazione legittima e la realtà tracotante sarà così acuto così doloroso che la ribellione scintillerà inevitabile, illuminata, e-

EMMA GOLDMAN
ALLA
"CRONACA SOVVERSIVA"

Ai compagni e lettori della *Cronaca Sovversiva* del nostro nuovo ribelle giornale italiano saluti ed augurii di buona battaglia!

CARISSIMI COMPAGNI,

Era mio fermo proposito di testimoniare al nostro nuovo giornale i miei sentimenti di solidarietà col contributo affettuoso d'un articolo mio, vi avevo anzi promesso uno studio sul movimento anarchico degli Stati Uniti. Le non liete condizioni della mia salute, quelle più gravi del mio penoso ufficio d'infermiera mi hanno impedito di assolvere al mio voto di collaborare al primo numero del nostro giornale.

Non aggiungo inutili scuse. Voi assaporaste come me tutte le amarezze della lotta per l'esistenza e se voi anelate di dare alla causa della giustizia della verità e della libertà eternamente soffocata dalla miseria, dal lavoro penoso, dalla disperazione tutte le vostre energie saprete comprendere e compatire se pur essendo con voi anima e cuore non posso darvi per ora che una fraterna parola di simpatia.

Parole d'incoraggiamento non vi abbisognano: di tutti i compagni che lo tanno in questo paese voi, figli della ridente Italia, siete stati sempre i più tenaci, i più ardenti, voi tra tutti quelli che i pericoli della propaganda affrontano su questo suolo sacro al dollaro onnipotente, all'ignobile forza che ha spento ogni scintilla d'entusiasmi, ogni fremito d'indignazione su questa terra in cui un pugno solido vale più che un cervello fosforescente, in cui Teddy il terribile vuole in ogni uomo uno schiavo sommesso, in ogni donna una femmina feconda.

E tutti quelli che conoscono i pericoli e i tremendi fiaschi della propaganda in questo paese apprezzeranno i vostri assidui sforzi e l'abnegazione tenace che volete al trionfo del nostro ideale.

Avanti! Avanti [illegible]
Verso l'immancabile trionfo

LEGALITARII ED ANARCHICI
nelle agitazioni operaie.

(Dal nostro corrispondente speciale in Svizzera.)

Ginevra 25 Maggio.

I nostri socialisti, come ben sapete, sono riusciti a far eleggere molti dei loro alle assemblee parlanti, sono riusciti anzi ad issarne qualcuno fino al potere esecutivo in cui il Millerand ginevrino S. E. Thiebaut si segnala pel suo zelo d'obbedienza agli ordini dei capitalisti onnipotenti fino a firmare decreti d'espulsione contro i socialisti stranieri, fino a chiamar sotto le armi e lanciare contro pacifici lavoratori le truppe del governo.

Il che non deve meravigliare alcuno poichè rientra nell'ordine naturale delle cose e della storia; non appena un socialista giunge ad arraffare un mandato di governo egli fa esattamente quello che han fatto sempre tutti i governi passati e faranno ....quelli futuri, coll'ipocrisia per giunta.

Vi ha qualchecosa di più caratteristico nella condotta dei nostri parlamentari socialisti di Ginevra ed è il silenzio ostinato, il mutismo assoluto in cui si suggellano ogni qual volta scoppia tra lavoratori e dirigenti una crisi acuta; nè soltanto ammutoliscono ma scompaiono per così dire dalla circolazione cosichè invano li cerchereste là dove in tempi normali li incontravate ogni giorno; sono dileguati, squagliati.

***

L'eclissi del deputato socialista dura e si ostina in ragione diretta della gravità del conflitto. Dopo la crisi man mano che la situazione turbata dagli urti e dalle agitazioni vibranti tende ad assidersi ed a schiarirsi e che nel dominio della lotta tra il salariato e l'attuale organizzazione emerge qualche fatto nuovo od anche soltanto un nuovo argomento di ciarla alla facondia *deputassier*, il deputato socialista, che [illegible]

conto e, sotto l'influenza dei compagni libertarii, la *Federazione operaia* di Ginevra — la quale comprende quasi tutti i corpi di mestiere — si è inderdetta ogni azione politica ritornando all'antico concetto dell'Internazionale che "l'Emancipazione dei lavoratori dei lavoratori deve essere opera dei lavoratori stessi."

Durante i cromi di lotta in cui nella strada il proletariato cosciente si urtava contro le truppe che loro opponeva il governo radicale-socialista, nessun deputato socialista — all'infuori del maestro Sigg, che pel suo coraggioso rifiuto a prestar servizio nell'esercito ebbe quattro mesi di prigione — s' è fatto vedere: non soltanto, ma nessuna protesta fu promossa o pubblicata contro la chiamata delle truppe sotto le armi.

Le cariche di cavalleria, le violazioni reiterate e flagranti delle garanzie (!!) costituzionali, le espulsioni arbitrarie in massa perpetrate con inaudito raffinamento di barbarie sulle indicazioni d'una polizia politica i cui agenti ufficiali stanno alla greppia di tutte le ambasciate, tutte queste infamie governative hanno trovato i deputati socialisti sordi e muti.

Soltanto quando una fortissima corrente volle, nel pubblico, la liberazione di tutti i condannati per delitto di sciopero, i deputati socialisti felici del pretesto di tornare in scena appoggiarono la petizione con cui 5.000 cittadini d'ogni partito reclamavano la liberazione del compagno Bertoni.

Troppo tardi! I socialisti del governo possono ormai fare il lutto dell'antica influenza che essi avevano fin qui esercitato sulle masse lavoratrici.

Essi possono con pazza incoscienza e con impudenza ineccepibile delegare a loro rappresentante al corteo del 1.° Maggio il proscrittore Thiebaut, (1) il valletto, l'esecutore delle basse persecuzioni della Compagnia dei Tramvays, Thiebaut che fece espellere tutti gli stranieri sospetti non solo di aver rapporti con anarchici, ma di [illegible] per gli scioperanti,

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185

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muscolo scosso, urtato ... pregiudizio, ogni idolatria infranta ... energia tesa e nelle coscienze risvegliate il contrasto tra l'aspirazione legittima e la realtà tracotante sarà così acuto così doloroso che la ribellione ... inevitabile e illuminata, e-

... tanto più illuminata ed esemplare se in luogo di abusati feticismi superstiti troverà eco di energie coscienti, se invece di essere condannata in nome di meno sinceri vantaggi immediati sarà nei suoi intenti e nelle sue forme, rivendicata dalla simpatia e dalla solidarietà di tutti gli animi liberi, di tutti i cuori generosi.

* * *

In questi propositi d'educazione rivoluzionaria la CRONACA SOVVERSIVA — anarchica senza alcuno dei tanti aggettivi in cui si rifugiano, di solito, innocue vanità o premeditate restrizioni mentali — si augura d'aver solidali tutti i compagni degli Stati Uniti che invita ad un'attiva, regolare collaborazione.

La CRONACA SOVVERSIVA non è organo particolare d'individui, di gruppi, di chiese o d'accademie, essa anela ad essere la voce fedele della verità, la fiera voce del proletariato che lavora e soffre, e, nel dolore senza lacrime e senza rassegnazione, tempra alla grande riscossa le braccia, gli animi e l'armi

A voi per l'Anarchia e la Rivoluzione Sociale, fraternamente.

Il Circolo di Studi Sociali di Barre, Vt.

L'era del progresso pacifico non si aprirà che sulle rovine del cosidetto mondo civile quando il monopolio avrà reso l'ultimo sospiro ed i prodotti del lavoro saranno divenuti di pubblico dominio.

Dejacques

COMPAGNI DIFFONDETE

IL NOSTRO GIORNALE

... ignobile forza che ha spento ogni scintilla ... entusiasmi, ogni fremito d'indignazione, ... su questa terra in cui un pugno solido ... più che un cervello fosforescente, in cui Teddy il terribile vuole in ogni uomo uno schiavo sommesso, in ogni donna una femmina feconda.

E tutti quelli che conoscono i pericoli ... della propaganda in questo paese apprezzeranno i vostri assidui sforzi e l'abnegazione tenace che votate al trionfo del nostro ideale.

Avanti! Avanti! ed all'opera vostra arrida luminoso il trionfo.

Io intanto per non mancare alla mia promessa vi compiego due articoli. Il primo è di uno dei più sinceri e coraggiosi compagni nostri, John H. Cook, l'altro di W. Tharston Brown già ministro ed ora socialista rivoluziona io. (1)

Egli ha abbandonato la sua posizione e la sua carica a quel mondo che tollera soltanto schiavi e padroni non mai una anima fiera ed è venuto, senza rimpianti, tra noi a cercarvi ambiente più puro e più nobile di libertà, d'indipendenza di solidarietà.

E' uno dei nostri anche se non ha incondizionatamente aderito a tutte le nostre idee.

Che importa?

La libertà, madre, accarezza d'affetti generosi tutti i figli che armati d'integra onestà combattono contro l'oppressione e la tirannia per un avvenire in cui non saranno nè padroni nè servi, nè ricchi nè poveri nè oppressori nè oppressi; per l'avvenire che irradierà le fiamme delle sue aurore vermiglie sulle fanciulle felici, sui figli liberi perchè avranno compreso che la libertà di ciascuno ha le sue radici nella libertà di tutti e che in questa libertà di tutti è la guarentigia della libertà, dello sviluppo, dell'autonomia, delle libere affermazioni di ciascuno.

Per questo ideale radioso il nostro collaboratore William Tharston Brown ha lasciato della vita le mollezze e gli agi tra cui la gente vana chiude i confini e le aspirazioni della felicità.

Per questo io lo tengo dei nostri e son certa che egli sarà contento di ridarvi all'occasione la sua collaborazione e tutto il suo appoggio per la *Cronaca Sovversiva*.

Vostra

EMMA GOLDMAN

New York, 1 Giugno '903.

---

(1) Questi articoli vedranno la luce in uno dei prossimi numeri mentre ai valenti collaboratori mando fin d'ora sinceri e cordiali i ringraziamenti vivissimi della *Cronaca Sovversiva*.

... che nel dominio della lotta ... l'attuale organizzazione emerge qualche fatto nuovo od anche soltanto un nuovo argomento di ciarla alla seconda *deputassion* il deputato socialista ... invade ancora le riunioni pubbliche — in cui gli toccherebbe rifare i conti colle corporazioni operaie organizzate all'infuori d'ogni azione politica — ma s'è orientato ormai alla meglio dei suoi interessi e spia ora in agguato il momento propizio di sfruttare gli avvenimenti e la situazione.

Comincia così a muovere un'interpellanza al "Gran Consiglio" sa che la sua interpellanza è vana, inutile, inconcludente ma sa che essa *posa* il deputato e che i citrulli del gregge elettorale glie ne terranno buon conto.

I deputati socialisti di qui, vecchi e nuovi, eccezion fatta per un antico maestro di scuola, sono gente sprovvista d'ogni dono naturale, ignoranti, gretti, atta cati come ostriche ai impieghi salariati dallo Stato o dal Comune, paurosi di perdere l'osso e la sinecura che essi o i membri delle loro famiglie detengono soltanto in grazia al brevetto socialista legalitario e che sanno appetite da pericolosi avversarii di indiscutibile competenza.

* * *

Durante le giornate dello scorso Ottobre mentre più agitato ferveva lo sciopero si sarebbe potuto credere che il Gran Consiglio non contava deputati socialisti. All'inizio dell'agitazione i deputati socialisti avevano cercato di rendersene padroni e devesi appunto alla loro intromissione il pronto componimento dello sciopero dei tramvieri sulla base di promesse officiali che non furono mantenute nè dalla Compagnia dei Tramvays, nè dal governo dando così luogo al secondo sciopero seguito poi dallo sciopero generale.

Alle assemblee che precedettero questo movimento nessun deputato socialista mostrò la faccia, gli anarchici soli si prodigarono ovunque c'era propaganda da fare, interessi operai a difendere, colpi da ricevere.... o da dare, e i essi, i compagni nostri, fecero questo lavoro con un'abnegazione, con un disinteresse, con una sincerità di cui i socialisti non hanno neppure l'intuizione, ma che hanno penetrato il cuore delle masse profondamente.

E queste — per quanto è almeno degli operosi organizzati — hanno abbandonato i ciurmadori socialisti i quali non cercano nelle agitazioni operaie che il loro torna-

... [illegible] ... ompiuto ... [illegible] ... ogni ... [illegible] ... ogni ... [illegible] ... ogni

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]03 July 20 [Allegheny, Pa. to Emma Goldman, New York?] / Alex[ander Berkman]. – 2 p. ; 21 × 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Ohioside, Pa.
July 20. 03.

Dear friend Medical:-

I hope that this note, via Mo. will not reach you before the end of the month so that it may find you back home. I am very much pleased to know that you have at last allowed yourself a short outing, you need it badly, I have no doubt. — Does it require, you think, a wonderful memory to remember anything with reference to a thousand. Now, client Col., I should think that a medical man, with a good clientelle, would find but little time for study, have to keep up with the progress of his particular science. Indeed, I do not understand in what sense S. is the "best-instructed man on the East Side" of what earthly use is academic knowledge, except such which has direct bearing on human life & affairs; knowledge is good, but I think wisdom – the ability of practical application – is better. Or shall I understand that S. has become a lecturer, teacher etc – in what way is his "science" apparent. Not that I wish to detract from S.'s talents & gifts, but there used to be, in my time, so much nonsense about "wissenschaft. social."; that I have become sceptical & suspicious of the terms. – The matter of "failed" and "neither party friend" must be explained, but some other time. Is it not probable that the sailor is keeping in evidence a thought, which has no basis in fact. – By the way, can't I come to an understanding about that pillow – the gift for me – which was to be sent to me.

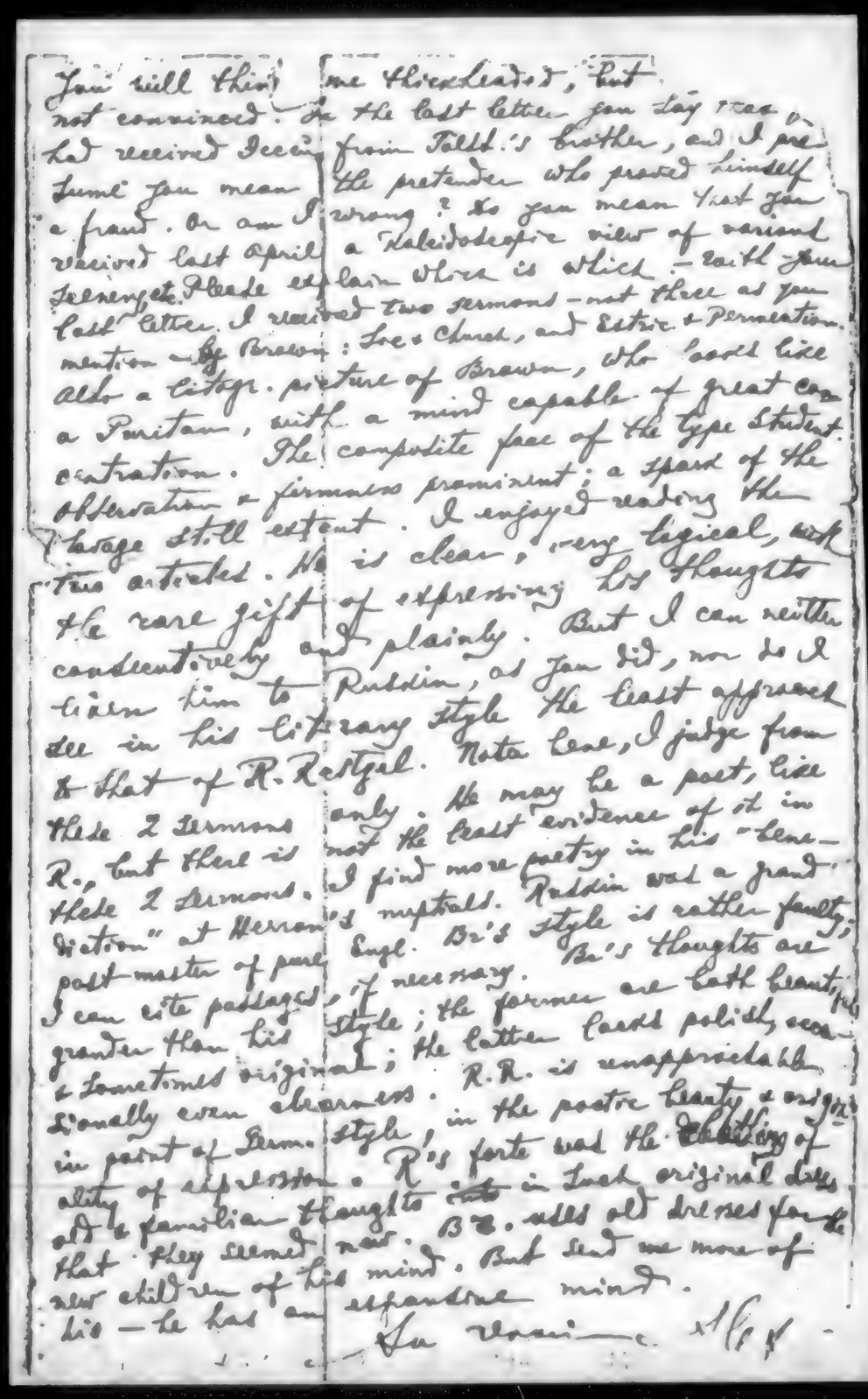
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Jan still thinks not convinced. I had received Iceci tumi Jan mean a fraud. Or am I received last April Selengetz. Please ex last letter. I received mention a Mr Brown also a clergy. a Puritan, with a centration. The observation a firmness large & still extant. two attacked. He the rare gift condescendingly and liken him to dee in his literary & that of R. Rastgal. these 2 sermons R., but there is these 2 sermons. diction" at Herron past-master of pure I can cite passages grander than his sometimes original sionally even clearness in point of sermo ability of expression. all be familiar thoughts that they seemed new children of his his — he has an

me thinks least, but
In the last letter Jan says I was
from Todd's brother, and I pre
the pretender who praised himself
wrong? Do Jan mean that Jan
a Kaleidoscopic view of ancient
Jan's work is slick — with Jan
read two sermons — not three as Jan
Loc. Christ, and Active & Permeative.
picture of Brown, who could like
complete face of the type student.
a mind capable of great con
prominent: a part of the
I enjoyed reading the
is clear, very logical, with
of expressing his thoughts
plainly. But I can neither
Ruskin, as Jan did, nor do I
literary style. The least approach
Rastgal. Note bene, I judge from
only. He may be a poet, like
not the least evidence of it in
I find more poetry in his "Lene-
's nuptials. Ruskin was a grand
Engl. Br's style is rather faulty,
if necessary. Br's thoughts are
style; the former are both beauty,
original; the latter lacks polish, accu-
ness. R.R. is unappreciable
style, in the poetic beauty & origi-
R's forte was the [illegible] of
thoughts in such original dress
new. B. sells old dresses for
mind. But send me more of
expansive mind.
Yours [illegible]

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]03 Aug. 11 [Allegheny, Pa. to] E[mma Goldman], N[ew] Y[ork] / Alex[ander Berkman]. – 2 p. ; 22 × 28 cm.

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E. Goldman, N. 73 E. 100th St. N.Y. City.

Castle on the Ohio
August 11. 03.

My dear Friend:

Rec'd via Mo. Pac.

Letter to Our Farmer-Boy was finished when the local mail-man handed me yours of the 9. inst. Your previous letter of over a week ago had also reached my blind friend was greatly pleased with the information you sent. He insists on my sending you his regards and thanks, — "to the party in N.Y. who takes such an active interest in me", & to ask his work. That Institute for the blind would be the proper place for my friend here, and the conditions — as I think — seem rather liberal; but whether the man will be able to take advantage of the offer, is rather doubtful. Yes, I remember Dr. Gershensky; certainly; I could draw his likeness this minute — if I could draw. He was studying medicine when I left N.Y. & you queried — I arrived in Chi. in Feb. 1888, a few months after the legal murder in Chi. Arrested July 22. 1892. Tried, convicted & sentenced — Sep. 19. 92 — on 6 separate indictments. Received maximum penalty on all the charges, — 15 yrs. each.

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1. Felonious assault & battery, with intent to kill H. C. Frick, 7 years.
2. Ditto on J. L. Leishman (formerly of the Carnegie Co., now Minister to Turkey) 5 years.
3. Entering a building with intent to commit a felony.
4. Ditto. 5. Ditto.
6. Carrying concealed weapons, 1 year.

3 years on each charge.

A total of 22 years; 21 to be served in the Western Penitentiary of Pa. and One in the Allegheny County Workhouse.

Dear old chum, by the time I am out of the Atlantic. By the way, send me "Hird" by Brown, again, the latter this or next week. If you find anything of interest in the magazine (that painter's picture) send me. He what a thing. Tell me more about Hird. How is the Dein & what are the data for

Yours, ALEX.

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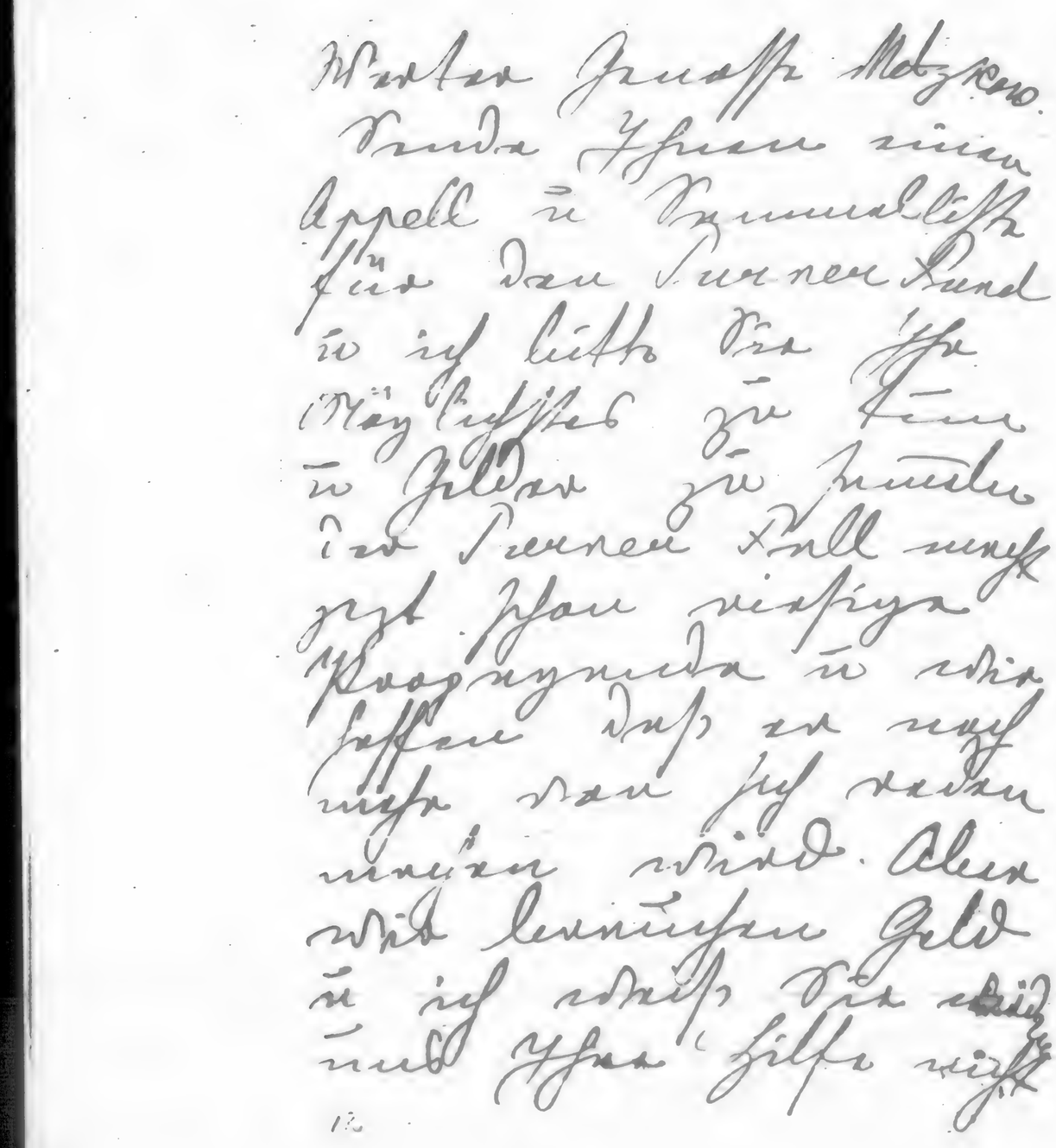
190

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, between 1903 Oct. and 1904 Dec., New York to Max] Metzkow, [Brooklyn? N.Y.?] / Emma Goldman.– 2 p. ; 19 × 12 cm.

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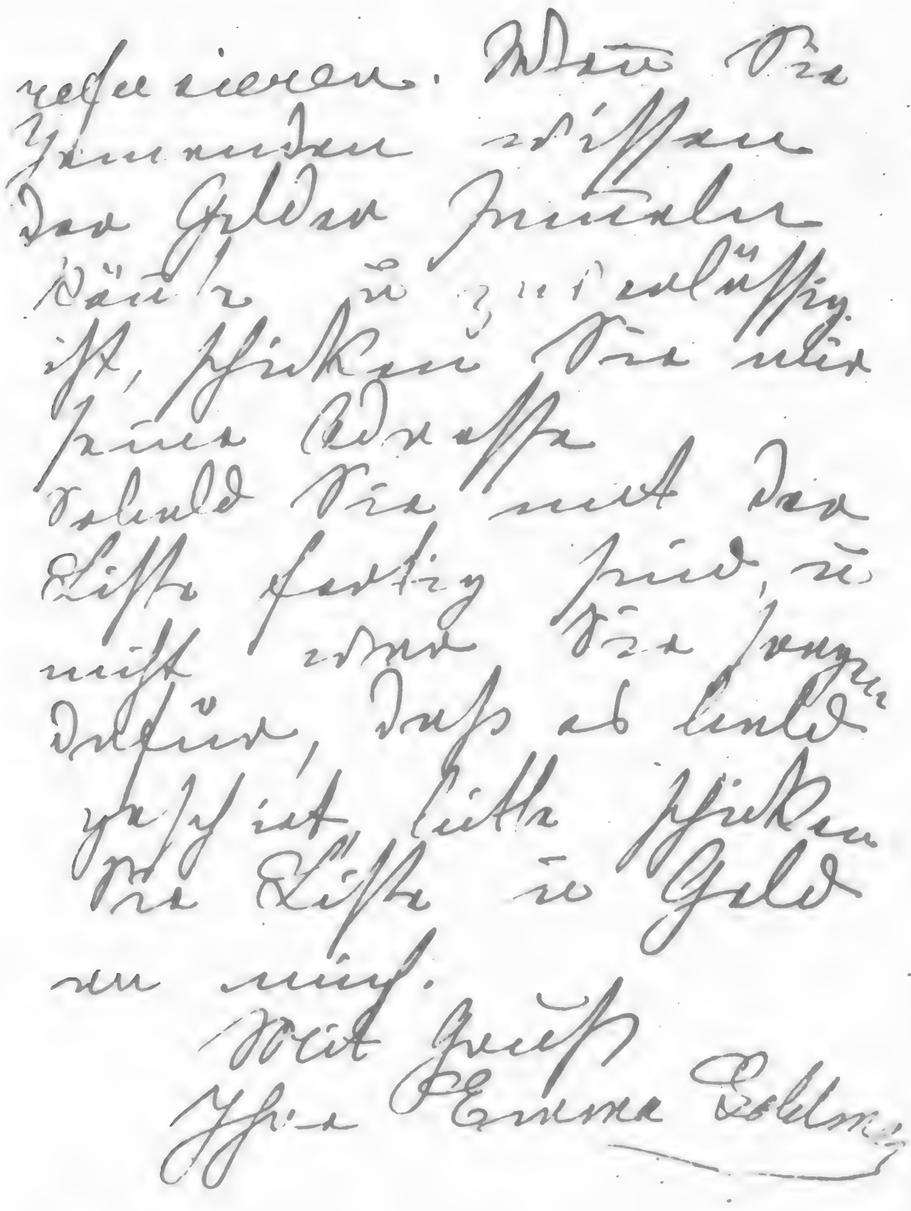
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831115190

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, between 1903 Oct. and 1904 Dec., New York to Max] Metzkow, [Brooklyn? N.Y.?] / Emma Goldman.– 2 p. ; 19 × 12 cm.

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192

831115050

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1903 Oct. 19, New York [to Max] Metzkow, [Brooklyn? N.Y.?] / Emma Goldman. – 2 p. ; 17 × 24 cm.

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Die Vie Adresse zur Registrierung Verbrechen

Mit ver. Gruß
Emma Goldman

Darf ich Sie mit unter dem Namen
C. B. Smith
1804 Madison Ave
New York

10/19, 1903.

Werter Genosse Metzkow.

Wie Sie aus dem Inhalt ersehen, befindet sich Genosse John Turner, den Sie so gastlich aufgenommen haben, auf Reise durch Amerika. Er hat eine Anzahl Vorträge in verschiedenen Städten. Diese will er nun halten.

Turner spricht am Sonntag den 1sten Nov. in der

184

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193

831115050

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1903 Oct. 19, New York [to Max] Metzkow, [Brooklyn? N.Y.?] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 17 × 24 cm.

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Brooklyn Philosophical
association, im Long
Island business college
ist. Wenden Ihnen Adressen zur
Verfügung finden.
Andernfalls müsste ich
Ihnen sagen, dass die
nächste eine gepäcke
Versammlung in Brooklyn
für ihre Vorträge jeden
Raum, oder vielleicht
Räumen die Sie und Ihre
Organisationen oder
Gesellschaften für ihre
interessanten Räume
Willkommen wären. Die
genaue Lage unserer Versamm-
lokale ist mir
so selbst nicht bekannt
wenn Sie mir Ihre Adresse
so wird mancher
liebe Mitteilung in dieser
Angelegenheit Ihnen bei
Zeit Benachrichtigung zu
Ihrer Verfügung sein.
Einliegend finden
Ihnen eine Biographische
Skizze über Ihnen

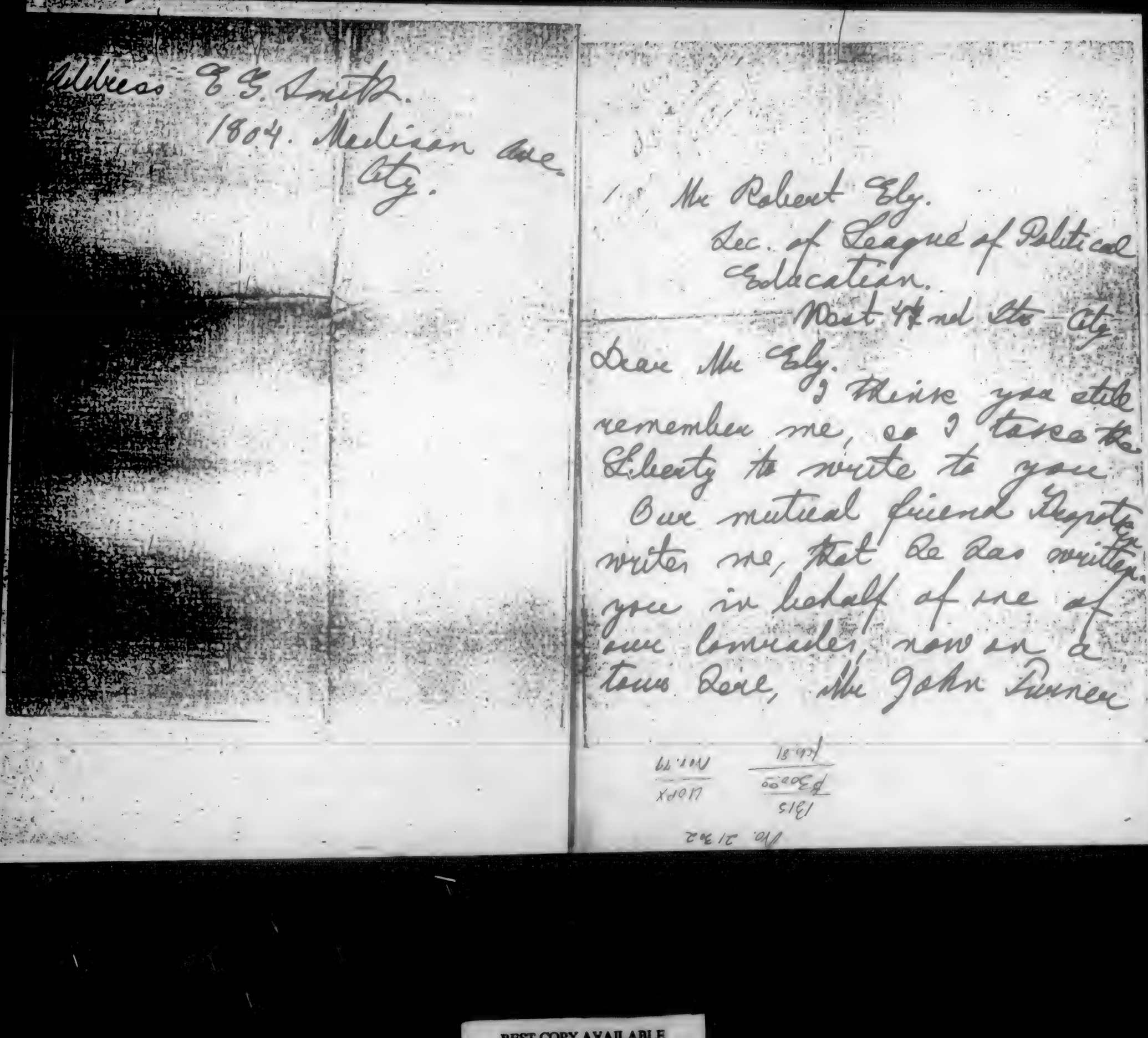
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8407030000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1903 Oct. 22 [New York to] Robert [Erskine] Ely, [New York] / Emma Goldman. – 2 p. ; 22 × 28 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Scriptorium, Beverly Hills, California.



Address E. G. Smith.
1804. Madison Ave.
City.

Mr Robert Ely.
Sec. of League of Political Education.
West 47th nd Sts City

Dear Mr Ely.
I think you still remember me, so I take the Liberty to write to you. Our mutual friend Hapgood writes me, that he has written you in behalf of me as one comrades, now on a tours Here, Mr John Turner

No. 2132
1315
B300.99
Lib. 81
LIOPX
Mar. 79

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840703000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1903 Oct. 22 [New York to] Robert [Erskine] Ely, [New York] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 22 × 28 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Scriptorium, Beverly Hills, California.

In connection with this, I have been notified by Mr Walter Hall, a Gentleman who is interested in Mr Turner's case, that he had written Mrs Sanders asking her ~~to~~ of Mr Turner could be given a date in the League for Political Education and that the lady had referred the matter to you.

I do not know whether or not you have received the matter regarding Turner I am arranging for Mr Hall

and I inclose a card announcing the date already fixed. Mr Turner remains in N.Y. until Dec 1st.

Will you kindly let me know at your earliest convenience if you think Mr Turner could be given a date at your League?

I inclose a biographical sketch of the Man, just to give you an Idea what he has done in the past. Yours truly

Oct 22nd 1903. Emma Goldman

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196

880428002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1903 Nov. 20 [New York to] Emma Goldman, [New York] / [Joseph Barondess].— 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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Nov. 20th, 1903.

Miss. Emma Goldman,

Dear Miss Goldman:-

I have your favor of yesterday, and in answer will say that I have seen Messrs. Jonas Schluster, Peter Barve, and L. Algernon Lee. All of them consented to have their names on the committee, and Mr. Schluster, promised to publish an appeal for funds in the Volks Zeitung. Mr. Lee, promised to write the appeal which I will have ready for the committee on Saturday night, and read it to you. I have collected yesterday $20.67, which makes it in all $40.67, outside of about $250.00 in the hands of the [illegible] which money I will have ready for you to-morrow night to be handed over to Dr. Pult.

There was a conference meeting held last night of the organization originally called by the Forward, and it was decided to [illegible] the existence of the conference indefinitely, and co-operate for the present with your committee. The opinion of the delegate of the conference was, that if we give the existence of the committee, we will not be able to collect any more money. The committee was also elected for the purpose of calling on the different organizations in order to collect money.

Your request for me to go to Philadelphia on Sunday, cannot be complied with by me for the reason that I feel very sick, and cannot possibly go. I have a lecture appointment, for the Social League of Philadelphia for Sunday next, and I do not [illegible] know that [illegible] possible for me to [illegible]

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197

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1903 Nov. 20 [New York to] Emma Goldman, [New York] / [Joseph Barondess].— 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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talking all the time. I feel so tired, that I am compelled to disappoint the people with whom I have made the appointment for next Sunday. I am sorry that I cannot comply with your request, and I assure you that anything else that I can do in the Turner matter, I will do.

Fraternally yours,

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198

88042800

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1903 Dec. 7 [New York to] Emma Goldman, [New York] / Jos[eph] Barondess.— 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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Dec. 7th, 1903.

Miss. Emma Goldman,
1304 Madison Ave., City.

Dear Emma:-

I have received a letter to-day from Algernon Lee, in which he says that he would like to have a copy of the appeal that he has written, which was originally intended for publication in the "Worker". He further says that if his name is among the members of the committee, that he should be invited to the meetings and should be made acquainted with what the committee is doing.

I presume you have heard of the meeting that we had on 2nd Ave., where we made a collection of $100.00. You can see that my judgement was right, when I insisted on running in New York, otherwise, we would have lost $100.00 in the collection. Next time you will know that when it comes to collections, I ought to supervise it, for the very good reason that I know the "tricks of the profession".-I want to suggest to you a plan whereby we could make some money. You are probably aware that Jacob Gordin has written a play in one act entitled, "The [redacted] the Next Side".

We have played it for the [redacted] benefit, and I have taken the principal part. It has been a success, and I am sure that if the same play could be produced [redacted] at some down town big hall, that we would make a [redacted] If you like the plan, please let me know, and I [redacted] Mr. Gordon.

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199

840305033

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1903? Dec.? 16? Cambridge?, England? to] Emma [Goldman, New York] / P[eter] Kropotkin. — 4 p. ; 30 × 23 cm.

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My dear Emma

Harry transmits me your request. Of all "well-to-do people" I saw in New York, I don't know only one single man who is not well-to-do at all, I am happy to say, — and he is Robert Ely, whom you know as well. I spoke also a little to E. Crosby whom I liked & who helps you already.

Altogether, notwithstanding the agitation against the anti-anarchist law must be carried on by truly Republican & American Radicals, who believe in political liberties under the present state. It is extremely kind of our dear Turner

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200

840305033

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1903? Dec.? 16? Cambridge?, England? to] Emma [Goldman, New York] / P[eter] Kropotkin. — 4 p. ; 30 × 23 cm.

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So it is in preparation, in order to lend support to this agitation; ~~but~~ but this is really a great sacrifice of his. Are we not also over with the European Society? If it takes against us drastic laws, like the Lois scélérates in France, all we can do is to fight that Society albeit its laws.

As to speaking these laws, it is ~~not~~ our business to act it. Let those who believe in legislation & "honest laws" do it. In France we learnt it to be Radicals to the League of Human Rights &c. I really do not understand dearest Emma, what does

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201

840305033

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1903? Dec.? 16? Cambridge?, England? to] Emma [Goldman, New York] / P[eter] Kropotkin. — 4 p. ; 30 × 23 cm.

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letter could I write to suggest the application that is carried on & believers in Constitutions.

It is evident that this letter is not for print.

When our fight to spread one of the disputing laws — we must act kinder than — that we are to other Farmer so generously undertakes to help us to fight. The Radicals, & Trade Unionists accomplish their duty in fighting against [illegible] But all we could say is, that the bourgeois law is only exacted [illegible] & [illegible] Labor

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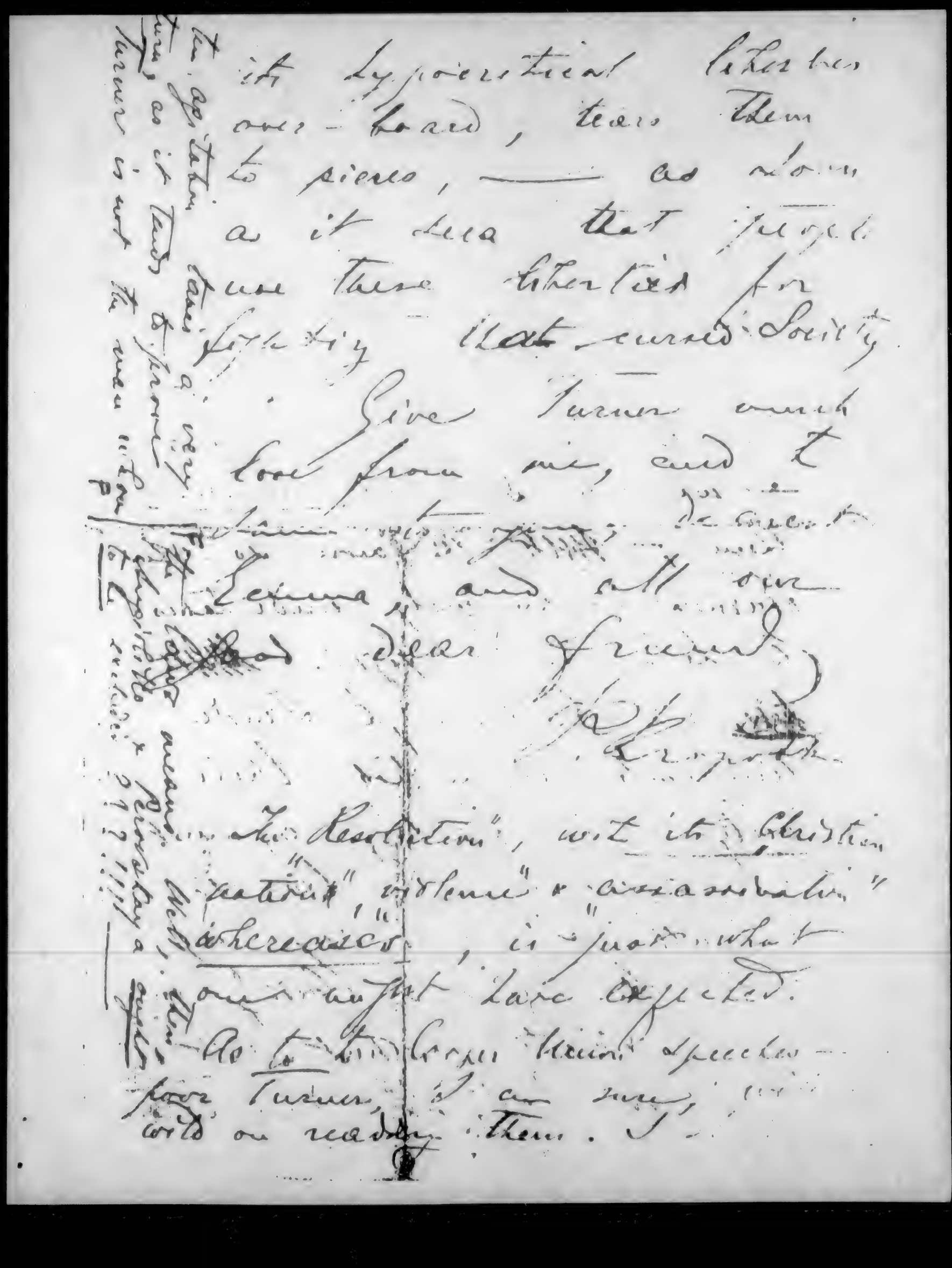
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The Emma Goldman Papers

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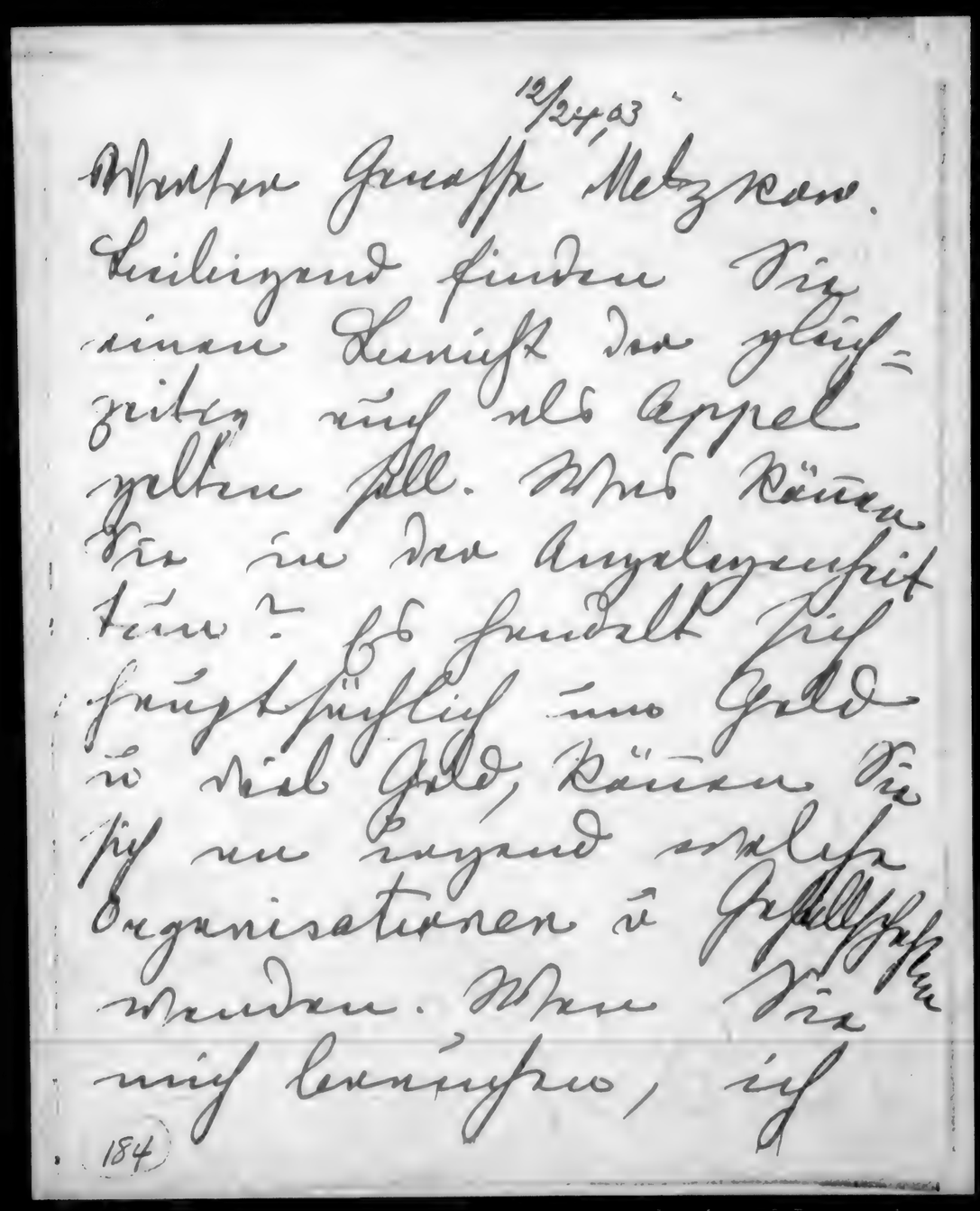
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831115054

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]03 Dec. 24, New York [to Max] Metzkow, [Brooklyn?, N.Y.?] / E[mma] G[oldman].— 2 p. ; 17 × 26 cm.

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12/24/03.

Werther Genosse Metzkow.

Leidigend finden Sie einen Umstand der glückseligen neuen als Appel gelten soll. Wie können Sie in der Angelegenheit tun? Es handelt sich hauptsächlich um Geld u viel Geld, können Sie sie nun irgend welche Organisationen u Gesellschaften finden. Wenn Sie mich benachrichtigen, ich

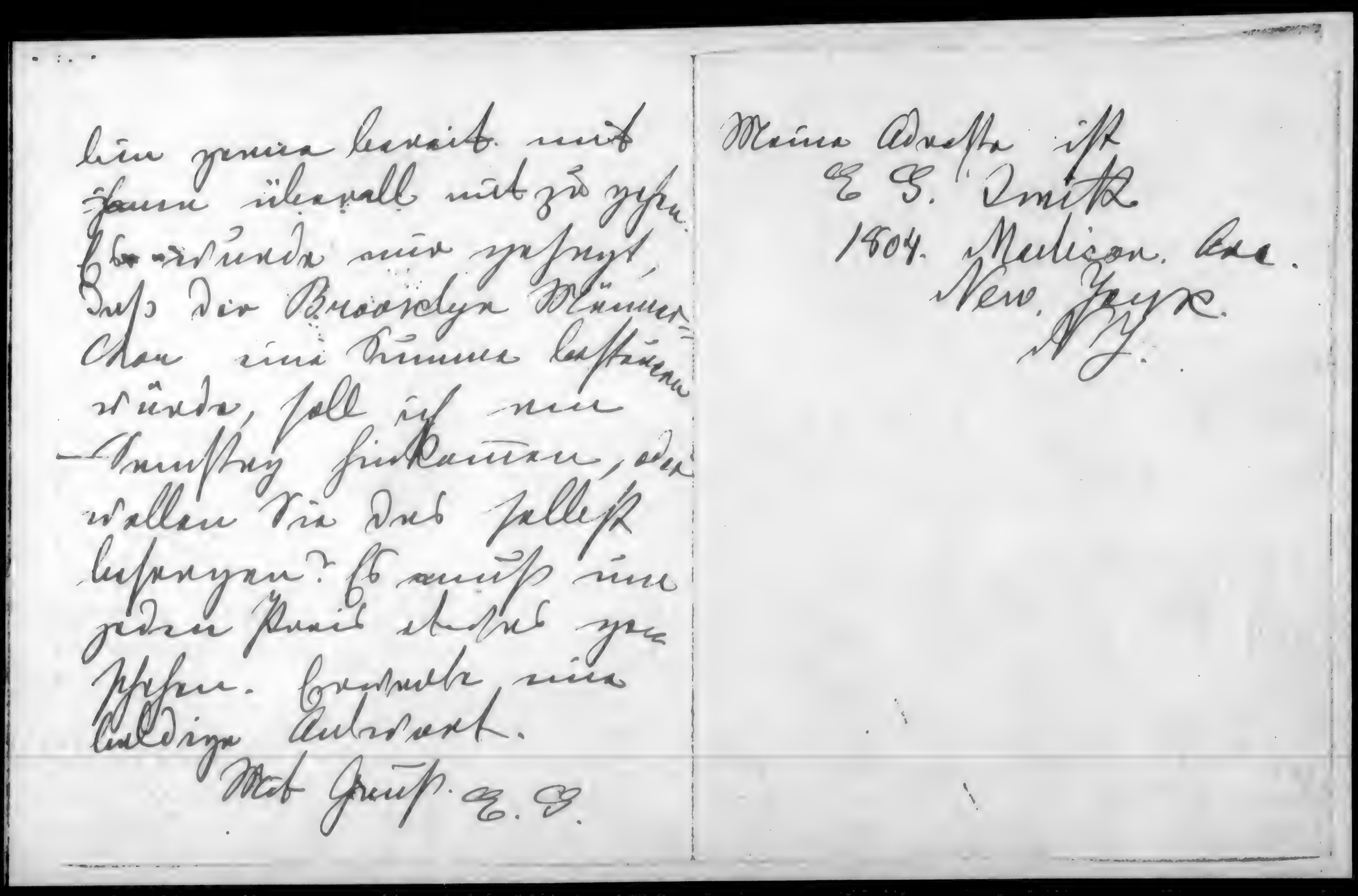
184

831115054

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 19]03 Dec. 24, New York [to Max] Metzkow, [Brooklyn?, N.Y.?] / E[mma] G[oldman]. – 2 p. ; 17 × 26 cm.

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Meine Adresse ist
E. G. Smith
1604. Madison. Ave.
New. York.
N.Y.

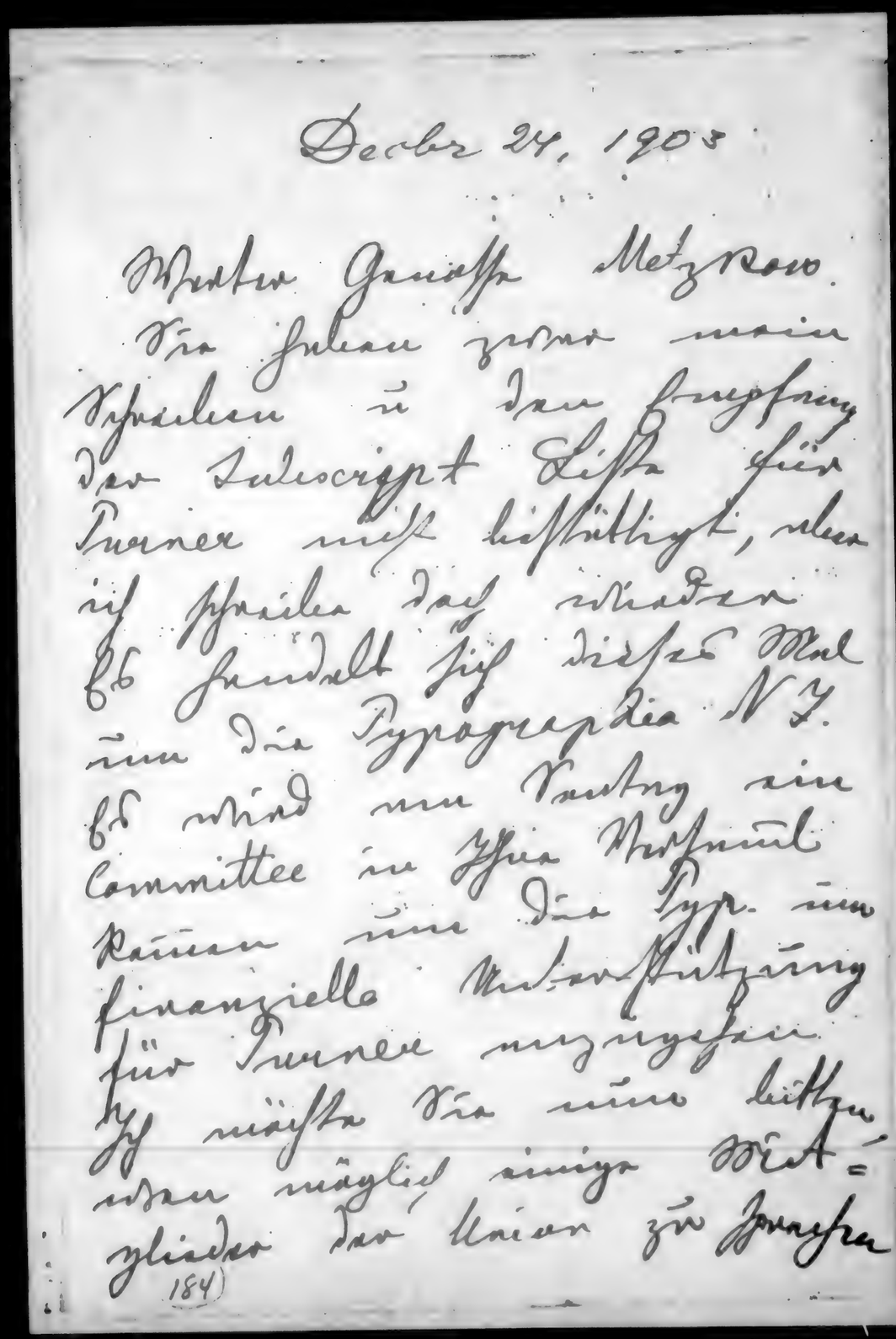
bin genau bereit. mit
Ihnen überall mit zu gehen.
Ich möchte nur gerne wissen,
ob der Brooklyn Männer-
chor eine Dame begleiten
würde, falls ich mir
Ihnen finden kann, oder
wollen Sie das selber
besorgen? Es wäre mir
sehr viel daran gelegen
Ihnen. Erwarte mir
baldige Antwort.
Mit Gruß. E. G.

831115052

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1903 Dec. 24, [New York to Max] Metzkow, [Brooklyn?, N.Y.?] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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Decber 24, 1903

Mother Genossin Metzkow.

Ich habe gerne mein Versprechen u. den Empfang der Subscript Liste für Turner nicht bestätigt, aber ich schreibe das schreiben ist Handwerk für Dich. Es wird nun Sontag ein Committee in Ihre Wohnung kommen um die Typ. um finanzielle Unterstützung für Turner anzugehen. Ich möchte Sie nun bitten wenn möglich einige Mitglieder der Union zu bewegen

184)

831115052

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1903 Dec. 24, [New York to Max] Metzkow, [Brooklyn?, N.Y.?] / Emma Goldman. – 2 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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so sie zu bewundern für
eine gewisse Summe
zu sehen. Wir wollen
das vom Turner Hall
Festival Programm, als
nächst, nimmer u dazu
gehört dann Geld, Wollen
Sie uns nicht helfen?

Mit Gruß.

Emma Goldman.

184

207

880428001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1903 Dec. 29 [New York to] Emma Goldman, [New York] / Jos[eph] Barondess. — 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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Dec. 29th, 1903

Mrs. Emma Goldman

1804 Madison Ave., City.

Dear Emma:-

I have your favor of yesterday, and in answer I beg to say that I have been absent from the meetings because I knew that I could not do much at the meetings myself, and besides, I have been overfilled with engagements which I could not disappoint. Until the Ideal Society will be realised, I have certain duties to perform towards my clients, for which they pay. You have hardly an idea how much of hard work there is in the business I am connected. I am a slave to my infernal business, from early morning to very late at night, and I simply cannot spare any time. When the occasion is so urgent, whereII must disappoint my customers for the good of the cause, I do it, but where it is a mere business meeting, where the regular business is being considered, I don't feel myself justified in neglecting my business and coming there. As to the other matter you mention, that is done during hours which are absolutely useless to me, but you may rest assured that I will never debard from attending meetings.

Now, regarding the play called the "Benefactors of the East Side". I beg to say that I find that it will be impossible to produce it, for the reason that those who are taking parts in this production cannot be gotten together. I suggest that the best thing we can do is to take a benefit in a hurry at some theatre, and I would also suggest that you come down or make an appointment

880428001

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E. G. ——2

to meet me some time next Monday night, and we will go down to the United Hebrew Trades, and induce the Theatrical Unions to take a benefit for some matinee at some Theatre. I assure you that it will be a success, and that is the only thing we can do regarding the benefit.

Yours very truly,

Jos. Barondess Jr.

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1904 Jan.? New York? to Alexander Berkman, Allegheny, Pa. (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 26 × 16 cm.

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and we are going to have D.S.
removed to N.Y. Chicago is
quite dead and the Papers
has been but Life and Heart
ever since it has been
removed to Chicago. N.Y. is
after all the Center of the Radical
movement, thousands are living
raised for the Free Ale Stimmen
and I have no doubt that I
would get along much better
also. Yes time does change us
we do not to same extent, only
it seems we can not get
rid of the old adam altogether
For instance I never felt so
miserable down in, so tired
and worn out from and tramp
people. I feel as if I were
in a Swamp and try as
much as I may I can not
get out. Why can I not emancipate from them, why am
I cursed with the inability
to say no although my whole

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210

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being rebels against the ever-
lasting Yes, which people so
easily abuse and misuse.
Just say Yes, once and every
body seems to take it granted
on you. I am here the in-
variable drunkard, I take the
best intentions to be enjoined
to get away from people, to
take a small place and live
alone or any with one
friend, I vainly that I do
have energy enough to carry
it out, but will I have strength
to keep it up! I fear not,
I fear I am for ever doomed
to remain public property and
to have my life torn out
through the care for the lives
of others. Oh, my friend I can
not say all I feel, but I only
know I feel crowded out

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211

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of my need for dear ~~dear~~ space
I am tired, tired, tired —
I have been terribly neglegent
towards you dear, have not
even sent you Newyears
greetings, but I have never
ceased been grateful that
the Newyear began, as every
day brings you nearer to
me or rather nearer to the
time when you will be
quite close to me — —

And you dearest, how
are you, have you done anything
on the line of preparatory
work for your Medical
course. Write me soon please
and let me if you feel like
do. I long to hear from you
With all the donation that I
am capable to give I remain
always and ever your friend
M.

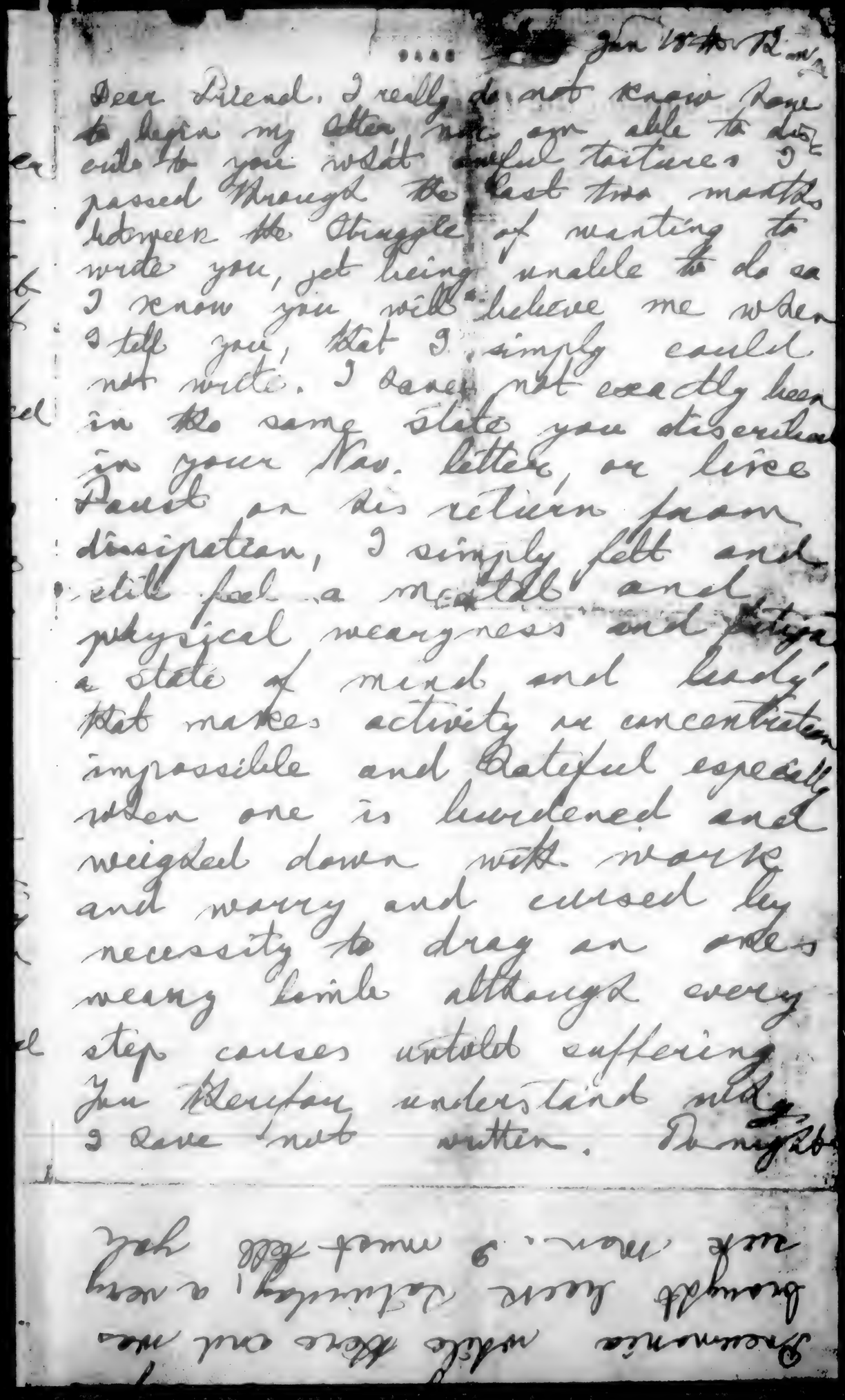
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[Letter, 1904] Jan. 18 [New York? to Alexander Berkman, Allegheny, Pa. (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 27 × 16 cm.

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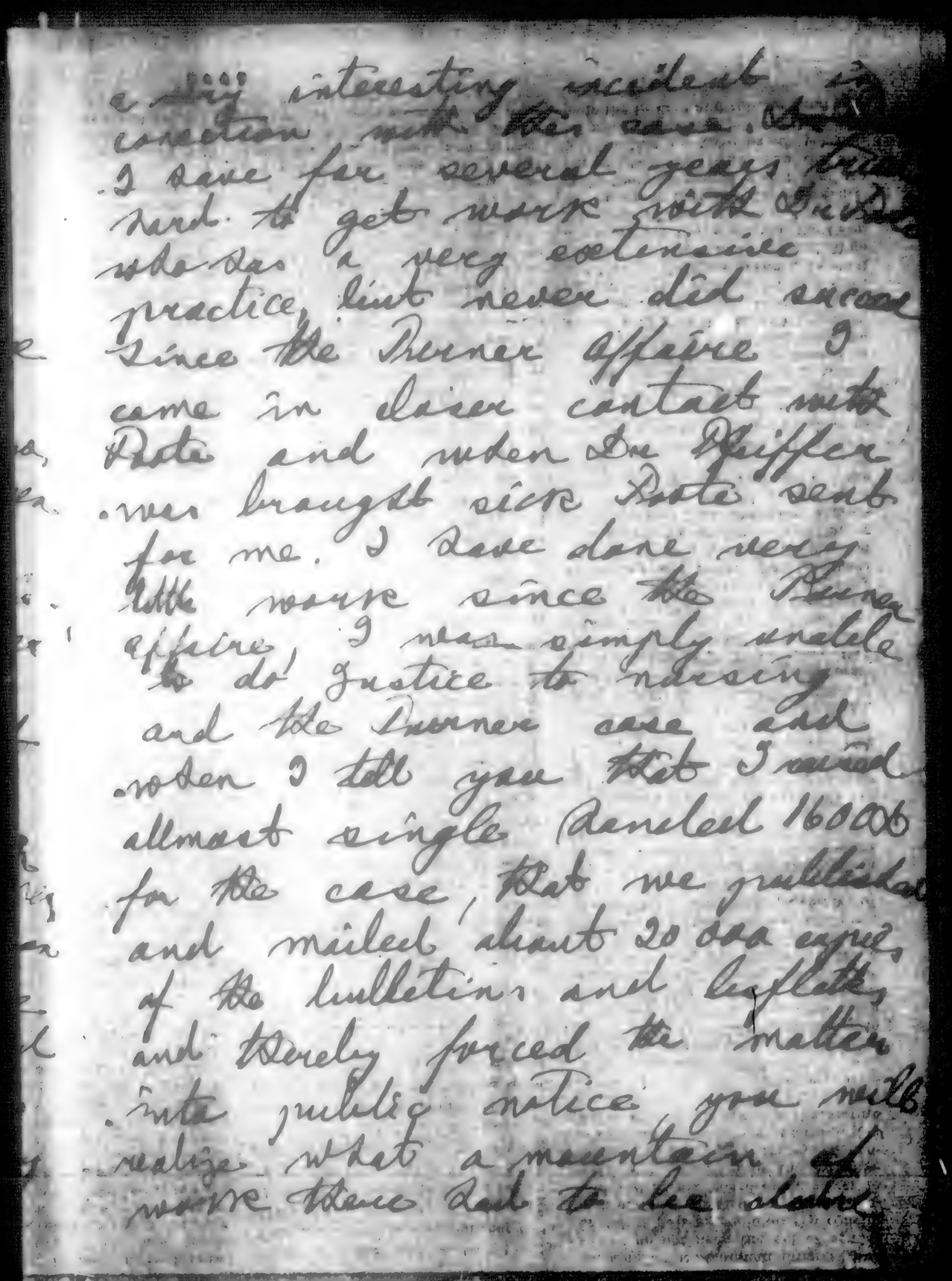
Dear Friend. I really do not know how to begin my letter now am able to write to you with all the tortures I passed through the last two months between the struggle of wanting to write you, yet being unable to do so I know you will believe me when I tell you, that I simply could not write. I have not exactly been in the same state you discovered in your Bro. letter, or since Paul on his return from dissipation, I simply felt and still feel a mental and physical weariness and fatigue a state of mind and body that makes activity or concentration impossible and hateful especially when one is burdened and weighed down with worry and worry and cursed by necessity to drag an endless weary limb although every step causes untold suffering. You therefore understand why I have not written. Dear Sasha

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a very interesting incident in
connection with her case.
I have for several years
tried to get work with Dr Dr
who has a very extensive
practice, but never did succeed
Since the Berner affaire I
came in direct contact with
Dr and when Dr Pfeiffer
was brought sick Dr sent
for me. I have done very
little work since the Berner
affaire, I was simply unable
to do justice to nursing
and the Berner case and
when I tell you that I raised
almost single handed 16000
for the case, that we published
and mailed about 20 000 copies
of the bulletins and leaflets,
and thereby forced the matter
into public notice you will
realize what a mountain of
work there had to be climbed

870922163

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1904] Jan. 18 [New York? to Alexander Berkman, Allegheny, Pa. (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 3 p. ; 27 × 16 cm.

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and how little time I had for anything else. Of course, if it had been according to their dear "Genossen" Turner would have been deported long ago and not a voice raised against it. As it is we do not expect anything favorable from the Supreme Court, but we gained what we tried for, namely publicity and agitation. Or is consistency what a farce the very people who Stand the loudest are usually those who are the most inconsistent every minute of their lives. Turner is facing fine, he gained so the sentence is not Deported, but then he is wonderfully evenly balanced as everything is only an Englishman can be. The Turner matter has also given birth to a general revival, we have been holding splendid meetings in our clubs

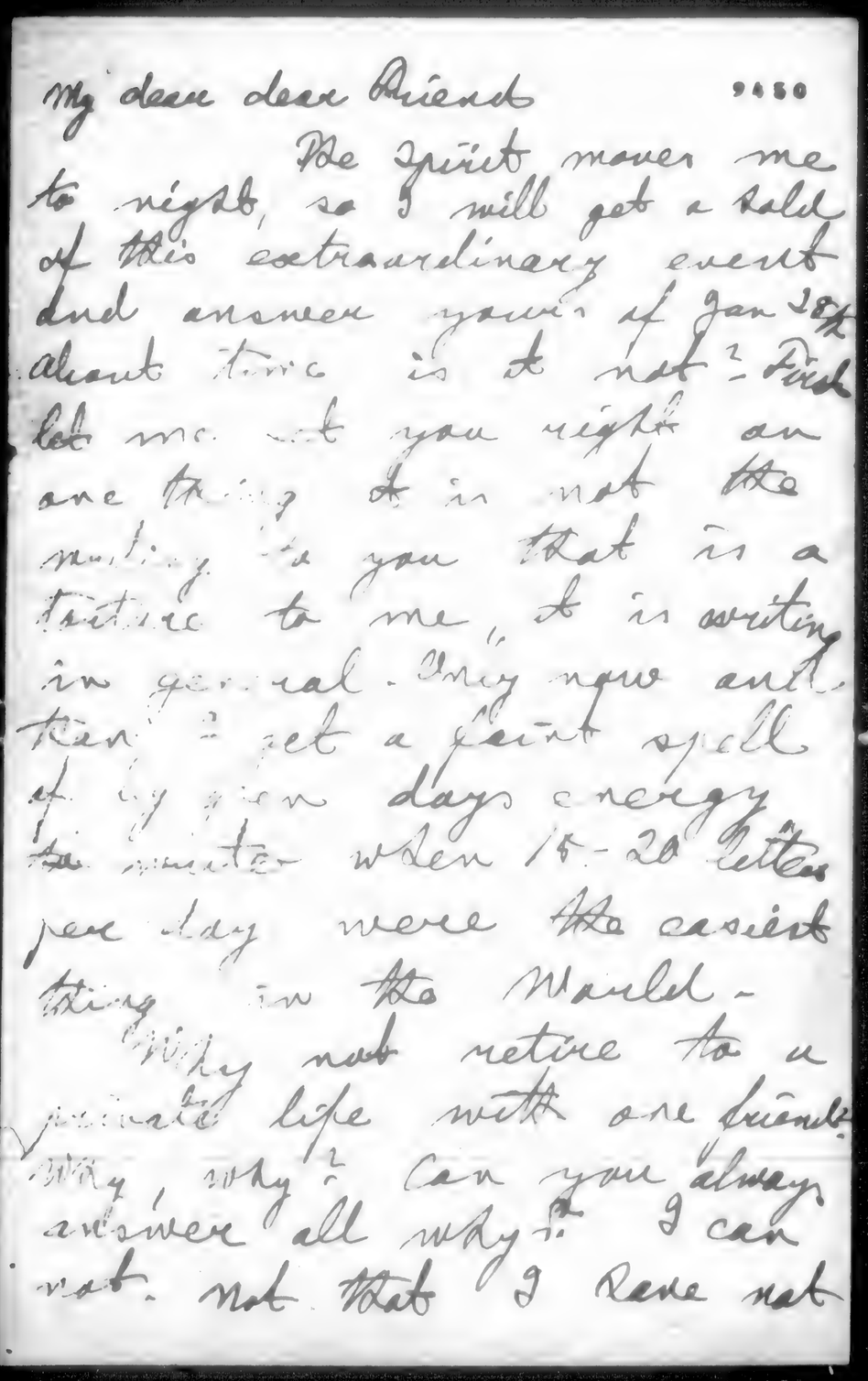
215

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My dear dear Friend 9450

The Spirit moves me to night, so I will get a hold of this extraordinary event and answer yours of Jan 18th about time. is it not? Pinch [illegible] me & you might an one thing it is not the writing to you that is a torture to me, it is writing in general. Only now and then I get a faint spell of my own days energy the winter when 15-20 letters per day were the easiest thing in the World.

Why not retire to a private life with one friend? Why, why? Can you always answer all why's? I can not. Not that I have not

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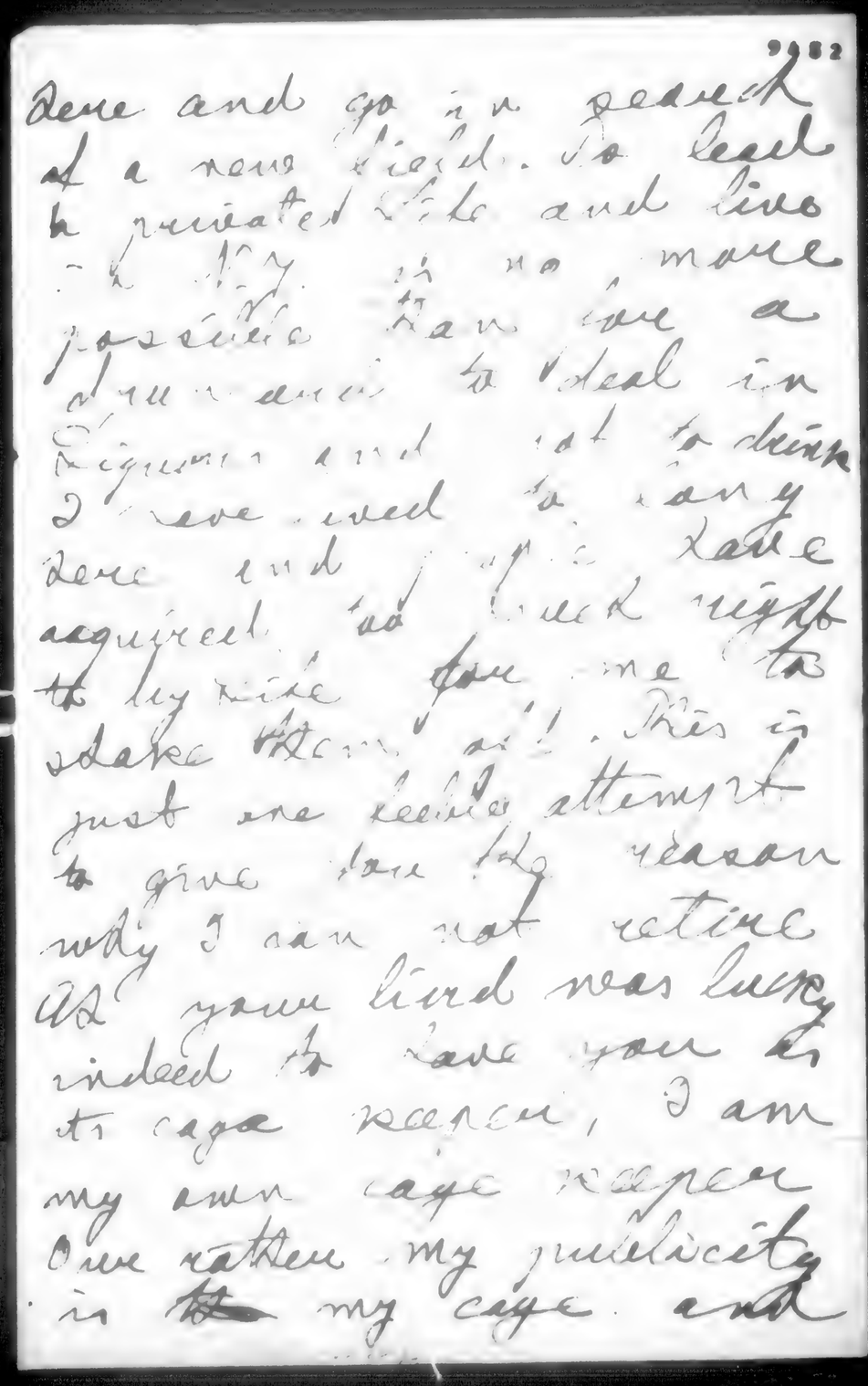
after longed to do as
as that I do not long
for it now. I never was
so tired of people, I never
felt so betrayed in as
pressed to the wall by
my surroundings, yet I
see no way of my getting
rid of this nerve destroying
life of mine. I am tied
economically hand and
feet. I owe nearly 400 $
some which must be
paid. I am worn out
from the fierce struggle
of the last 3 years in
building up a practice
and I so simply have
not the energy and courage
to drop whatever little
ground I have gained

870922164

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1904? Feb.? New York to Alexander Berkman, Allegheny, Pa. (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 17 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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"22

Here and go in search
of a new field. To lead
a private life and live
- by my self no more
possible than for a
man and to deal in
figures and not to deal
I have used to many
here and [illegible] have
acquired to [illegible] right
to by side for me to
shake them off. This is
just one feeble attempt
to give you the reason
why I am not retire
As your kind was lucky
indeed to have you to
to cage keeper, I am
my own cage keeper
One rather my publicity
is the my cage and

870922164

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1904? Feb.? New York to Alexander Berkman, Allegheny, Pa. (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. – 17 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

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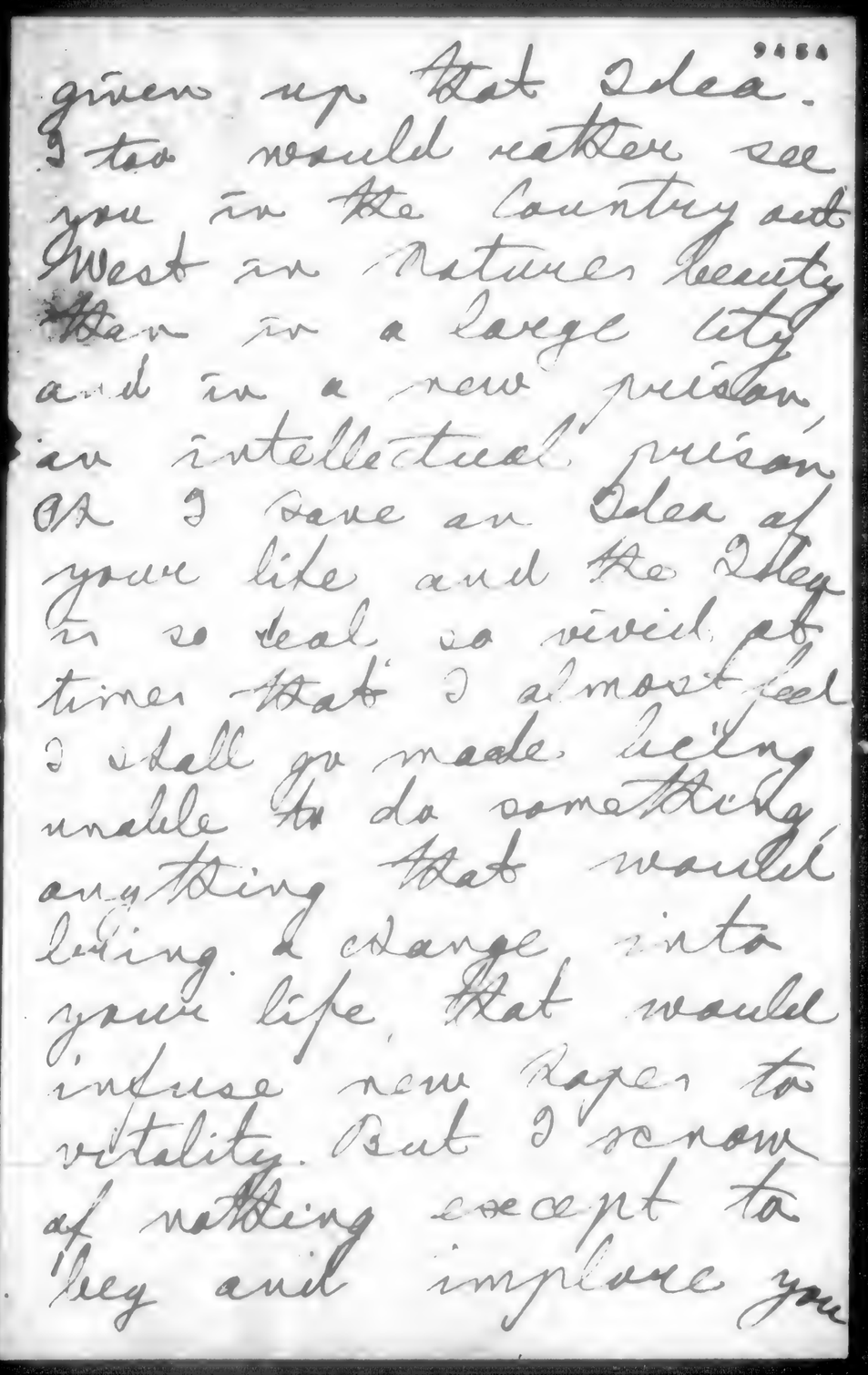
it is a strang Land
and pecculeng cage at that
But what use is it
to talk about it. –
I am not surprised
dear that you dislike
the idear to enter college
after 13-14 years im=
prisonement. I could
not quite see the sense
of it when you first
wrote about it. But
I decidedly consented to
it because I had hoped
that whatever preperation
you will have to make
will help pass your
time away. But since
this is not the case
I want to tell you that
I am glad you have

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given up that Idea.
I too would rather see
you in the Country out
West in Natures beauty
than in a large city
and in a new prison,
an intellectual prison
as I have an Idea of
your like and the Ideas
in so real, so vivid at
times that I almost feel
I shall go made being
unable to do something
anything that would
bring a change into
your life, that would
infuse new Rages to
vitality. But I screw
of nothing except to
beg and implore you

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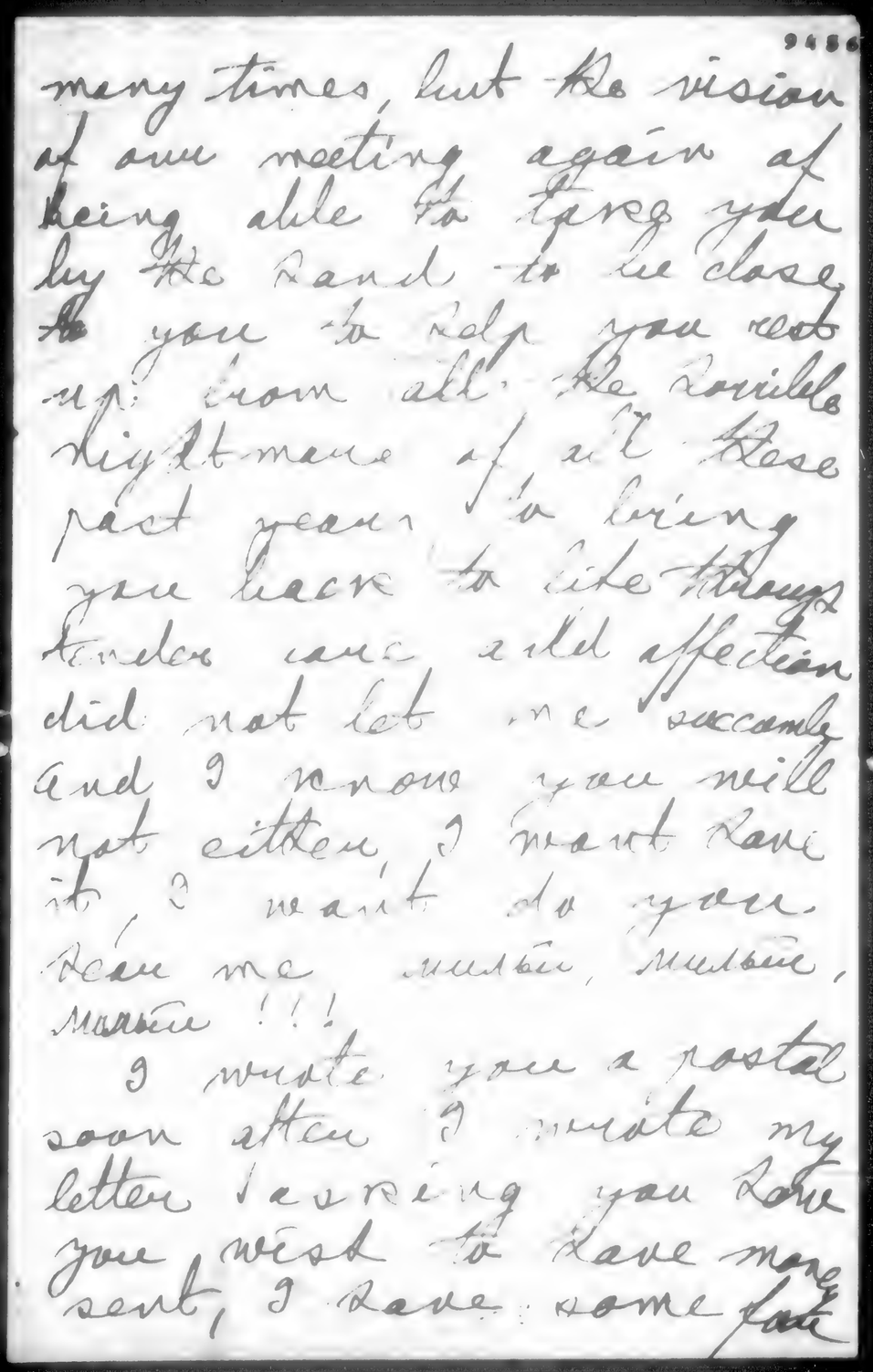
to stretch your patience
a little longer and not
to let them hear you speak
about get cold of you
too much. I know it
is not in you we women
and it is a folly to ask
you to be more patient
than you have been
all these years, yet woman=
like I am vain enough
to believe that you could
and that you will bold
and for my sake I ask
the same sake in my devotion
for the sake at meeting
again as you think
I have not suffered all
these years; do you think
I have not been on the
verge of calling out in

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2486

many times, but the vision
of our meeting again of
being able to hold you
by the hand to be close
to you to help you rest
up from all the terrible
nightmare of all those
past years to bring
you back to life through
tender care and affection
did not let me succumb
and I know you will
not either, I want have
it, I want do you
Love me much, much,
more !!!

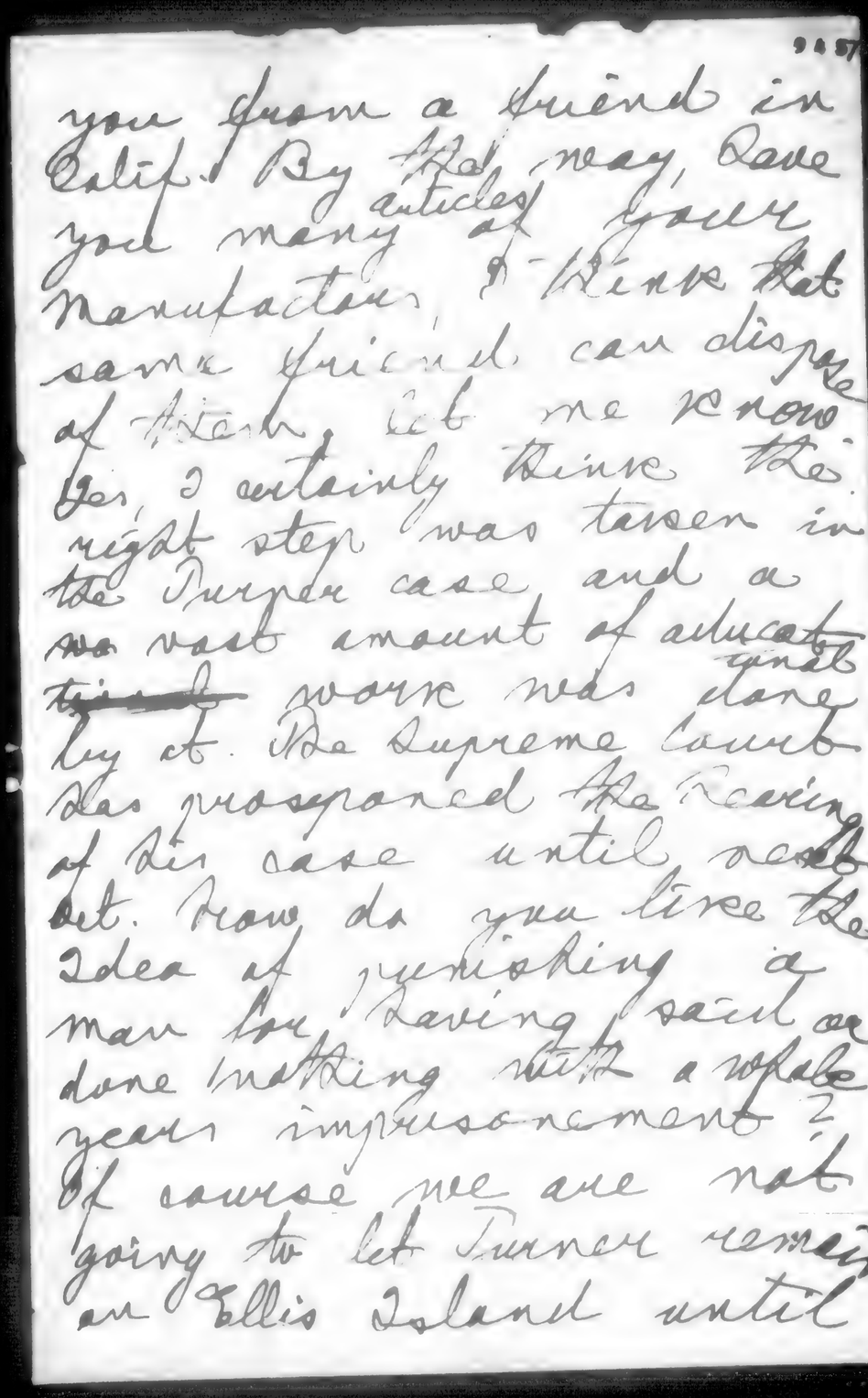
I wrote you a postal
soon after I wrote my
letter assuring you Love
you wish to have more
sent, I have some fate

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[Letter, 1904? Feb.? New York to Alexander Berkman, Allegheny, Pa. (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. — 17 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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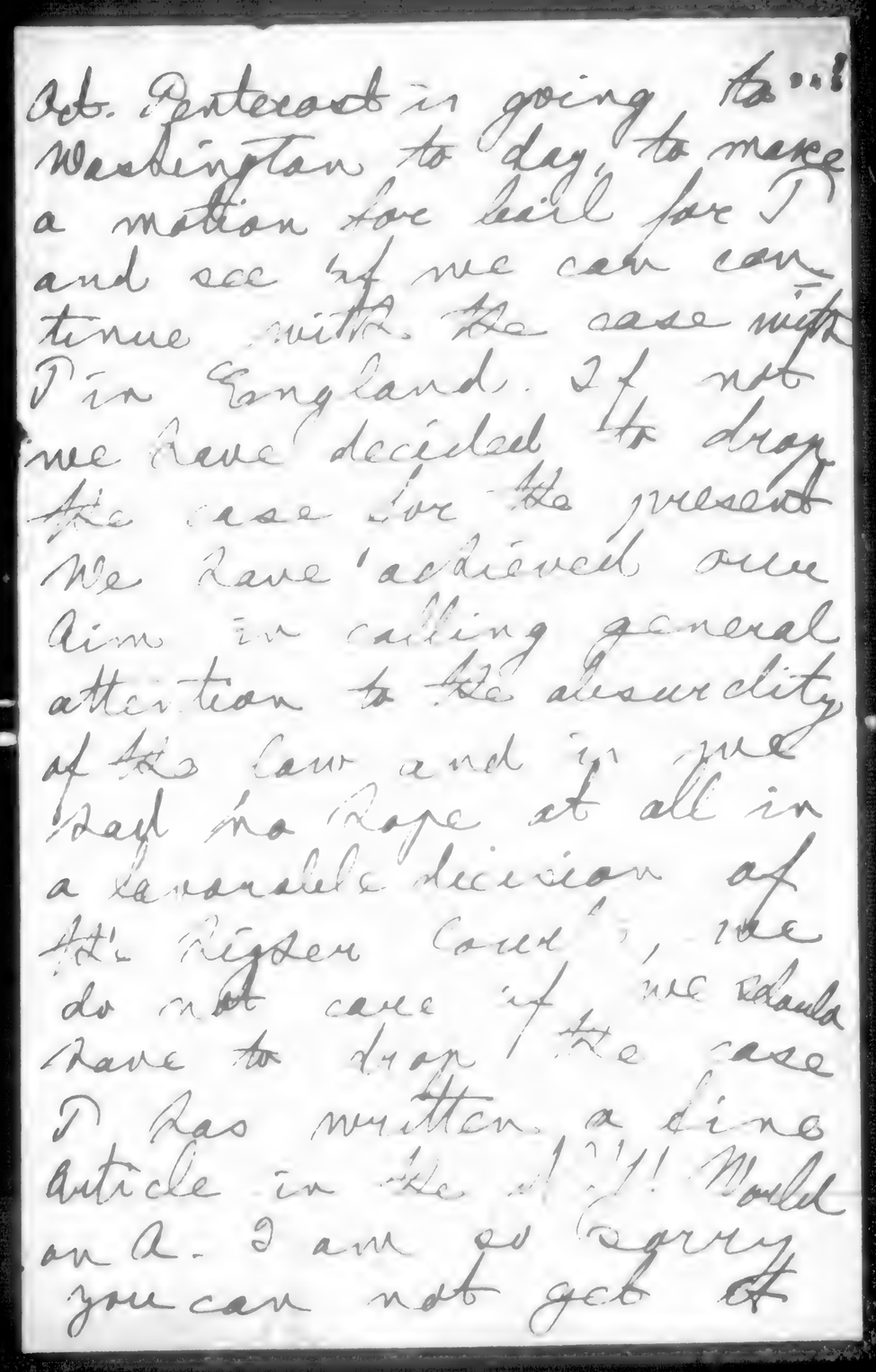
you from a friend in exile. By the way, have you many articles of your manufacture. I think that same friend can dispose of them, let me know. Yes, I certainly think the right step was taken in the Snyder case, and a vast amount of educational work was done by it. The Supreme Court has postponed the hearing of his case until next Oct. How do you like the idea of punishing a man for having said or done nothing with a whole years imprisonment? Of course we are not going to let Turner remain on Ellis Island until

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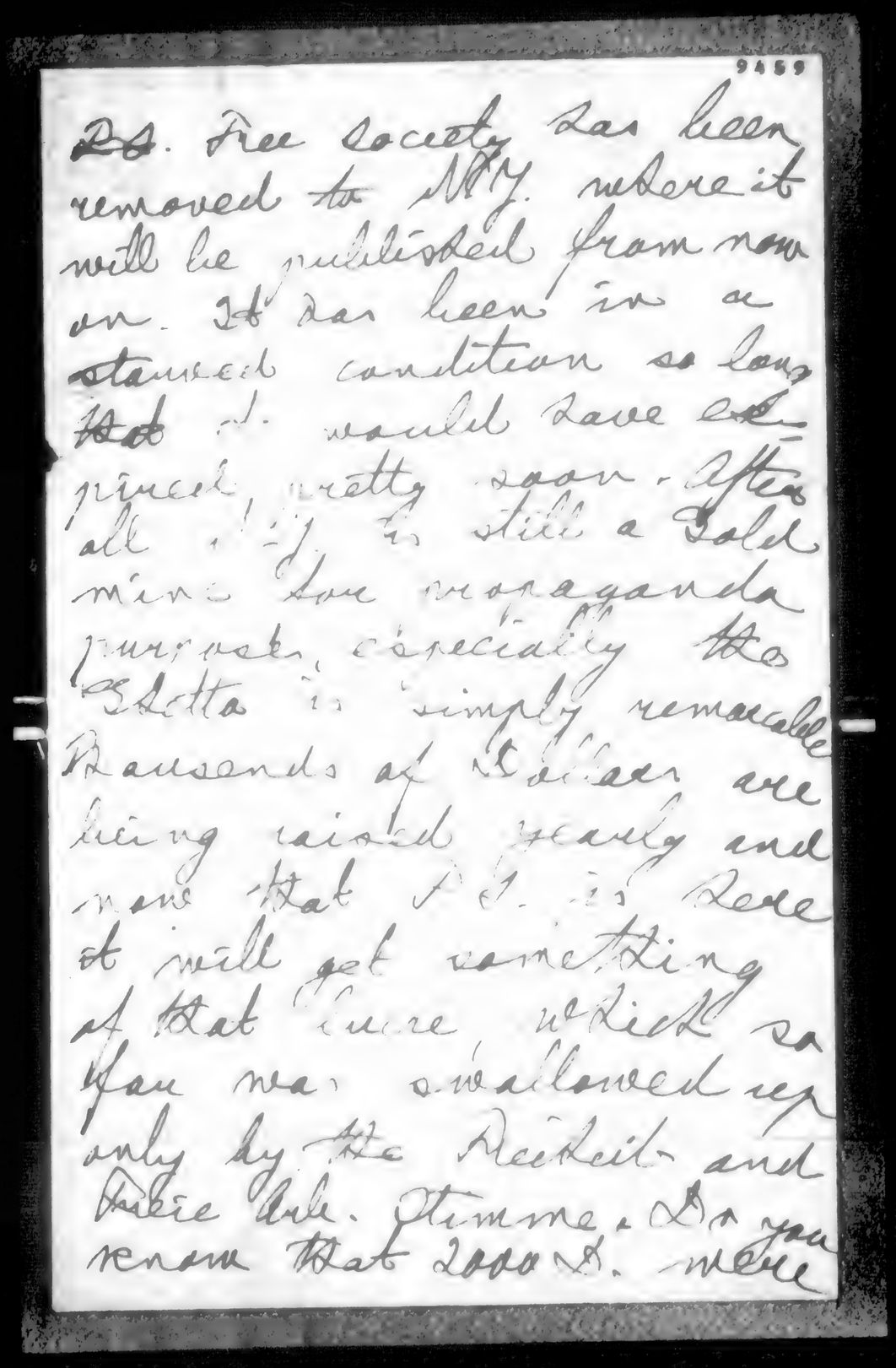
Alex. Berkman is going to Washington to day to make a motion for bail for I and see if we can continue with the case with D in England. If not we have decided to drop the case for the present. We have achieved our aim in calling general attention to the absurdity of the law and in fact no hope at all in a favorable decision of the Supreme Court, we do not care if we should have to drop the case D has written a fine article in the World on A. I am so sorry you can not get it

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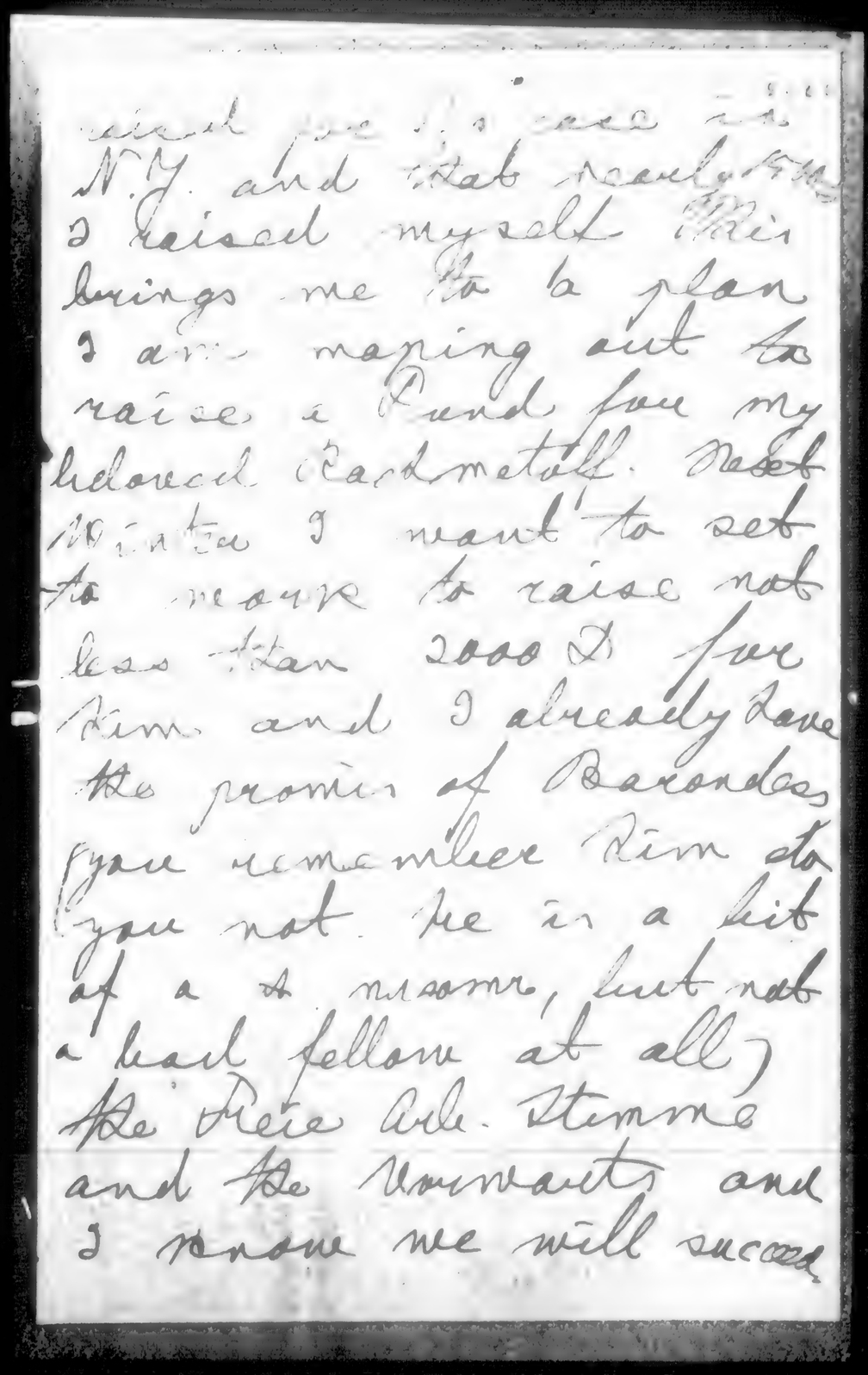
PS. Free society has been removed to N.Y. where it will be published from now on. It has been in a starved condition so long it would have expired pretty soon. After all N.Y. is still a fertile mine for propaganda purposes, especially the Ghetto is simply remarkable. Thousands of Italians are being raised yearly and mens that A.B. is here it will get something of that sure, which he can use to advantage only by the Reichert and Fabrie Arb. Stimme. Do you know that 2000 S. were

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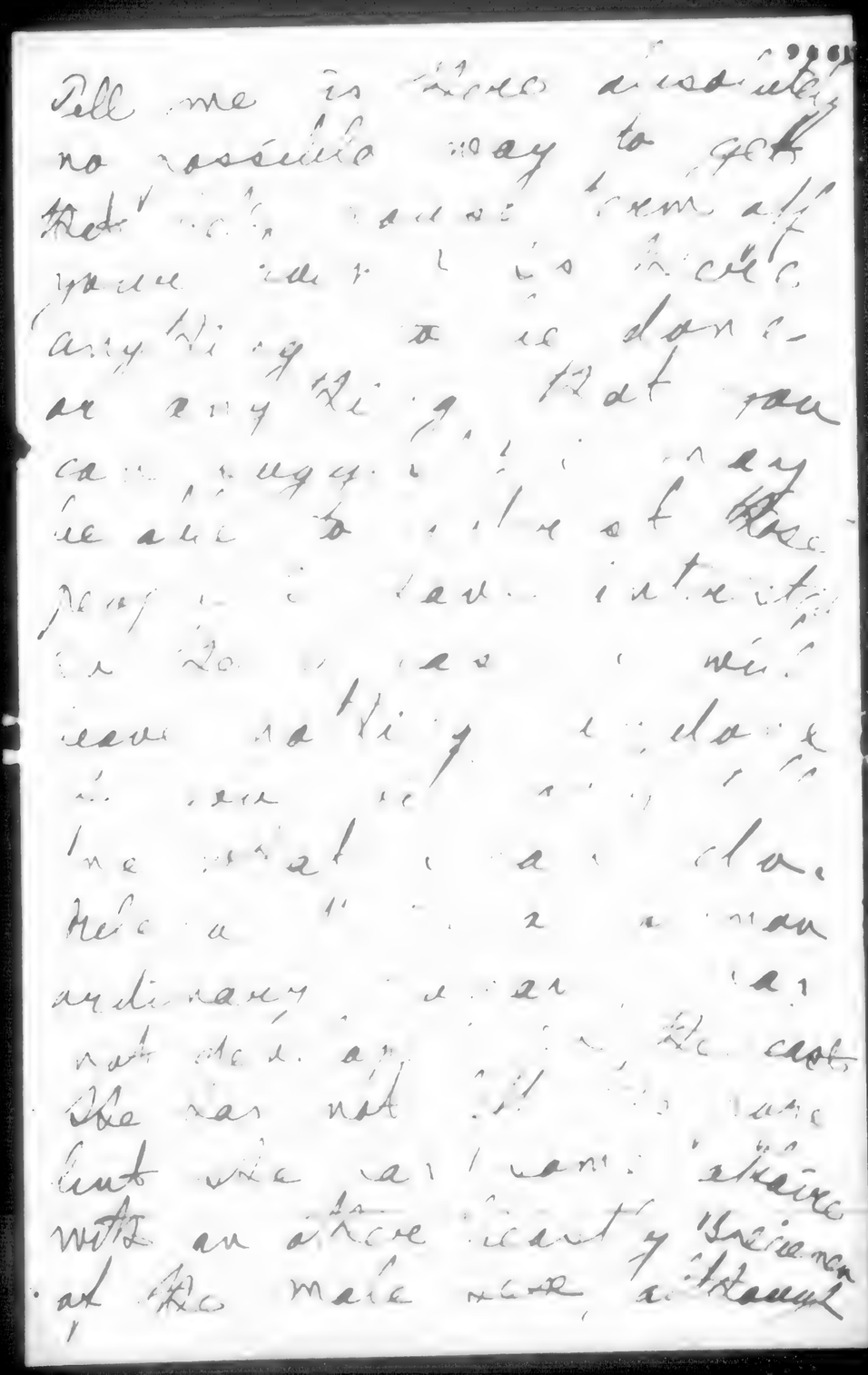
raised for it's cause in
N.Y. and that roused me
I raised myself this
brings me to a plan
I am maping out to
raise a Fund for my
beloved Kardmetoff. Next
Winter I want to set
to weave to raise not
less than 2000 D for
Him and I already have
the promis of Barondess
you remember Him do
you not. He is a bit
of a A nrsonn, but not
a bad fellow at all)
the Freie Arb. Stimme
and the Vorwarts and
I know we will succed

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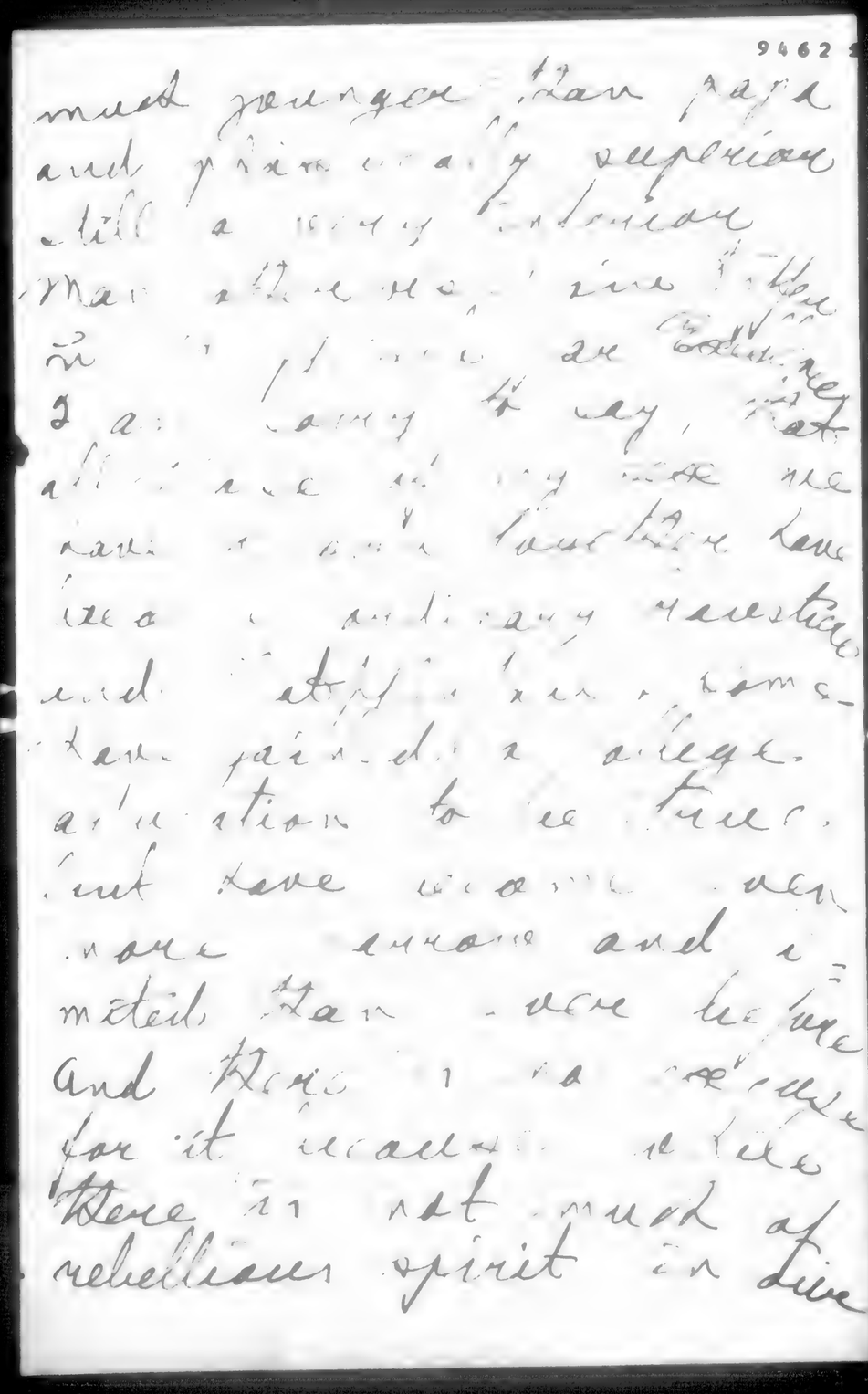


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ranges. There is a very
large intellectual, general
life on the East side.
Literature, the Drama
the social side, have
grown wonderfully, but
so have some men, but
the women have re=
trogressed to an amazing
extent. It is sad, but
true, will it always
be so?

Well, dear dear, I hope
this letter will again
do away with your
decision of revenge,
besides you ought to
leave all such decisions
for a later day, when

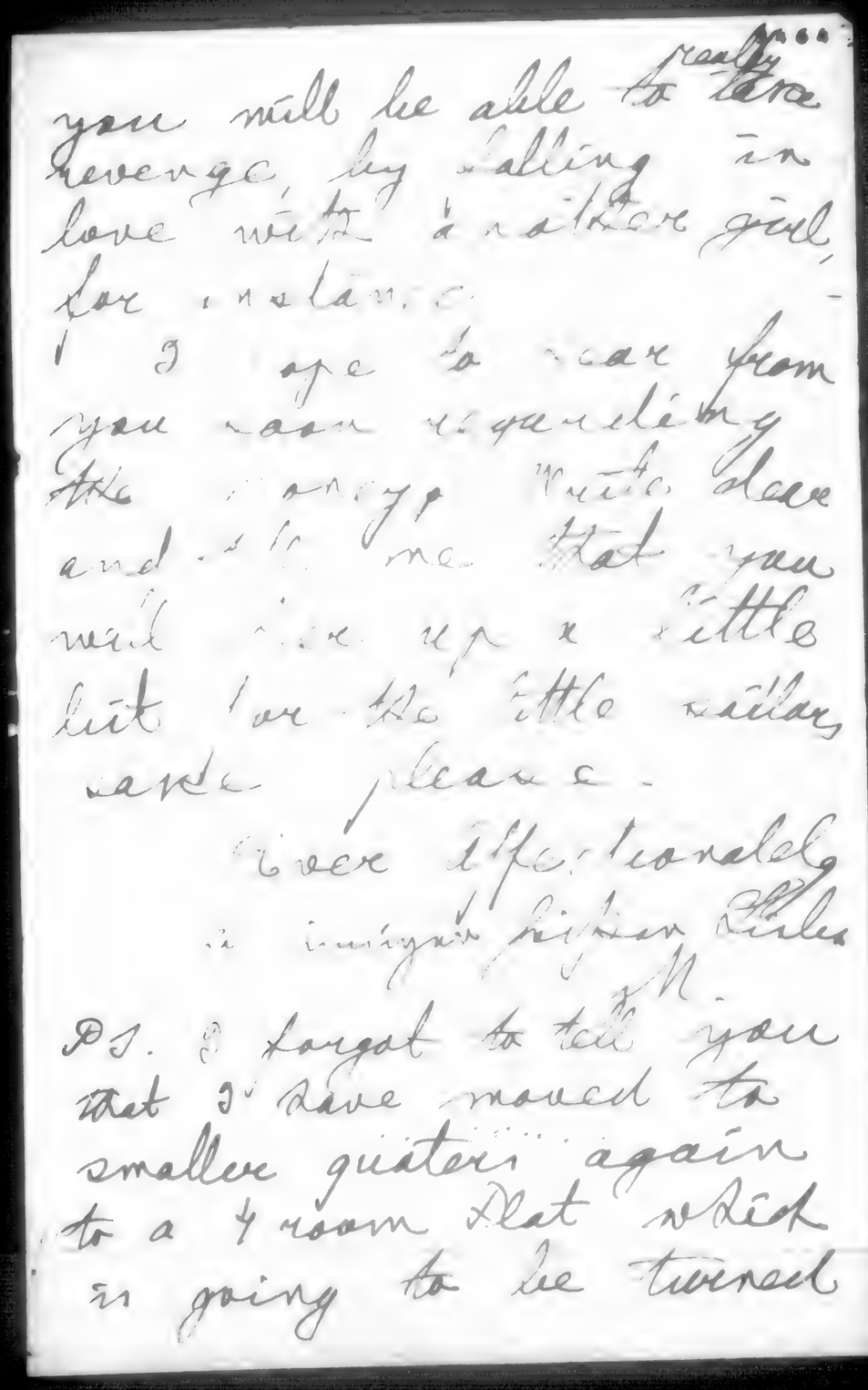
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you will be able to realize
revenge, by falling in
love with another girl,
for instance.
I hope to hear from
you soon regarding
the change. Write, dear
and tell me that you
will give up a little
but for the little sailor
sake please.
Ever affectionately
Your Emigrant Sister
E.
P.S. I forgot to tell you
that I have moved to
smaller quaters again
to a 4 room flat which
is going to be turned

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into an old-maids den,
only as soon as Stella
comes. I am making a
bold attempt to get rid
of Ray and Fedo dogs.
Meanwhile I have one
room rented to a young
Woman and the Osaka
Jap is with me until
Sir Salter come.

"Emma Goldman" not
a friend of Dolly Dalton,
and is a very dear friend
of mine. She is typically
German, loud & blonde
Rael, very fat, ~~and~~
She has written some
very good Poems
published & and other
papers and has

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231

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[Letter, 1904? Feb.? New York to Alexander Berkman, Allegheny, Pa. (fragment)] / [Emma Goldman]. – 17 p. ; 20 × 13 cm.

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also translated "Mädchen
of Charlotte Perkins
Gilman's Poetry into
German, as it is also
a very good Book,
Dear [illegible] and Rose
from an old Rochester
Pearl lie and Raven
Dear two small Children
along whom you have
been upgrading Dear
self. She is now
studying Medicine
I am glad she wrote
to you and Hope you
will encourage Her
to write More.
Has Havel been

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831115059

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1904 Feb. 9, New York [to Max] Metzkow, Brooklyn, N.Y. / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 14 × 15 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The Houghton Library, Harvard University.

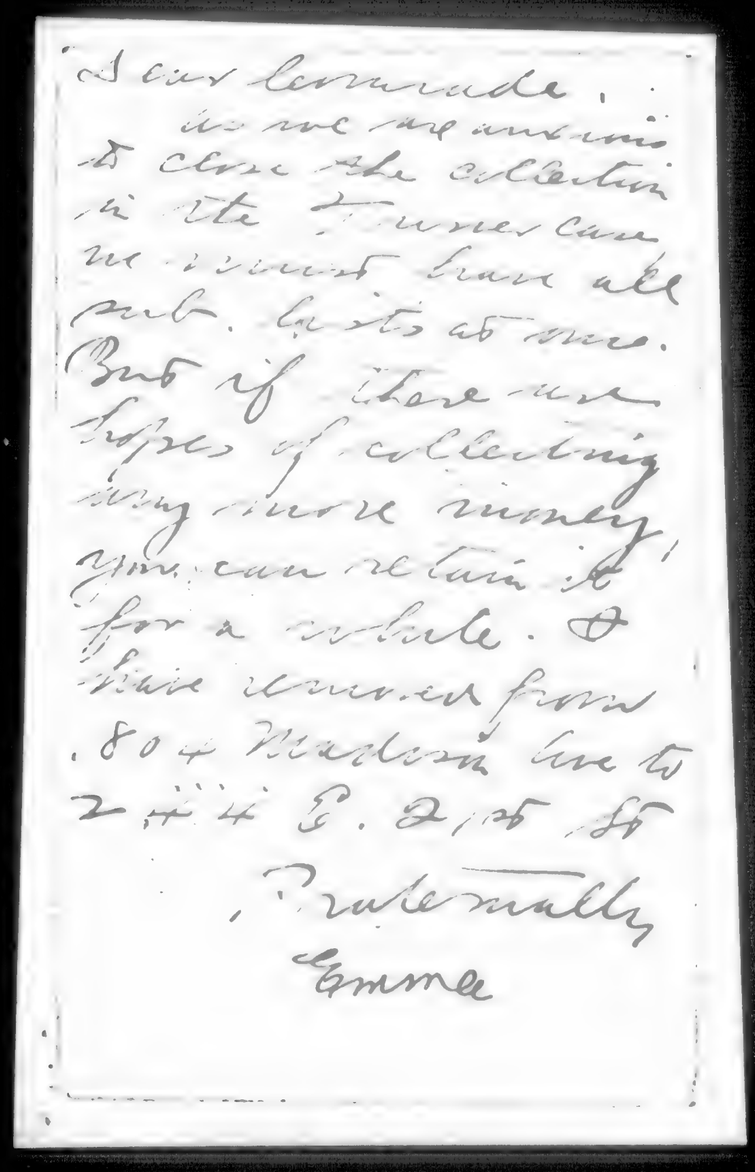


831115059

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Postcard] 1904 Feb. 9, New York [to Max] Metzkow, Brooklyn, N.Y. / Emma [Goldman]. — 2 p. ; 14 × 15 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The Houghton Library, Harvard University.



Dear Comrade,

As we are anxious to close the collection in the Tucker case we cannot leave all such bills as this as ours. But if there are hopes of collecting any more money you can retain it for a rebate. I have removed from 804 Madison Ave to 244 E. 2/25 St

Fraternally
Emma

870922165

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1904 March 24, New York [to] Emma Goldman, [New York] / E.B. Foote, Jr.— 1 p. ; 27 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

THE FREE SPEECH LEAGUE

Organized May 1, 1902

THE LEAGUE DEMANDS

freedom of peaceable assembly, of discussion and propaganda; an uncensored press, telegraph, and telephone; an unsuspected express; an inviolable mail.

FOR THESE WE WORK BY MEANS OF

the press and platform and the courts; by persuasion, argument, petition, protest, and demand; through the agencies of election and rejection. But the education of brains and quickening of consciences are first in order of time and effect.

Better a thousand-fold abuse of Free Speech than denial of Free Speech; the abuse dies in a day, but the denial slays the life of the people and entombs the hope of the race.—CHARLES BRADLAUGH.

OFFICERS:

E. W. CHAMBERLAIN.....PRESIDENT.
111 West 42d St., New York.
A. C. PLEYDELL.....SECRETARY.
175 Broadway, New York.
E. B. FOOTE, JR., M. D.....TREASURER.
120 Lexington Ave., New York.

Executive Committee:

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GEO. MACDONALD.	MOSES OPPENHEIMER.
BENJ. R. TUCKER.	H. GAYLORD WILSHIRE.
JOS. BARONDESS.	CHARLES OBERWAGER.
D. ROUSSEAU.	WILLIAM GRAVEN.
W. F. DOLL.	CHARLES B. SPAHR.
ALEXANDER JONAS.	ALGERNON LEE.
HERMAN SCHLUETER.	PETER E. BURROWES.

Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple; who ever knew truth put to the worse, in a free and open encounter? Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing.—JOHN MILTON.

This is the most important issue that can enlist human attention, for there can be no life nor growth without liberty, and freedom of expression is the basis and beginning of liberty.....No clumsy external coercion can resist moral force—the calm, deliberate persistency of good men who WILL be free.—J. WM. LLOYD.

The chief art of reform is to be radical. No unrepealed statute is ever obsolete. The head of every wrong lives still while its principle is spared.—M. D. CONWAY.

New York. Mar. 24-1904

By vote of this Committee Emma Goldman has been appointed our agent to collect funds for the defence of James Cale, and we ask all friends of this cause to aid her and us in providing means for prompt and energetic action.

E. B. Foote Jr Treas

830523133

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1904 July 2, N[ew] Y[ork to Lillian] Wald, [New York] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 17 × 15 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Columbia University Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Institutional Location: Lillian Wald Papers, Special Manuscripts Collection.

N. Y. July 2, 1904.

Dear Miss Wald.

The bearer of this note, Miss Lydia Landau, is a friend of mine, who is making a brave fight, to gain an independent living for herself and her two children. She has attempted several things without much success, owing to the fact, that she has no place where it

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leave her two little girls.
I have ~~advised~~ advised her to see you, because I know of no one so competent to direct her, as to either a day nursery or home, where she can put the children, without great cost.
I know that you are very busy, and I really hate to bother you, but I would like the little woman to get in. And I hope you will be kind enough to give her whatever assistance you see fit.
Yours truly
Emma Goldman

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831220022

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1904 Nov., New York [to Lillian] Wald, [New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. – 2 p. ; 35 × 25 cm.

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New York. NY 1904? 190

My dear Miss Wald

I did not reach Rome last night until very late. I found your note only this morning too late to give our beloved Baltimorean your message. However I provided some Champagne for Sea, as I renew it to be very good for Sea Sickness.

I am awfully sorry to have been out when you called. I wanted Baltimorean to have some comforts while she stayed with me, so I need to get away earlier, now I shall remain in the Office until 5 P.M. except next Monday when I want to see the

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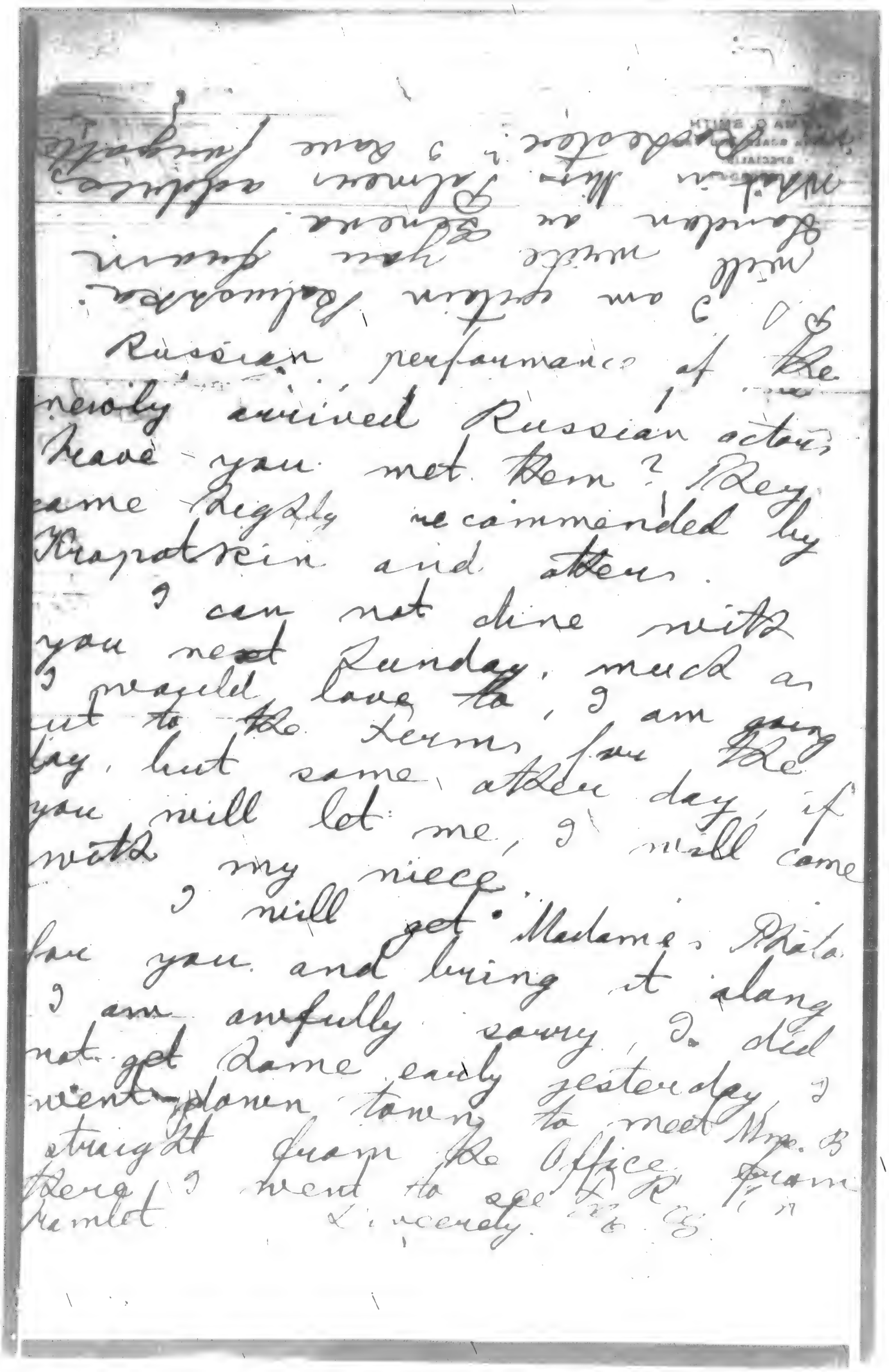
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The Emma Goldman Papers

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Dear Miss Wald:-

Have you time to see a Russian performance of the newly arrived Russian actor, Kachalow? If you have, I can recommend it highly. He came highly recommended by Kropotkin and others.

I can not dine with you next Sunday, much as I regret to do so, I am going out to the Lewis's, but the day after I will let you know when I will be free, if you will let me, I will come with my niece.

I will get Madame Rhia for you and bring it along. I am awfully sorry I did not get Dame early yesterday. I went down town to meet Mrs. B straight from the Office. From there I went to see [illegible] Hamlet.

Sincerely yours
E. G.

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831220021

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1904 Nov. 12, New York [to Lillian] Wald, [New York] / Emma Goldman. – 3 p. ; 28 × 26 cm.

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New York, Nov 12. 1904.

Dear Miss Wald

I be inclosed note I received to day, as a reply to my inquiry regarding advertisement rater in the American Journal for Nurses.

I do not quite understand, whether Miss Palmer wants to remove from what school of Nursing I graduated, or under I studied Scalp treatement.

I can nod tell Miss Palmer that I could not graduate from as Nurse, because I was arrested shortly before my graduation, now can I tell her that =

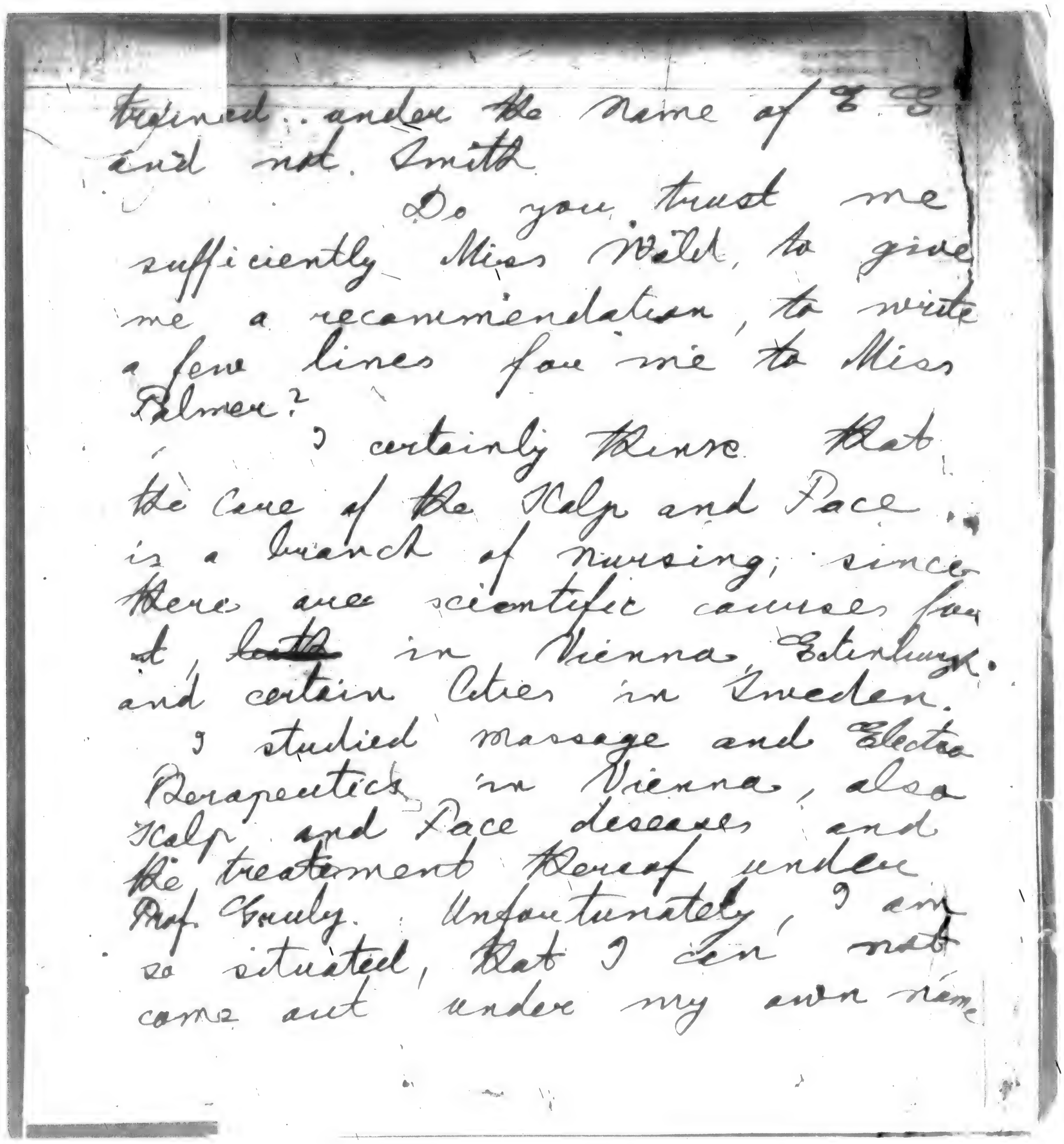
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Engineer under the name of Dr. Smith and not.

Do you trust me sufficiently Miss Wald, to give me a recommendation, to write a few lines for me to Miss Palmer?

I certainly know that the Care of the Scalp and Face is a branch of nursing; since there are scientific courses for it, ~~both~~ in Vienna, Petersburg and certain Cities in Sweden.

I studied massage and Electro Therapeutics in Vienna, also Scalp and Face diseases and the treatment thereof under Prof. Gaudy. Unfortunately, I am so situated, that I can not come out under my own name

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E. G. SMITH.
SCALP AND FACE
SPECIALIST
874 BROADWAY

Irvington House, 1 & 3 E. 16th St.

21

New York, 190

I do not wish you to write to Miss Palmer, unless you feel you can do so with ease. Since you know me enough to trust me, at least hope so.

Sincerely
Emma Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1904 Dec.?] New York [to Hillel? Solotaroff?, New York?] / Emma Goldman.– 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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EMMA G. SMITH
VIENNA SCALP AND FACE
SPECIALIST
874 BROADWAY

PHONE, 1000 GRAMERCY

OFFICE HOURS: 9 TO 5 DAILY

New York, ——— 190

Mein lieber Doctor.

Es ist mir leider
nicht gelungen die heutige
Audienz zu nutzen. Der Eine
ist krank zu Bett, der Andere
in der Andern muss zuerst
Vorbereitungen treffen. Kurzum
unverrichteter Dinge. Vielleicht
morgen Dienstag werden sie
mich Dann
bestimmt
auf nicht
ist mag
Folge zu 2)
nicht sagen
das Geld

für De degree
Geld Nun ist Ihre
gehen," will
nicht alles zusammen
mir ist Natürlich
für Ihnen ist
sollen will ich

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[Letter, 1904 Dec.?] New York [to Hillel? Solotaroff?, New York?] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Das ist Ihnen gewiss
selbst nicht bisher Ihre
Pflicht, leider aber sind meine
Resourcen nicht so umfang-
reich, wie mein Wunsch
wünscht ist.

Mit herzlichem Gruss
Emma Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1904 Dec. 12] New York [to Catherine Breshkovskaya, Boston] / Emma G[oldman].— 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Partija Socialistov-Revoljucionerov Collection.

E. G. SMITH
VIENNA SCALP AND FACE
SPECIALIST
874 BROADWAY

OFFICE HOURS: 9 TO 6 DAILY.

New York, ... 190

Дорогая Милая Бабушка.

Я Вам послала 50 листовъ, а потомъ, которые я получила, я что Вамъ удалось собрать масса денегъ.

Милая Бабушка, вчера ушла у меня въ пропасть четверти уже имѣла непріятности съ Settlement, боюсь быть Вы на почтѣ послали мнѣ 50 Р. для Васи. Если хотите, я Вамъ ихъ пришлю, а то буду ихъ держать, до Вашего пріѣзда. Надѣюсь что Ваши собранія

910219000

The Emma Goldman Papers

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Institutional Location: Partija Socialistov-Revoljucionerov Collection.

как-то и погода вообще будет
удачна, и что Вы вернетесь
ко мне здоровая и довольная
Вами в Philadelphia Ваша
и целуемая

Если у Вас есть до-
бавление минуточка, напишите
мне что вы все и происходит
в Boston.

Крепко обнимаю, и
целую Вас, дорогая бабушка.
Ваша Эмма.

Передайте пожалуйста, эту записку
Miss Ludley.

910219001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1904 Dec. 12, New York to Catherine Breshkovskaya, Boston (enclosure)] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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E. G. SMITH
VIENNA SCALP AND FACE
SPECIALIST
874 BROADWAY

OFFICE HOURS: 9 TO 6 DAILY.

New York, ... 190

My dear Miss Dudley.

I hope, you will pardon me, that I have not written to you when Madame B is coming to Boston. I wrote to Miss Blackwell asking her to notify you I am so glad to know that my beloved friend B is in your care, I know she will have the comfort she needs so badly. I hope too, that she may be successful in her effort to raise money for our cause struggle in Russia and that you may be in a position to help her.

I am very anxious to have all the newspaper reports

910219001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1904 Dec. 12, New York to Catherine Breshkovskaya, Boston (enclosure)] / Emma Goldman. – 2 p. ; 30 × 21 cm.

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of Madame B.s meetings and
I would be very grateful to
you indeed, if you would
be good enough to send them
to me I will, of course stand
all expence.

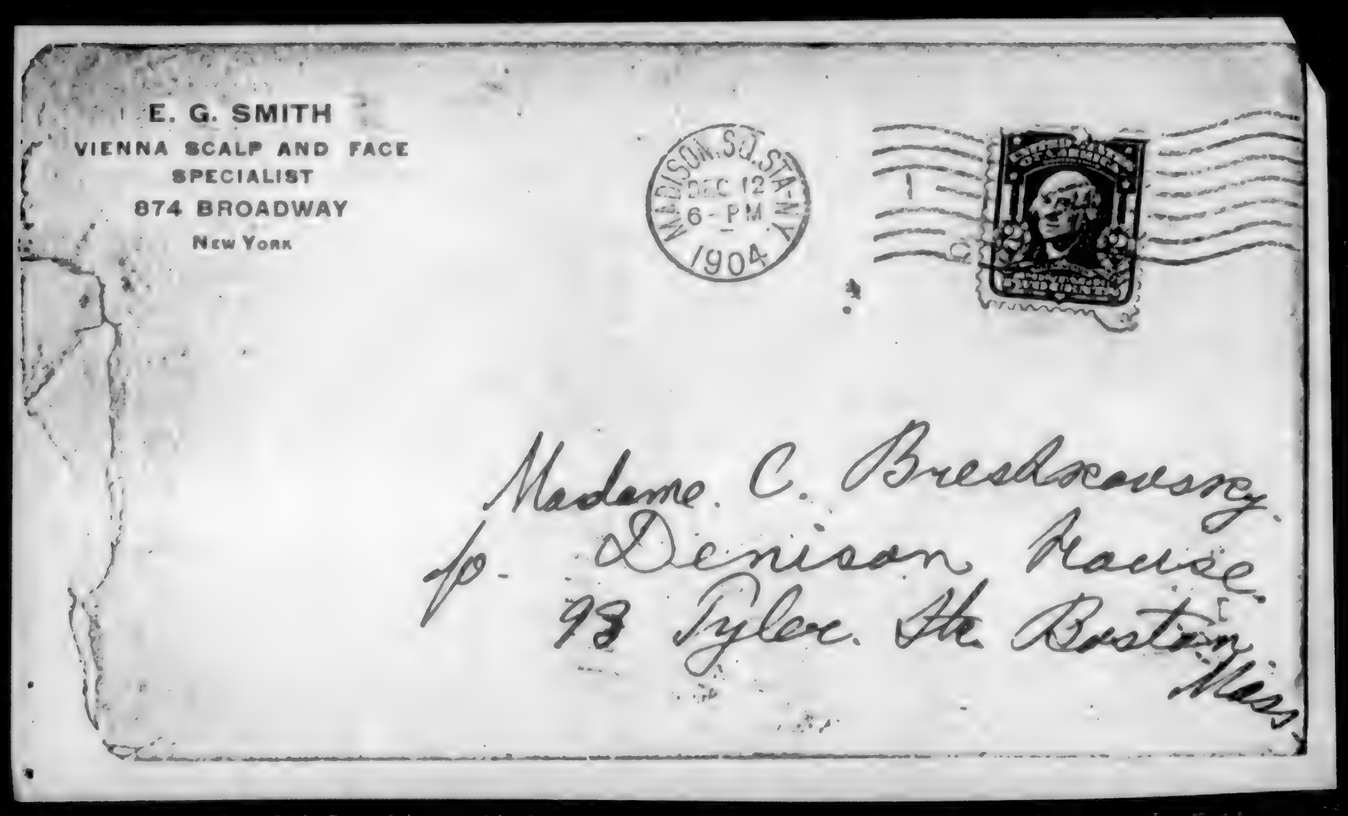
Thanking you for all that
you may do for our grand
old lady. Sincerely
Emma Goldman

910219002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1904 Dec. 12, New York [to] C[atherine] Breshkovskaya, Boston / E[mma] G[oldman]. – 2 p. ; 10 × 17 cm.

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910219002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1904 Dec. 12, New York [to] C[atherine] Breshkovskaya, Boston / E[mma] G[oldman]. – 2 p. ; 10 × 17 cm.

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910219003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1904 Dec. 14] New York [to Catherine Breshkovskaya, Boston] / Emma G[oldman]. – 1 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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E. G. SMITH
VIENNA SCALP AND FACE
SPECIALIST
874 BROADWAY

OFFICE HOURS: 9 TO 6 DAILY.

New York, ... 190

Милая Бабушка.

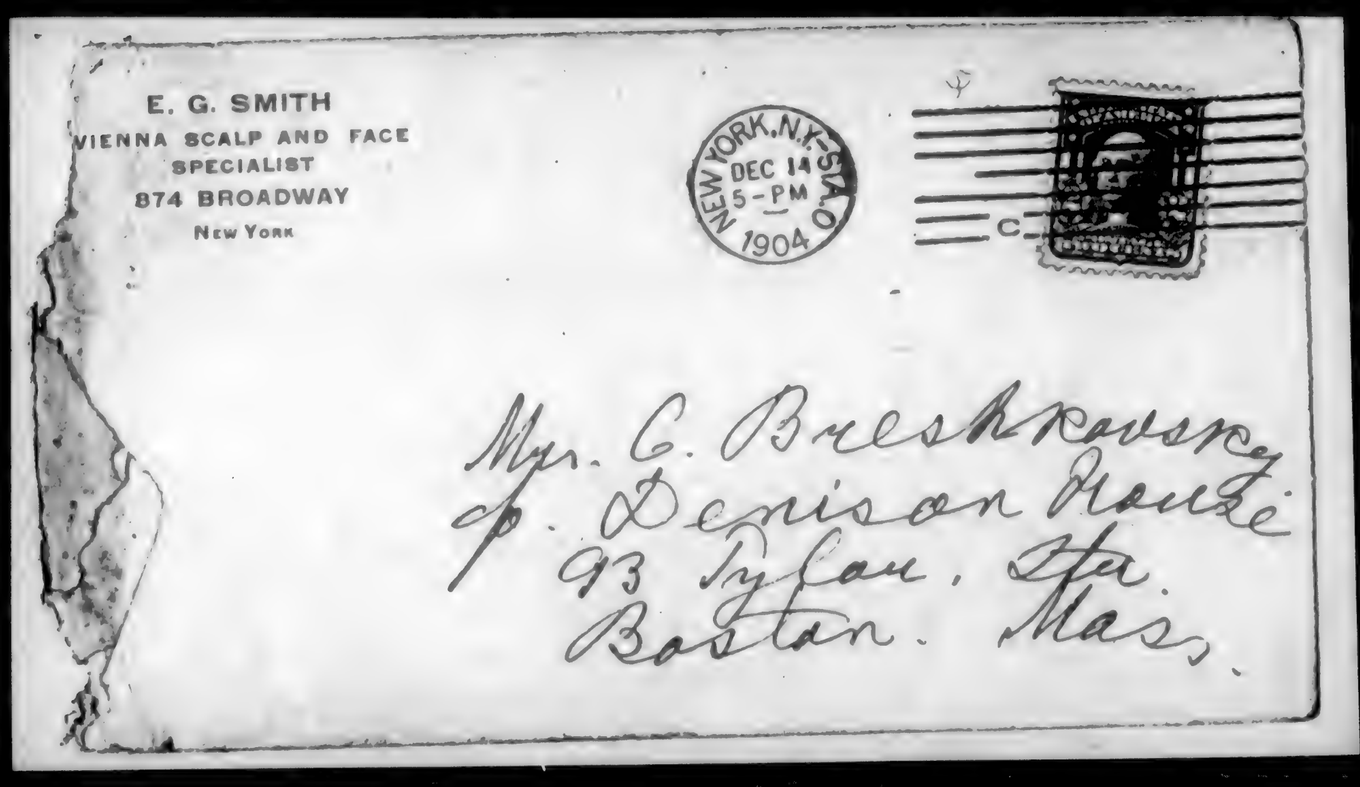
У Bureau of Journal, где
Ваша приятельница получает 21 га
можно. Я писала Miss Blackwe
что она не будет можно, мож
через Мы должны Вас изве
стить заранее Вашем приезде
необходимо, что бы разыскать
Керлин, Вас будила бы что
бы дать хорошее объявление
в газетах. Я поэтому пред
ложила Miss Blackwell что
бы оставили содержание 21 га
и что бы Вы бабушка, были
20 га. Пишите дорогая, полу
чили-ли Литовцы каторжие Stella
Ваши письма, также скорей
денег ждать Вас Boston.
Крепко обнимаю, и
преданная Вас.
Ваша Эмма

910219004

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1904 Dec. 14, New York [to] C[atherine] Breshkovskaya, Boston / E[mma] G[oldman]. — 2 p. ; 10 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Partija Socialistov-Revoljucionerov Collection.



910219004

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1904 Dec. 14, New York [to] C[atherine] Breshkovskaya, Boston / E[mma] G[oldman]. – 2 p. ; 10 × 17 cm.

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Institutional Location: Partija Socialistov-Revoljucionerov Collection.



910312000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1904 Dec. 28] New York [to Catherine Breshkovskaya, New York] / Emma [Goldman].– 1 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Partija Socialistov-Revoljucionerov Collection.

E. G. SMITH
VIENNA SCALP AND FACE SPECIALIST
874 BROADWAY

OFFICE HOURS: 9 TO 6 DAILY.

New York, ... 190

Дорогая Бабушка.

За Вами пришлется один наш друг на Settlement завтра между 6-7 часов вечером, что бы взять Вас на Осаи Этаж. Милая, если Вы еще не написали Вашу роль для Корреспондентки, также Вы написала ли Вашу речь для Французского языка, если только возможна напишите завтра до вечера чтобы зайду за Вами за Манускриптом, оставьте его с Нашай. Непременно пишите на Французском языке легче будет для перевода.

Крепко обнимаю
Вась дорогая Бабушка
Эмма.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

910312001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Envelope] 1904 Dec. 28, New York [to Catherine] Breshkovskaya, [New York] / E[mma] G[oldman]. – 1 p. ; 10 × 17 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Partija Socialistov-Revoljucionerov Collection.



831220012

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1905 Feb. 2, New York [to Robert Erskine] Ely, [New York] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Institutional Location: America's Town Meeting of the Air Records, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division.

E. G. SMITH
VIENNA SCALP AND FACE
SPECIALIST
874 BROADWAY.

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New York, Feb. 11 1905

Dear Mr Ely.

Madame Breshkovsky has decided to cut her tour short and to return to Europe by the 20th of this month. We expect her in N. Y. about the 10th, so that we will have her with us only four every short time. We directing Committee of the Revolutionary Socialists, of which I am a member, have decided to arrange several affairs for her before her departure, she is also to go to Philadelphia for one evening. Do you not think, that the L. R. S. of this city

831220012

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1905 Feb. 2, New York [to Robert Erskine] Ely, [New York] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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to have some farewell meeting or banquet for her? If you intend to have some such an affaire, please write me at once. The committee will meet next Saturday evening to make final arrangements, I would therefore wish to hear from you by that time, please do not me age to leave a date open for the P. R. D.

Sincerely.

Emma Goldman

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910312002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1905 Feb. 21, New York [to Catherine Breshkovskaya, Providence, R.I.] / [Emma Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Partija Socialistov-Revoljucionerov Collection.

E. G. SMITH
VIENNA SCALP AND FACE
SPECIALIST
874 BROADWAY

OFFICE HOURS: 9 TO 6 DAILY.

New York, Feb. 21. 1905

Дорогая Бабушка.

Писанную на Вас
Книжке из нашей New York-ской
жизни я Вам послала Chicago,
казалось будто бы Вы уже
не в Америке. Милая,
Мы вчера конспирировали
против Васъ, то есть, чтобъ
Доктора, Katz, Feldman
Stamm и др. Вами бы
имели конспиративное совещание
хотимъ что бы Вы жили
у меня до Вашего отъезда
в Америку, хотите
дорогая? У меня можете
думать, писать, видеть
людей, или не видеть кого
хотите Вы не

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

910312002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1905 Feb. 21, New York [to Catherine Breshkovskaya, Providence, R.I.] / [Emma Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Partija Socialistov-Revoljucionerov Collection.

Будете, также как
нужный день в дом ныть
и приготовь у нас одну
лью комнатку. У Вас
здесь масса работу и
перед отъездом, чуть-ли
не каждый вечер собрание,
а даже два раза в день
иногда, если-же у Вас
нихага компрадита и
отдыха иметь не будите
Вы не сумеете все пере-
носить. Будьте, де
тектаки большая, Ёлочка,
Ёлочка, да, да бабушка
Ватъ Вы у нас также
здесь, а не с Вами на-
болтать даже не могли

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259

910312002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1905 Feb. 21, New York [to Catherine Breshkovskaya, Providence, R.I.] / [Emma Goldman]. – 3 p. ; 28 × 21 cm.

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E. G. SMITH
VIENNA SCALP AND FACE
SPECIALIST
874 BROADWAY

OFFICE HOURS: 9 TO 6 DAILY.

New York, ... 190

Хотела я Вам ~~ей~~ с ним=
поговорить, но на
раз не пришлось — в чуб
нельзя. Напишите
дорогая, если Вам удобно
быть у меня, напишите
также когда Вы думаете
выехать в Providence и
когда Вас ожидать, в
какой день и час.
Крепко обнимаю
Вас дорогая Ваша
Ма.

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

260

910312003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1905 April 14, New York [to Catherine Breshkovskaya] / [Emma Goldman].– 2 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Parija Socialistov-Revoljucionerov Collection.

EMMA G. SMITH
VIENNA SCALP AND FACE
SPECIALIST
874 BROADWAY

'PHONE, 1880 GRAMERCY

OFFICE HOURS: 9 TO 5 DAILY

New York, April 14 1905

Дорогая Бабушка.

Получила Ваше письмо
Вчерашнюю, но не могла раньше отвечать
так как мне нужно было повидаться
с М. Он хочет готовить жить на
у него ни сента денег жить и
поэтому я решила поговорить с
Кавескими. И его вадила вчера и
они мне обещались дать нужную
сумму через несколько дней:
Дело в том, что М не сумеет
жить ранше двух недель, так
как он занимает разные от-
ветственные места в самое
Мясо, и они нечего раза бросить
не могут. Но через две недели
он будет готов совсем для
Дорогая моя, я и теперь убеждена
что русским строго организованный
способ работы, но я также убеждена
что есть разные способы, индиви-
дуальный и коллективный, и что их
индивидуальный на столько-же важен
и полезен. Вот я получила раз-
ные известия и я что

910312003

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1905 April 14, New York [to Catherine Breshkovskaya] / [Emma Goldman]. – 2 p. ; 29 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Partija Socialistov-Revoljucionerov Collection.

Мои товарищи, усердно работают и просят помощу. Я долго думала, и наконец решила помочь сумею. Я и хочу Вам, т. е Вашей партии помогать, не исключительно. Я и поэтому вступила со. Ясь, и с груп – С. Р. и буду работать не зависимо. Надеюсь Вы поймете, что Я люблю Васю не Вашу работу, но Я должна помогать тому, кто ближе ко мне. Будьте сердечна другом Вашей Бабушке годарна, но не Вашу. Вы сами должны быть благодарны столько хорошего. пользуясь и мы Вас никогда не забудем. Если у Вас когда нибудь будет минутка, напишите мне. Крепко обнимаю Васю и с любовью остаюсь

Ваша Эмма.

831130002

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1905 May 19, New York [to Hillel? Solotaroff?, New York?] / Emma Goldman.– 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the YIVO Archives, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York, NY.

EMMA G. SMITH
VIENNA SCALP AND FACE
SPECIALIST
874 BROADWAY

'PHONE, 1999 GRAMERCY

OFFICE HOURS: 9 TO 5 DAILY

New York, May 19-12 1905

Mein lieber Doctar.

Ich habe die Adresse der italienischen Zeitung nicht finden, kann der Leitung also nicht schreiben

Sie werden schon warten müssen, bis die Leute wieder an die Arbeit gehen.

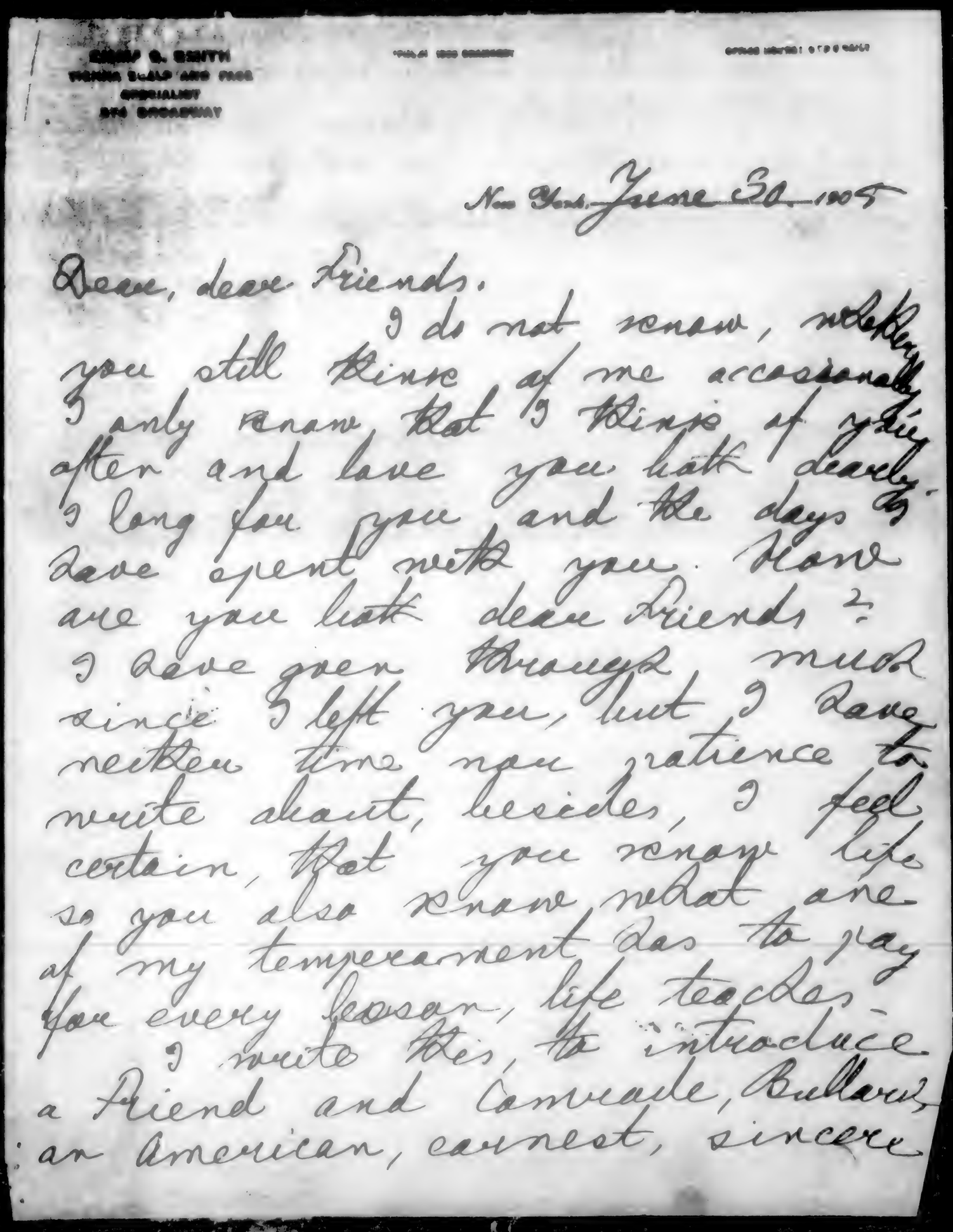
Freundlichen Gruß.
Emma Goldman

890127090

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1905 June 30, New York [to unknown recipient] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.



EMMA G. SMITH
VIOLIN AND ENSEMBLE
SPECIALIST
[illegible] BROADWAY

New York June 30 1905

Dear, dear Friends.

I do not renew, nor do I expect you still think of me occasionally, only renew that I think of you often and love you both dearly. I long for you and the days I have spent with you. How are you both dear Friends? I have grown strangely much since I left you, but I have written time nor patience to write about, besides, I feel certain, that you know life so you also know what are of my temperament has to say for every lesson, life teaches.

I write this, to introduce a friend and comrade, Ballard, an American, earnest, sincere

890127090

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1905 June 30, New York [to unknown recipient] / Emma Goldman.— 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

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Institutional Location: Alexander Berkman Archive.

and very loyal. I am sure you will like him, he is not very long in our ranks, but has proven himself very valuable and reliable

as to myself, I have much to tell you, but I long to hear from you first. Will you not please write to me and tell me, if you still care or remember me? Please do and I promis to write you a long letter with many interesting items. Hoping you will give my kind friend Bellmont my usual kind welcome

I remain affectionately
Emma Goldman

890127095

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1905 July? New York to unknown recipient] / Emma [Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

[redacted]

New York, _____ 190

Dear Friends.

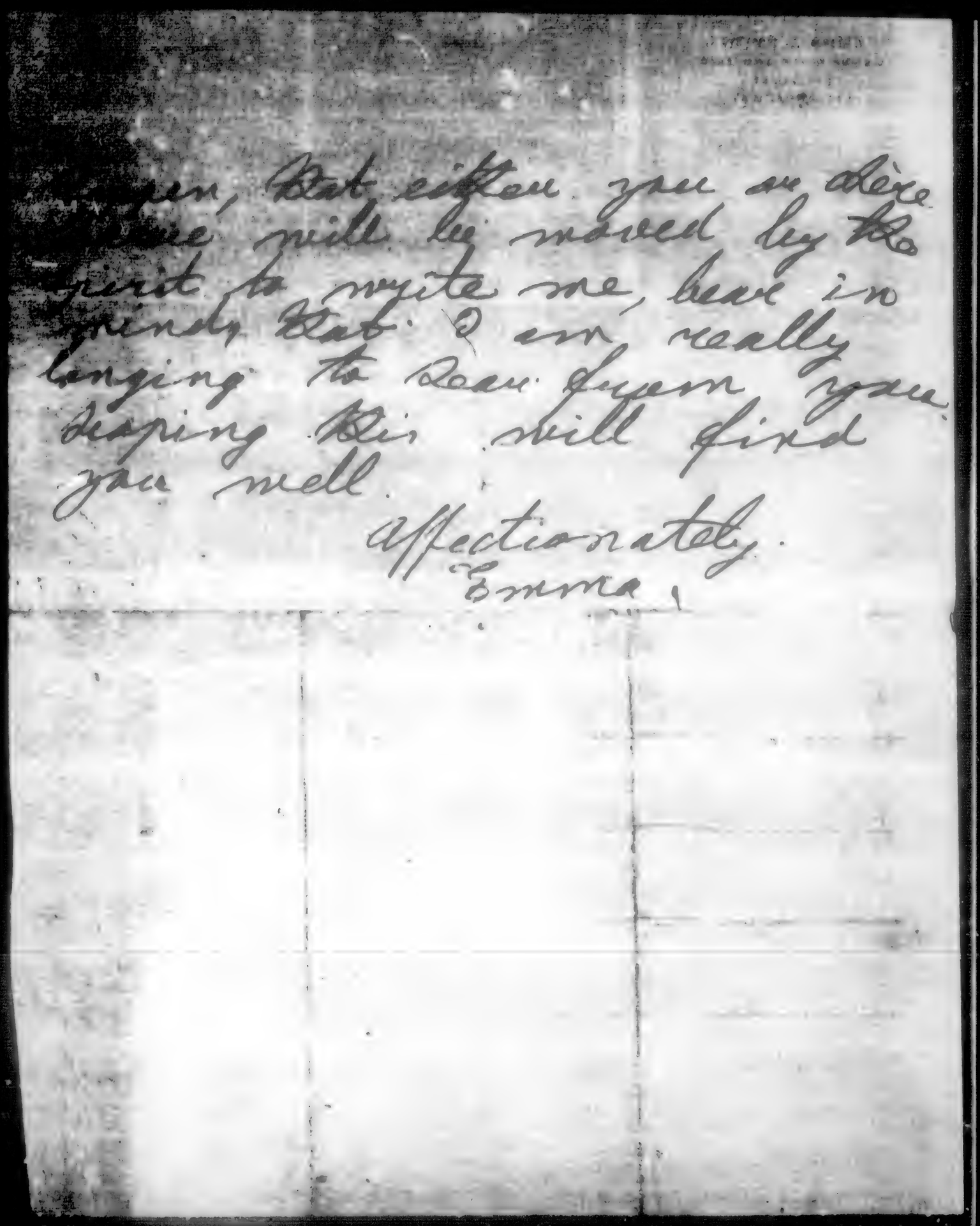
Since you have made up your mind, not to give me a sign of life, I have decided to keep in touch with you through electric waves coming through my friends whom I am sending to you. I hope you loved friend Ballard and I know you will love dear little Rose Pellery, a very dear friend of mine every more. She will tell you her plans and if you can in any way advise her, I feel confident you will gladly do it. I doubted such a miracle

890127095

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1905 July? New York to unknown recipient] / Emma [Goldman].— 2 p. ; 25 × 20 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



Dear Ben, But either you or Alexander will be moved by the spirit to write me, here is a friendly slap. I am really longing to hear from you. Hoping this will find you well.

Affectionately.
Emma

870823121

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1905 between Oct. and Dec.] New York [to Bolton? Hall?, New York?] / E[mma] Goldman. — 4 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

7568

Paul Orleneff Lyceum
13-17 East Third Street
New York City

Dear friend.

Mr Solomon wrote last night telling me that Mr Ryder has found the title in order and is now waiting to settle matters. I can not tell you how happy I feel, that I will once have a place all of my own with no landlord or janitor to worry me. Of course, I still have $500 debt before me but, I feel confident this will not weigh so heavy on me. My friends are eagerly awaiting the moment, when they will be able to go out on the farm to do work and be useful. It is

870823121

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1905 between Oct. and Dec.] New York [to Bolton? Hall?, New York?] / E[mma] Goldman. — 4 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

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Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

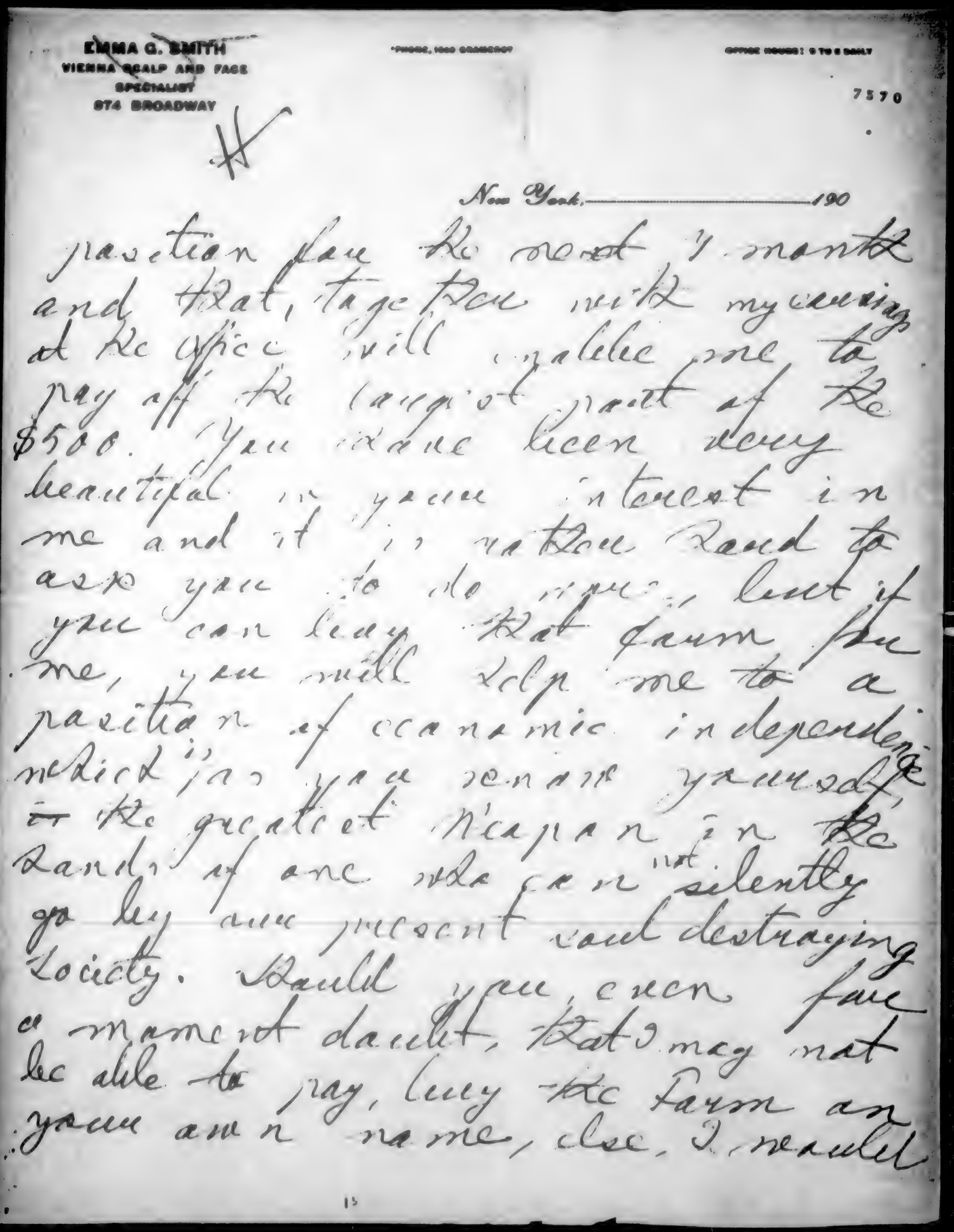
so hard to get along with a child in a large city, if one lacks the ability of adaptation. There are several things that will have to be bought for the farm right away, a large stove to keep the house warm, a few tools, and the Ophulsons speaks of the necessity of buying manure as the place has been terribly neglected for over 2 years. I will need at least $50 for that, which I do not have, as my rent in the Office is due and I have so far been unable to get anything from the Russian Theatre. Can you let me have that also?

870823121

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1905 between Oct. and Dec.] New York [to Bolton? Hall?, New York?] / E[mma] Goldman. — 4 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.



EMMA G. SMITH
VIENNA SCALP AND FACE
SPECIALIST
874 BROADWAY

PHONE, 1060 GRAMERCY

OFFICE HOURS: 9 TO 6 DAILY

7570

New York, _____ 190

[illegible] section [illegible] rent 1 month and that, together with my earnings at the office will enable me to pay off the largest part of the $500. You have been very beautiful in your interest in me and it is natural I should ask you to do more, but if you can help that from me, you will help me to a position of economic independence which is as you remark yourself, the greatest weapon in the hands of one who can silently go by and prevent and destroying society. Should you, even for a moment doubt, that I may not be able to pay, buy the farm as your own name, dear, I would

870823121

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter, 1905 between Oct. and Dec.] New York [to Bolton? Hall?, New York?] / E[mma] Goldman. — 4 p. ; 27 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the International Institute of Social History.
Institutional Location: Emma Goldman Archive.

Dear Sir

Kindly send me your name, Address, terrible necessity I have forgotten the name of some medical Single Tax lawyer in Pittsburg, but when you will tell, that you can help me to form, we might have him transact the business for us.

Hoping to hear from you at your earliest convenience

Sincerely
E. Goldman

821023001

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1905 Nov. 21, New York [to unknown recipient] / Emma G[oldman].— 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from the Northwestern University Library. Institutional Location: Special Collections Department.

GOLDMAN, E. — TLS 11.21.05

Paul Orleneff Lyceum

15-17 East Third Street

New York City

Nov. 21, 1905.

My dear Madam:

Dr. V. G. Simkovitch asked us to mail to you the repertory for the coming week? It is as follows; tomorrow night, "Petty Persecution", arranged by Mr. Orleneff in behalf of the victims of the recent Jewish massacres, Nov. 24th, Matinee Nov. 25th, Evening, Nov. 26th Nov. 27th, Orleneff in "Zwee Family", Evening Nov. 25th & 28th, Mme. Nasimoff in "Zaza", Sunday afternoon, Nov. 26th, Orleneff and Mme. Nasimoff in "Ghosts". Curtain rises at 2.30 and 8.30. Our repertory for the week will be published every Sunday in all the newspapers and every Saturday in the Evening Post. We are enclosing a circular we x mailed last summer, in order to explain what our theater stands for. Tickets may be ordered in advance by telephoning 14 Orchard. Synopsises of untranslated plays will be on sale at the theater.

Truly yours, Emma G. Smith

American Representative.

821109000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1905 Nov. 23 [New York to James Gibbons] Huneker, [New York?] / Emma Goldman. – 1 p. ; 24 × 21 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from The Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Institutional Location: Dreer Collection.

E. S. Smith
374 Broadway.
Nov. 23, 1905.

My dear Mr. Huneker:

I received your "Visionaries" and your card today, so I take it that you have returned to "our" shores and were good enough to send me your book. I can not tell you how much I appreciate your kindness. I meant to buy as soon as it appeared, as I always have done in the past, but the Orleneff Lyceum has left me no time for anything else. I am happy to know that you are with us again. Needless to say, I am very anxious to me the man who thinks me "remarkable".

I am sending you a synopsis of a play that Mr. Orleneff will pproduce for the first time tomorrow evening a play entitled "The Zwee Family" by David Pinsky. It will be repeated Sunday evening. Saturday evening Mme. Nasimoff will appear in her own interpretation of "Zaza". I am very anxious to send your tickets for either of the performances. Will you let me know when you can come? No doubt you are very busy at present, but when you will have more leisure, I shall be glad to see you. My telephone number is 1560 Gramercy and please ask for Miss Smith, as I am known there by that name.

Most sincerely,

Emma Goldman

Emma Goldman.

880607007

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1905 Dec. 4 [New York to] Metropolitan Magazine, [New York] / Emma Goldman.— 1 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

Permission to reproduce or quote in any form must be obtained from Yale University. Institutional Location: The Yale Collection of American Literature, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.

85

15-17 East Third Street.

December 4, 1905.

Editors of Metropolitan Magazine.

Gentlemen:

I have been working in the field of literature for some time past under another name than my own, and now I wish to discard the pseudonym and take that which belongs to me, but which has in the past been associated with more strenuous work than writing and which therefore, at first thought, may not seem to you calculated to attract readers to your magazine. It is my opinion, however, that the name of Emma Goldman in connection with a certain range of subjects will have positive value, both from your standpoint and from my own.

It is true that I have gained an unpleasant notoriety, which, however undeserved, may militate against me in a measure, but on the other hand my name stands for protest against the evil principles which underlie and are the cause of the very social ferment which is now agitating the minds of both the thinkers and the passive sufferers throughout the civilized world.

I have a great deal to say both in fiction and essay form on the sociological conditions as they exist either hidden or glaringly obvious, and I am writing this to ask you if you have room in your magazine for anything I, as Emma Goldman, may send you, providing always that it is presented in sufficiently good literary form. I beg to remind you, in this connection, that no one has or can have a more intimate knowledge than I of the conditions which exist in various parts of the civilized world, or of the near and remote causes of those conditions. Perhaps I should add that it is not my wish to write as an agitator, but only as a heart-sore actor and spectator. -

Hoping for an early reply, I am,

Emma Goldman

900108000

The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1905 Dec. 26, New York [to James Gibbons] Huneker, [New York?] / Emma Goldman. – 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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Paul Orleneff Lyceum
15-17 East Third Street
New York City Dec 26th 1905.

E. G. Smith
874 Broadway

Dear Mr Huneker.

I fear you will consider me a careless correspondent, since I have not replied, to your kind note of the 7th inst. I am not always so careless, but here you, I am dreadfully rushed with work. Perhaps you will understand, why I have kept you waiting so long, if I tell you, that outside of my office work, I do literary work, attend to all the affairs of the Orleneff Lyceum including the entire correspondence, raise money for the Russian Revolution and am now going away to Montreal

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The Emma Goldman Papers

[Letter] 1905 Dec. 26, New York [to James Gibbons] Huneker, [New York?] / Emma Goldman. — 2 p. ; 28 × 22 cm.

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for a week, to lecture on Russia
Enough to keep one mental busy
is it not?

Next Friday evening, Orleneff and Nazimoff will give the Masters Builders, I hope you will be able to see it. I regret so much, that I will be out of town on that night but I saw the rehearsals and I feel certain, that Orleneff and N. will be exquisit.

Be knowledge, that you have been at Schwabs place and that you renew the old warmth, brings you still closer to all those who have loved the great Tentar. I hope some day to meet you and talk over those crazy days. Sincerely. Emma Goldman

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The Emma Goldman Papers

A Microfilm Edition

Reel 1

Correspondence

October 8, 1892, to December 26, 1905

Edited by

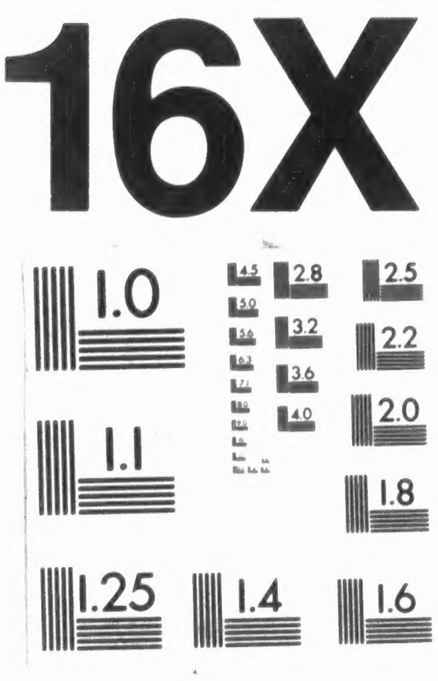
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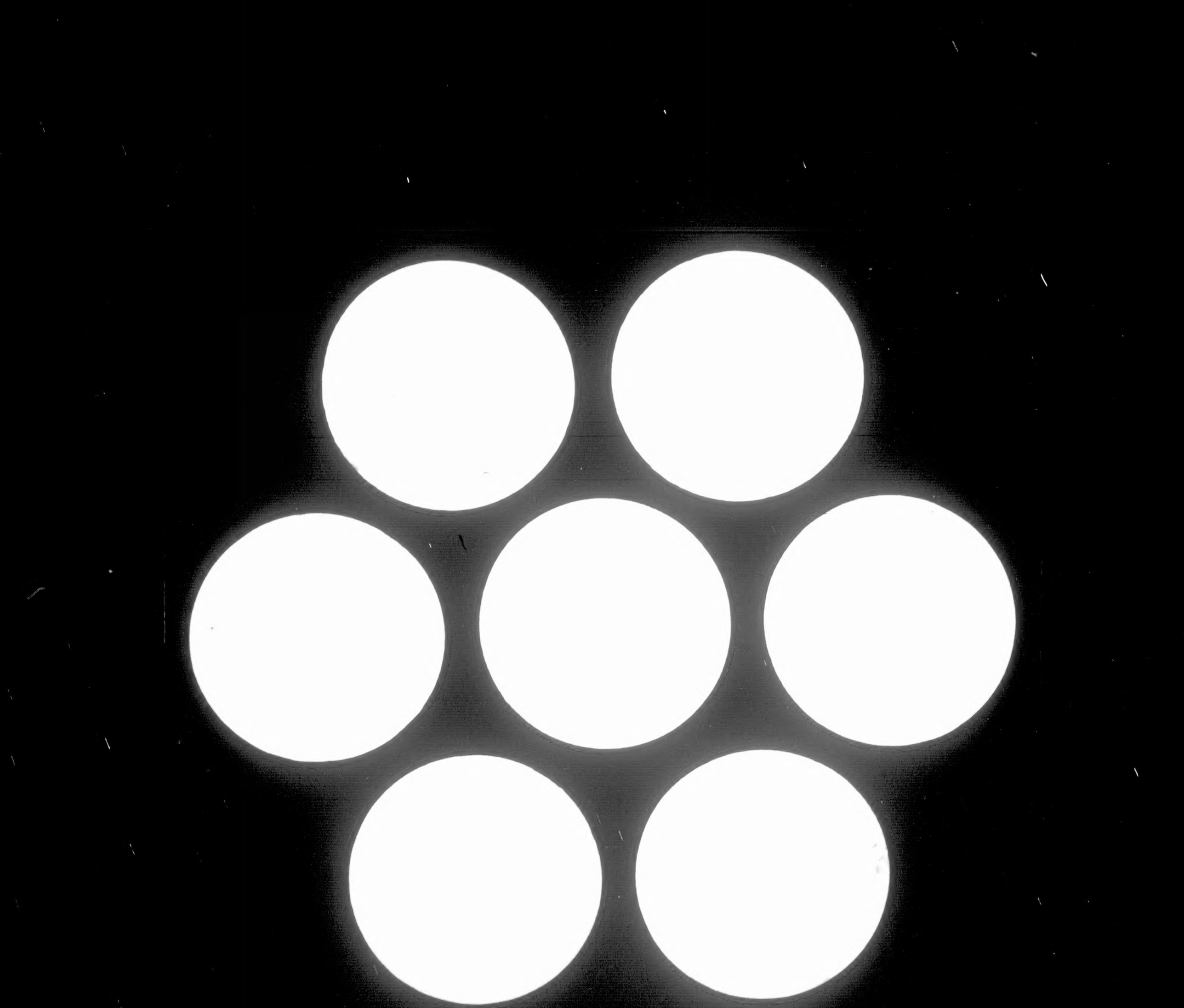
Stephen Cole
Daniel Cornford

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